THE NEW ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF

HISTORY, POLITICS, AND LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1794.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and TASTE, in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of King JAMES the First, Part the Second.

LONDON,

Printed for G. G. and J. ROBINSON, Pater-noster-Row.

MDCCXCV.

PREFACE.

IT was not our design to have diverted the attention of our readers from the important events which at present agitate the political world, by any address in the form of a preface or advertisement, farther than was necessary to convey our thanks to the public for the very liberal encouragement which our last volume experienced. But a respect for that public obliges us for once to relinquish our intention, as it is of some importance, not merely to ourselves, but to the cause of truth, to expose the flagrant and absurd falsehoods by which we have been *ignorantly* and maliciously attacked by interested and venal writers.

It would ill become us to pronounce our own panegyric: but if there is any one species of merit which we may without arrogance assume, it is that of taking a liberal and temperate course with respect to the politics of the times. Yet, we have been unaccountably charged with a predilection for French principles. The best proof that we could offer against this accusation is, that we have been also charged by the other party with the opposite offence, with that of inclining too much to the aristocratic system. In this instance, however, we have only been fellow-sufferers with some of the most illustrious characters of this nation; and we must remark, that it has been a source of serious evil to our country, that every man, who was not prepared to go every

length with the adherents of miniſtry, has been, by profligate writers (whoſe ſole employment and occupation conſiſt in diſperſing falſehood) *too ſucceſsfully* repreſented as an "advocate for the French cauſe." But ſurely every rational perſon will agree, that it is poſſible to diſapprove moſt heartily of the proceedings of the French, and yet to wiſh that our country had never interfered in thoſe troubled ſcenes. We moſt ſincerely believe, and we ſolemnly profeſs our opinion, that next to the declared republicans and anarchiſts (and we ſtill aſſert that *they* are few in this country) the beſt friends of the French ſyſtem are thoſe who have countenanced and abetted thoſe raſh meaſures adopted in the abſurd and impracticable hope of ſubjugating France. Thoſe who really wiſhed well to their country and conſtitution, thoſe who deſerve the name of *friends to their king*, are thoſe who wiſhed this nation to avoid engaging in an abſurd continental conteſt; to maintain a "dignified neutrality;" to preſerve our commerce and manufactures uninjured; to leſſen gradually the public debt, and conſequently to leſſen the burthens and remove the real grievances of the people. But as aſſertion on either ſide is no proof, let us fairly aſk our adverſaries, for which of the proceedings of the French republicans have we been "the advocates?" Did our narrative of the events of the 10th of Auguſt 1792, or our ſentiments on thoſe tranſactions; did our account of the maſſacres of the 2d and 3d of September, of the trial and death of the unfortunate king, ſavour of French principles? Did our character of the Briſſotin party, or of their opponents Marat and Robeſpierre, indicate a partiality to either? Did our vindication of hereditary nobility and of religious eſtabliſhments manifeſt

a pre-

a predilection for democratic or levelling opinions? Did our commiseration of the French clergy, and our repeated defences of religion, prove that we had imbibed the pernicious maxims of the new philosophy? We have asserted that, to our knowledge, "no circumstance of moment has been omitted or misrepresented." We defy our enemies to instance *one*: and as they have not attempted to prove their charge, because evidently they cannot prove it, but have confined themselves to bold and general assertions; we leave it to the fair determination of the public, whether they do not stand convicted of wilful and deliberate *falsehood?*

It is, it seems, an unpardonable offence in us to have said, that an assembly (the constituent assembly of France) who certainly professed to frame a *free* constitution, professed also to make ours the model of that constitution. If a partiality for our own government had led us into an error, it would be only doing justice to those who have so sagaciously animadverted on us, to say that *they* are not in danger of falling into any similar mistake. Those who can extol the former arbitrary government of France cannot be in much danger of error from a veneration for *our constitution*. But the truth is, this is an instance of that incorrigible ignorance which our adversaries every where display. Not only the general frame of the government, composed of a king and a parliament, but the trial by jury, the sanctioning the acts of the legislature by royal assent, the regulation of the tribunals, even the forms of proceeding, and the very terms (for instance, that which is at present a kind of proverbial phrase, the *order of the day*) were copied from the British constitution. If these *well-informed* critics had taken the pains to ex-

amine and peruse the journals of the national assembly as we have done, they would have found continual allusions to this constitution; they would have found, that even where they deviated from this model, they were studious to assign their reasons for such deviation, as in the debate on the two chambers. But the French legislators did not institute an upper house—neither did the Corsican legislators, though that constitution was sanctioned and accepted by our king. If, indeed, the constitution of 1789 was so exceedingly vicious as these impugners would insinuate, what shall we say to lord Hood and the prince de Cobourg for attempting to re-establish it?

We are charged with giving to the public (in a note) a pretended treaty of Pavia, which our adversaries *say* is forged*. We do not stand pledged for the authenticity of that paper. We found it inserted in the most respectable collections of state papers which are published in Europe. It was our *duty* not to withhold so important a document from our readers. We candidly stated where we found it; and when the insertion of it was censured, we vindicated ourselves by a very plain and simple question, a question only calculated to serve the cause of truth, and to develop the mystery. "If this treaty is really a misrepresentation of the views and sentiments of the combined powers, why do they not justify themselves by *publishing the real treaty?*" And surely till the treaty of Pilnitz or Pavia, or that system (for there must be some *system* or *compact*) on which the allies have acted, be made public, every thinking

* See a very able defence of this paper, as containing the substance of the compact between the combined powers, in the preface to Mr. Debrett's 2d vol. of State Papers on the French war.

man

man must suspect, that either the paper in question contains the substance of this compact, or that "the compact itself is *something worse*." There was indeed no necessity to aggravate the criminality of the combined powers. The design of interfering in a hostile manner in the domestic arrangements of an independent nation, as avowed by themselves in the Circular of Pavia, was (we maintain it) a glaring violation of the law of nations; and the difference between murdering a people in order to force upon them a particular form of government, and murdering them in order to acquire a part of their territory, is perhaps not so material as at first sight may appear. In both cases the object is to place the nation under a government which they abhor: and the difference is this, that in the former instance their tyrant is to be called the king of France; in the latter he is to be called the king of Prussia, or the emperor of Germany. On the whole, however, let it be remembered that we have no disavowal *from authority* of this paper; we have only the *ipsi dicunt* of anonymous writers. The treaty of Pilnitz is generally supposed to have been a partition treaty; and we have no reason, from analogy, for supposing the empress of Russia, the emperor of Germany, and the king of Prussia *morally* averse to partition treaties. If the partition of Poland, and the horrid massacre of its innocent inhabitants, were laudable, would the partition of France have been so criminal as our adversaries (most inconsistently, it is true) are studious to represent it?

We have said, "that in the month of November an association was instituted at the Crown and Anchor tavern by Mr. Reeves, the chief justice of

Newfoundland, and other gentlemen connected with adminiſtration, the avowed purpoſe of which was the protection of liberty and property againſt the daring attempts of republicans and levellers."—Is there any thing diſreſpectful in this? Or have we any where treated this aſſociation with diſreſpect? We have indeed learned a new leſſon from our opponents, viz. "that it is a *diſgrace* to be *connected with adminiſtration*;" and evidently under this idea they have taken infinite pains to repreſent this aſſociation as *not connected with adminiſtration*, and would rather have it conſidered as a party of *tradeſmen* met at a pot-houſe to talk politics. The fact is (and we mention it again not with any *diſreſpect*), the inſtitutors of this aſſociation were "gentlemen connected with adminiſtration," and many of them in the actual ſituation of placemen*; and we ſhould violate truth as flagrantly as our opponents are in the habit of doing, and falſify hiſtory, if we otherwiſe repreſented the fact.

We have ſaid, "that as the *firſt* part of the *Rights of Man* was written with *rather more modeſty* than the ſecond, it was read and approved by many whoſe ſentiments were by no means favourable to republicaniſm." Let it be recollected that this firſt part of the Rights of Man was an anſwer to Mr. Burke's Reflexions on the French Revolution, which it profeſſed to correct chiefly as to *matters of fact*; and as far

* We have before us, at this moment, a liſt of the principal perſons concerned in inſtituting this aſſociation. We do not think it right to publiſh, without their conſent, the names of any ſet of gentlemen: but if our impugners perſiſt in affirming ſuch groſs and palpable falſehoods, we ſhall be under the neceſſity of printing the names at length, with a liſt of the places and emoluments enjoyed by each member.

as

as it tended to elucidate historical fact, it might be read and approved by any man who loved truth, and consequently wished to hear both sides of a question. Let it not be forgotten also, that this first pamphlet was by no means considered in the same dangerous point of view as the subsequent writings of Mr. Paine: for it *never was prosecuted by government*, it was only the second part that was prosecuted; and that publication we have expressly stigmatized as "a virulent and abusive attack upon the British government."—If, however, after the decisive terms in which we have censured the writings of Mr. Paine (see our last vol. p. 5), these gentlemen choose to represent us as *Painites*, we shall not be surprised, if, in the same spirit of candour and consistency, they next choose to represent us as *cannibals*.

It would have been a real kindness to a certain city orator, if his too officious friends had not been so studious to have brought forward his name. We are sorry for the man, and would have charitably consigned him to that insignificancy and obscurity, in which every man who wishes him well must be desirous he should remain. We are vehemently censured for hinting that the worthy and *fluent* knight was not remarkable for his knowledge of grammar.—Public speakers, like authors, are certainly objects of criticism; but there is perhaps a degree of *sympathy* in this matter, of which we were not aware. Those who have themselves been accused of not being the most accurate grammarians * must be na-

* See some letters in the Morning Chronicle in January and February 1794, signed "ENGLISH GRAMMAR," and "VINDICATOR," where certain critics are convicted, not upon "broad assertion," but direct quotation, of not being able to write their own language *grammatically*.

turally

turally a little sore when such a topic unfortunately happens to be introduced. If we have uncautiously said that the speech of the worthy knight was remarkable for "broad assertion," we only request that our opponents will inform us, which of his assertions were accurate and *true?*

We thank our calumniators (for we would give to every one his due) for a compliment a little ungraciously paid us, "that we have *some* religion."—We may have less bigotry than these *pious* gentlemen, but we trust it will be found that we have much more of true practical religion than they can pretend to. To destroy, however, the effect of this concession, we are accused of uttering an *untruth*, in saying that a part of Robespierre's popularity was attributed to his pretences (hypocritical they might be) to religion. The part which he took with respect to the decree for again restoring the liberty of religious worship in Paris is well known. But if what appears in our volume be an *untruth*, it is not ours, but M. Condorcet's, sanctioned by the authority of Dr. Moore. Men ought to be a little acquainted with the sources of information before they presume to censure. Condorcet, in enumerating the causes which contributed to give popularity to Robespierre, says—"Il se fait une reputation d'austérité qui vise à la sainteté; il monte sur des bancs; il *parle de Dieu* & *de Providence*; il se dit l'ami des pauvres, &c."—For the benefit of these gentlemen we insert the translation—"He attempts to establish a reputation of austerity, which points to *sanctity*; he mounts on benches, and *talks* of *God* and *Providence*; he calls himself the friend of the poor, &c."—Such extreme ignorance of the most common facts would be disgraceful in the highest

highest degree, could any thing disgrace such writers.

It has been said that our general method is "amply and favourably to detail the sentiments and speeches of one set of men, and to relate those of the opposite side in few and feeble words."—Those who wish to form an estimate of our *veracity*, compared with that of our accusers, are only requested to take any of our volumes, and compare that part of it with any well authenticated report of the proceedings of parliament. We profess to give the substance of all the arguments employed *by the speakers on either side upon any political question*, and we have endeavoured to do it without bias or partiality. Unfortunately for our antagonists, this article of charge is also destitute of proof; for they have not specified a single instance of such omission, and we defy them to do it. No persons indeed ought to be better judges of the *feeble* in composition than those from whom we quote this expression, for even their malice is impotent. They should remember that there are *feeble* speakers as well as *feeble* writers; and if some speakers (as well as some writers) deal more in *words* than in *ideas*, the fault is not with us; those readers who want the *words* must apply to the parliamentary registers, and not to such a brief abstract as our limits confine us to. When the venal advocates of any party censure in this manner publications conducted upon liberal principles, an *erratum* should always be added. We are censured, "not because we are partial," but because we "are *not partial* to the *right* (that is to *their*) *side*." The "very head and front of our offending is this," that we have scorned to violate

violate the records of hiſtory by pronouncing a panegyric upon the wiſdom and foreſight of the preſent miniſters. If, however, we cannot diſcern in their conduct thoſe extended views, that enlightened policy which we would wiſh to diſcover, we can only aver that our error is not intentional. As we are not the dependants and paraſites of any party, we ſolemnly declare, that we have never omitted to applaud miniſters, whenever their conduct would in any degree admit of approbation; and we ſhall be ready to do it again, whenever they ſhall ſhew an attention, directed by judgment, to the real intereſts of the country. We cannot, while we continue to reſpect truth, make ſomething out of nothing. We cannot applaud the wiſdom of meaſures, which every intelligent perſon evidently ſaw were puerile and erroneous, and which have *proved* ſuch in their conſequences. We are averſe to boaſting; but the malignancy of our opponents compels us to what is in itſelf moſt diſagreeable—and we appeal to our readers, whether we have not uniformly *foreſeen* and *predicted* every one of the fatal conſequences which have attended what we cannot but call the raſh counſels of an adminiſtration, young in years, and ſtill younger in counſel, experience, and knowledge. In this the ſentiments of every well-informed perſon in the nation already coincide with ours; and we will venture to predict, that (as in the caſe of the American war) the verdict of poſterity will be unanimous. Our opponents muſt therefore excuſe us if we cannot condeſcend to ſacrifice our judgment as they do, if they can be ſuppoſed to have any. *We* have a character to loſe; and we ſhall perſevere in the ſteady

line of truth, regardless of the efforts of any *literary spies* *. Our conduct is open and fair, let them take advantage of it if they can.

To evince, however, that our impartiality is not affected but real, we give this intimation to our readers and to the public. Fully conscious of the fallibility of human nature, and that there is no man who is not liable to mistake, who is not exposed to deception from the misinformation of party writers; if in the course of our annual labours we shall be found to have mistated a single fact, we shall receive with gratitude the corrections of any correspondent, and will not only rectify cheerfully the error, but print the corrections (if desired) in the very words of their authors. This is a concession which we think is due to the public; and, while it will evince our candour, it will also (we are satisfied) add greatly to the value of our publication.

* We should be greatly wanting in respect, if, on this occasion, we omitted to notice the meritorious services of the British Critics, who, if not among the most eminent, are certainly some of the most active and zealous of the ministerial *spies*. They may not rank with the R——s, the M——s, and the S——s; but they may consort well, both in point of *veracity* and *talents*, with a Watt, a Lynam, a Gosling, and a Taylor. The *booksellers* throughout Great Britain will doubtless be very active in promoting the sale and circulation of a publication, which is constantly employed in recommending *prosecutions for libels*.

CON-

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAPTER V.

CHAPTER VI.

CHAPTER VII.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES, (3)

PUBLIC PAPERS.

The

CONTENTS.

BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

CONTENTS.

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

ANTIQUITIES.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

POETRY.

THE

THE HISTORY OF KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, AND TASTE, IN GREAT BRITAIN,

During the Reign of King JAMES the First.

PART THE SECOND.

AMIDST all the zeal for theology, and the various disputes concerning it, which marked the reign of king James the first, moral philosophy, as a distinct science, was little studied. The time was not yet arrived when a due attention was paid to so important and interesting a branch of knowledge. Bacon's Essays we have mentioned under the preceding reign, in which they first made their appearance; and though they contain a rich treasure of observations relative to life and manners, they are most properly ranked under the head of miscellaneous learning. It would have been well, however, if so admirable a model had been followed. In such a dearth of ethical productions, perhaps we may be justified in introducing to the notice of our readers the translation of Charron on Wisdom. Though on some accounts the book may have been objected to, it comprehends, upon the whole, a large fund of moral science. The translation too is energetic; and, notwithstanding its ancient garb, we shall not think our judgment impeached in preferring it to the

more elegant but diffuse version which was long afterwards given by dean Stanhope. Nothing equal to Charron was produced by any of our own countrymen in the period concerning which we are treating.

With respect to the progress of opinions and claims on the head of constitutional freedom, we have observed on a former occasion, that the cause of civil liberty gained some ground towards the close of queen Elizabeth's reign; that the rights of the subject began to be better understood, and more vigorously maintained; that parliamentary speakers, without the fear or danger of imprisonment, assumed a greater boldness in arraigning the conduct of government; and that, in short, a new spirit appeared, which, under succeeding princes, was attended with very great and important consequences. Such was the state of things when James the first ascended the throne. The ideas however which he brought with him were ill accommodated to the circumstances of the time. He came into England full-fraught with the most extravagant notions concerning the absolute and uncontrollable power of kings. These notions were partly encouraged by the high tone of authority which had been assumed and exercised by the princes of the house of Tudor, and partly were the result of his own speculative sentiments. The opinion of divine hereditary indefeasible right, and that all the privileges of the subject were only grants from the crown, he strenuously maintained; and he could not avoid being strengthened in these conceptions by the flatteries of his courtiers, which we cannot read without contempt mixed with indignation. Indeed, on whatever side he cast his eye, many things occurred to encourage his prejudices. But while he was thus full of his claims to the highest prerogatives, the minds of men in Europe, and especially in England, had begun to undergo a general, though at first an insensible, revolution. Of this rising spirit in our countrymen several instances were displayed by parliament, and particularly in the case of sir Francis Goodwin. This gentleman had been

chosen member for the county of Bucks; and his return, as usual, was made into chancery; but the chancellor, pronouncing him an outlaw, vacated his seat, and issued a writ for a new election. The ferment occasioned in the house of commons by this transaction, and the vigour with which they maintained their rights, are related in all our histories; and need not here be enlarged upon: but it is suitable to our present subject to mention the sentiments that were delivered by two or three members. "By this course (said one) the free election of the counties is taken away; and none shall be chosen but such as shall please the king and council. Let us therefore with fortitude, understanding, and sincerity, seek to maintain our privilege. This cannot be construed any contempt in us, but merely a maintenance of our common rights, which our ancestors have left us, and which it is just and fit for us to transmit to our posterity." "This (said another) may be called a *quo warranto* to seize all our liberties." The language of a third member was, "A chancellor, by this course, may call a parliament consisting of what persons he pleases. Any suggestion, by any person, may be the cause of sending a new writ. It is come to this plain question, Whether the chancery or parliament ought to have authority?"

About the same time the commons, in the case of sir Thomas Shirley, established their power of punishing both the persons at whose suit any member was arrested, and the officers who were employed in arresting or detaining him. Nor was their attention solely confined to the assertion and maintenance of their own privileges. Their spirit and judgment appeared in their endeavours to free commerce from those shackles which had been imposed upon it by the tyrannical exertions of the royal prerogative. While they were thus attempting to give liberty to the trading part of the nation, they endeavoured likewise to emancipate the landed property from the burthen of wardships, and to remove those remains of the feudal tenures under which the nation still laboured. Though this matter was involved in greater difficulties than could

at

at that time be surmounted, the attempt was an indication that more enlarged views of civil policy and government were spreading through the nation.

An eminent instance in which James the first, to his great mortification, experienced the resistance of parliament, was in the project of an union between England and Scotland. The scheme in itself had many powerful recommendations, and the king displayed a passionate zeal for carrying it into execution. But the people in general were not prepared for it; and it was very unpopular in the house of commons. All that his majesty could obtain was the appointment of forty-four English, to meet thirty-one Scottish commissioners, in order to deliberate concerning the terms of an union; but they had no power of making any advances towards its establishment. After the affair had been warmly agitated for two sessions, it fell wholly to the ground. We do not enter into the question whether the conduct of parliament, in this respect, was or was not founded in wisdom. The fact only is mentioned to prove that the minds of our countrymen were rising above the idea of an unreserved subjection to the will of the prince.

Another evidence of the diffusion of the principles of liberty was exhibited in the opposition that was made, in a new session of parliament (1609-10), to the raising of the supply. The king met the house with the principal view of obtaining money; but the commons were chiefly intent on circumscribing the prerogative. James's profusion to his favourites began to be looked upon with an evil eye by the people, and several of the bolder speakers did not scruple openly to say, that the whole wealth of England would not serve his vast bounty. Some impositions had been laid upon different kinds of merchandise, and the business had been conducted with caution. But all the caution that had been exercised upon the occasion could not prevent the complaints of the commons. A spirit of freedom had taken possession of the house. The leading members, who were men of an independent genius and large views, began to regulate their

their opinions more by the future consequences which they foresaw, than by the former precedents which were set before them. While they were solicitous to preserve what remains of liberty there were in the ancient constitution, they aspired at extending its boundaries, and indeed at fixing it upon what might almost be called a new foundation. In their remonstrances to the king, they observed it to be a general opinion, that the reasons of the practice of imposing money, on any pretence or occasion, without the consent of parliament, might be extended much farther, even to the utter ruin of the ancient liberty of the kingdom, and the subjects' right of property in their lands and goods. Though the commons were expressly forbidden by James to touch his prerogative, they passed a bill abolishing the impositions. It was however rejected by the lords, who were either less enlightened, or, from their peculiar situations, more dependent on the power of the crown.

In another address to the king, the commons objected to the practice of borrowing upon privy seals, and requested that the subjects should not be forced to lend money to his majesty, or to assign a reason for their refusal. Some discontent was likewise discovered with respect to the royal proclamations, and remonstrances were made against the proceedings of the high commission court, &c. Amidst all these attacks on the prerogative of the crown, James displayed as openly as ever his exalted notions concerning the absolute authority of princes. Even in a speech to parliament, in which he solicited for a supply, he expressed himself in these terms: "I conclude, then, the point touching the power of kings, with this axiom of divinity, that, as to dispute *what God may do*, is blasphemy, but *what God wills*, that divines may lawfully and do ordinarily dispute and discuss; so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power. But just kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they will not incur the curse of God. I will not be content that my power be disputed upon; but I shall

shall ever be willing to make the reason appear of my doings, and rule my actions according to my laws."

It is not easy to avoid smiling when we consider the time in which such extravagant claims were asserted, and such pompous language adopted. Language of this kind had never been used by the most arbitrary of James's predecessors, and he made use of it at a period when the English were bursting the chains of ignorance and servility, and becoming more and more sensible that they had rights of their own; rights that were not derived from the precarious concessions of absolute monarchs, but which were founded on the eternal principles of reason and justice. Indeed so little were the commons affected by the king's speeches, that they strenuously persisted in contending for a redress of grievances; the consequence of which was, that the parliament was dissolved in disgust.

The parliament, which met in 1614, was animated with the same spirit. An extraordinary alarm was discovered on account of the rumours which had been spread abroad concerning *undertakers*. It was reported that several persons, attached to the king, had entered into a confederacy; and that, having laid a regular plan for the management of the elections all over England, they had undertaken to secure a majority for the court. So little skill, or so little influence, had the courtiers of James's reign in the management of such an affair, that they failed of success. The commons, instead of entering upon the business of supply, as urged by the king, who made them several liberal offers of grace, immediately resumed the subject which had been opened in the last parliament, and disputed his majesty's power of levying new customs and impositions by the mere authority of his prerogative. Were we to pursue the history of the succeeding parliaments of James the first's reign, fresh proofs would arise of the people of England's growing more and more enlightened upon the head of civil liberty. The most enlarged sentiments concerning it were occasionally thrown out by individual members of the house of commons,

mons, and they were heard with general approbation. Without entering into a farther detail, it may be sufficient to observe, that, by the time of the king's decease, a great revolution had taken place in the minds of our countrymen, the awful consequences of which were amply displayed in the succeeding reign.

While the ideas of civil liberty were thus daily expanding, the subject of religious liberty was not at all understood. Statesmen, as well as churchmen, had no conception either of the justice or the wisdom of toleration. Even so profound a reasoner as lord Bacon thought that uniformity in religion was absolutely necessary to the support of government, and that no indulgence could safely be granted to sectaries; a striking evidence this how slow and gradual is the progress of rational views of things, and how long mankind may suffer from narrow systems of polity and legislation. And yet political knowledge was far from being uncultivated. Many persons applied themselves to the acquisition of it; though the study of it was not, we believe, so eagerly and extensively pursued as in the preceding reign. Nor were the practical statesmen equal to those who adorned queen Elizabeth's period. There was not, indeed, a want of able politicians, but their exertions were restrained by the deficiency of wisdom in the sovereign, and by his unbounded attachment to favourites. Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, stands at the head of king James the first's statesmen. His character was not so great and respectable as that of his father, lord Burleigh; nor hath it been honoured, by our historians, with equal praises. His capacity and talents were perhaps not much, if at all, inferior; nay, it has been said, that he was a man of quicker parts, and a more spirited writer and speaker. But the same estimation hath not been formed of his integrity. In the management of public business he was more subtle and less open. He could descend to a more crooked policy. He has not, however, been destitute of apologists, and it cannot be denied that he was a faithful as well as a very able servant of the crown.—So far as the lord chancellor Egerton

tom entered into state affairs, he appears to have conducted himself with wisdom.—It is to be lamented that lord Bacon's talents of this kind were degraded by servility, and meanness of spirit, and consequently often applied to unworthy purposes.—George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, who was so wantonly and foolishly raised to the highest pinnacle of political power, appears to have possessed a more considerable degree of capacity than is commonly ascribed to him; and, in several cases, he had the good sense to secure the attachment and assistance of men whose abilities were superior to his own.—That the diplomatic knowledge of the age stood upon a respectable foundation, will be evident when we mention the names of John Digby first earl of Bristol, sir Dudley Carleton, and sir Thomas Edmondes; to which others might be added. But the bad policy of the king often counteracted the wholesome advice and exertions of his ablest ambassadors.

The period we are treating of produced eminent writers in the law. Lord Bacon, though this is not the most distinguished part of his character, must not here be omitted. His tracts of this kind have been mentioned in the highest terms of applause. Concerning his "Elements of the Common Law of England" one of his biographers thus speaks: "An excellent work it is; and not only completely fitted for the improvement of such as study the law, but also the book in the world the best calculated to give every man of good sense and unbiassed judgment both a general idea and good opinion of the law, which is represented therein in that light which is at once the fairest, fullest, and most agreeable; that is, not as a contrivance to limit the freedom, and abridge the natural liberty of mankind, but as an institution principally intending the benefit and advantage of men, as rational beings and members of society, by protecting them in their persons, fame, and estates; and therefore I esteem it one of the best and most useful pieces that our author ever composed."—The few things left by the lord chancellor Egerton shew him to have had a profound knowledge

ledge of the law, and to have been a perfect master of whatever related to the constitution and proceedings of the court of chancery.—Sir John Doddridge still makes some figure as a legal author. The works written by him reflect no small credit on his learning and abilities.

But these several writers on the law of England, and any others, that might be specified, were all of them greatly eclipsed by sir Edward Coke. In the early part of his life his character was deeply shaded by the ferocity with which he treated the state prisoners against whom he was called to plead in his official capacity. It was carried to such a height, that it cannot admit of being palliated from the spirit of the times. We must chiefly look to his latter days, if we would wish to view him in his true splendour. Then it was that he nobly stood up in support of the constitution and liberties of his country. In the parliaments which met from the year 1620 to his death, he exerted himself with great vigour in opposition to tyranny, and in defence of the just claims of the subject. As a legal writer he is entitled to the highest applause. When we consider not only the quantity but the quality of his works, in what manner they contribute to illustrate, as well the origin as the body and substance of our laws, to explain their nature, to vindicate their justice, and to demonstrate the benefit of them; how they take in the whole circle of this extensive science, in reference both to its grounds and practice, and how methodically and accurately every thing touched by his pen is treated, we cannot avoid admiring his wisdom, his diligence, and his public spirit. His wisdom appears in his being able to examine, acquire, and digest such a prodigious fund of knowledge, and to apply it with such distinctness, perspicuity, and propriety, as he did, to every point; and though much of what he has written may through time become of little use in regard to practice, yet the utility of it, in respect to the understanding of the law, will remain as long as it subsists on its present basis. Viewing things only in this light, it is impossible for any impartial reader to abstain from paying a very high reverence to

sir

ſir Edward Coke's memory. When we reflect alſo on his wonderful diligence in collecting, framing, and diſpoſing ſo many, ſo laborious, and ſuch different kinds of writing, our ſurpriſe muſt increaſe. Our admiration will ſtill farther be excited, when we call to mind, that from a principle of patriotiſm, and a ſincere love to his country and its laws, he perſiſted in his ſervices to the commonwealth, though expoſed to much ill uſage. All this pains he took for poſterity in the midſt of a life occupied with continual cares, when in the full poſſeſſion of the greateſt practice at the bar, when called to the higheſt offices of his profeſſion, when involved in the perplexity of public employments, as well as when out of them and more at leiſure. To his care we owe the reducing the knowledge of our laws into a ſyſtem, and the putting it into the power of others to proſecute and improve his plan. If we compare the law as he found it, with the condition in which he left it, we ſhall ſee his merit in its true point of light, and have a juſt notion of the reaſons which induced our forefathers to ſtyle him the oracle of the law. Such he really was, and ſuch he will be eſteemed, whatever may be the future fate of his works, ſince from him were borrowed thoſe lights which have enabled ſucceeding lawyers to traverſe the paths that have led them to knowledge and credit.

The ſtudy of the civil law was not neglected in king James the firſt's reign. Indeed it was particularly foſtered by the crown, as its general principles are more favourable to the doctrines of arbitrary power than the old common law of England. The moſt diſtinguiſhed writer of the time, in this department of literature, was Dr. Cowell. Sir Edward Coke and the doctor were not only in direct oppoſition to each other in point of ſentiment, but there was a great perſonal ill-will between them. As Cowell frequently practiſed at Weſtminſter-hall, as well as at Doctors Commons, ſir Edward took all occaſions to affront him; and, making uſe of a wretched pun, called him in deriſion, Dr. *Cow-heel*. But however blameable he might be for his deſpotic principles,

ciples, he was undoubtedly a man of eminence in his profeſſion.

With regard to the ſcience of natural philoſophy, as it generally ſubſiſted in this country, we might ſpecify a number of perſons, of whom high-things are ſaid by Anthony Wood and other writers; but they are little entitled to diſtinction, eſpecially in a work of ſo compendious a nature as the preſent. Whatever celebrity they might have in their own day, their names are now ſeldom remembered, and their productions almoſt wholly forgotten. Nor is this an act of injuſtice to their memories, ſince they made none of thoſe diſcoveries which have contributed to the benefit, or demand the gratitude, of poſterity.—Robert Fludd was perhaps the only learned Engliſhman that ever ſeriouſly embraced the Roſycrucian philoſophy. In that myſterious and fanciful philoſophy he was eminent, and wrote ſeveral elaborate treatiſes in its defence. His works were better known abroad than at home; and that he was not looked upon as an inſignificant author, is apparent from his having ſuch literary antagoniſts as Gaſſendus and Kepler.

We are now come to a name that tranſcends all praiſe. Our readers will immediately underſtand that we mean Francis Bacon, lord Verulam. The name of Bacon had already been conſecrated to immortality, in the perſon of that famous friar, to whom we have endeavoured to do juſtice in a former part of our work; and the ſame name, in the ſubject before us, lays claim to ſtill ſuperior honour, at leaſt in point of utility and effect. Lord Bacon had the glory of introducing a new epocha in philoſophical ſcience; an epocha productive of the moſt important conſequences. With a ſagacity of the moſt penetrating nature, he roſe above the ſyſtematic ſchool philoſophy of the times, and pointed out the true road to knowledge. He ſaw that it muſt be built on the baſis of experiment; and, by building on that baſis, the diſcoveries and improvements which have ſince been made in the ſtudy of nature are without number. Nor has the method of at-

taining true ſcience which he has laid down ever fallen into diſuſe, but continues to be purſued with the greateſt ardour and with the happieſt effects in every part of Europe. That the applauſes of ſuch a man as lord Bacon ſhould be ſounded by multitudes of authors, will not be deemed ſurpriſing. Omitting the encomiums which have been delivered concerning him by our own countrymen, we ſhall content ourſelves with inſerting the eſtimates of his merit that have been formed by two eminent foreign writers. Theſe are Monſ. D'Alembert and Mr. Brucker. "On conſidering attentively (ſays the former) the ſound, intelligent, and extenſive views of this great man, the multiplicity of objects his piercing wit had comprehended within its ſphere, the elevation of his ſtyle, that every where makes the boldeſt images to coaleſce with the moſt rigorous preciſion, we ſhould be tempted to eſteem him the greateſt, the moſt univerſal, and the moſt eloquent of philoſophers. His works are juſtly valued, perhaps more valued than known, and therefore more deſerving of our ſtudy than elogiums. Bacon, born amidſt the obſcurity of the moſt profound night, perceived that philoſophy did not yet exiſt, though many had undoubtedly flattered themſelves with having excelled in it; for, the more an age is groſs and ignorant, the more it believes itſelf informed of all that can poſſibly be known. He began by taking a general view of the various objects of all natural ſciences. He divided thoſe ſciences into different branches, of which he made the moſt exact enumeration: he examined into what was already known as to each of thoſe objects, and he drew up an immenſe catalogue of what remained to be diſcovered. This was the aim and ſubject of his admirable work, On the dignity and augmentation of natural knowledge. In his New organ of ſciences, he perfects the views he had pointed out in the firſt work: he carries them farther, and ſhews the neceſſity of experimental phyſics, which was not yet thought of. An enemy to ſyſtems, he beholds philoſophy as only that part of our knowledge which ought to make us better or more happy. He ſeems to limit it to the ſcience of

uſeful

useful things, and every where recommends the study of nature. His other writings are formed on the same plan. Every thing in them, even their titles, is expressive of the man of genius, of the mind that sees in great. He there collects facts; he there compares experiments; and indicates a great number to be made. He invites the learned to study and perfect the arts, which he deems as the most illustrious and most essential part of human knowledge. He exposes, with a noble simplicity, his conjectures and thoughts on different objects worthy of interesting men; and he might have said, as the old gentleman of Terence, that nothing affecting humanity was foreign to him. Science of nature, morality, politics, œconomics, all seemed to be within the stretch of that luminous and profound wit; and we know not which most to admire, the richness he diffuses over all the subjects he treats of, or the dignity with which he speaks of them. His writings cannot be better compared than to those of Hippocrates on medicine; and they would be neither less admired nor less read, if the culture of the mind was as dear to mankind as the preservation of their health. But there are none but the chiefs of sects of all kinds whose works can have a certain splendour. Bacon was not of the number, and the form of his philosophy was against it. It was too good to fill any one with astonishment. The scholastic philosophy, which had gained the ascendant in his time, could not be overthrown but by bold and new opinions; and there is no probability that a philosopher, who only intimates to men, "This is the little you have learned, "this is what remains for your inquiry," is calculated for making much noise among his contemporaries. We might even presume to hazard some degree of reproach against the lord chancellor Bacon for having been perhaps too timid, if we were not sensible with what reserve, and as it were with what superstition, judgment ought to be passed on so sublime a genius. Though he confesses that the scholastic philosophers had enervated the sciences by the minutiæ of their questions, and that sound intellects ought to have made a sacrifice of the study of gene-

ral beings to that of particular objects, he seems, notwithstanding, by the frequent use he makes of school-terms, and sometimes also by the adopting of scholastic principles, and by the divisions and sub-divisions then much in vogue, to have shewed too much deference for the predominant taste of his age. This great man, after breaking the shackles of so many irons, was still entangled by some chains, which he either could not or dared not to break asunder."

In giving Brucker's estimate of lord Bacon's philosophic principles and merit, we shall make use of the elegant pen of Dr. Enfield, Brucker's translator.—"That reformation in philosophy, which had been unsuccessfully attempted by Bruno, Cardan, and others, was happily accomplished by that illustrious English philosopher lord Bacon, who did more to detect the sources of former errors and prejudices, and to discover and establish the true method of philosophising, than the whole body of philosophers which many preceding ages had produced.

"Possessing by nature a strong and penetrating judgment, and having inured himself from his childhood to a habit of close attention and deep thinking, Bacon was capable of taking an accurate and comprehensive survey of the regions of knowledge, and of thoroughly examining the foundations of those structures which had hitherto been honoured with the title of systems of philosophy. His first great attempt in philosophy was his incomparable treatise On the advancement of learning, first published in English, and afterwards translated by himself, with the assistance of some friends, into Latin.

"The great design of this work was, to take an accurate survey of the whole extent of the intellectual world; to review the state of knowledge, as it then stood, in its several branches, in order to discover how far science had been successfully prosecuted, and what improvements might still be made for the benefit of mankind; and to point out general methods for the correction of error, and the advancement of knowledge. The author, following the division of nature into the three faculties of the soul, memory,

memory, imagination, and understanding, classes all knowledge under three general heads, corresponding to these faculties, history, poetry, philosophy. Philosophy he considers as the universal science, which is the parent of all others, and divides it into three branches; that which treats of God, or natural theology; that which treats of nature, or natural philosophy; and that which treats of man, or human and civil philosophy. Natural philosophy he distributes into speculative and operative; including under the former head, physics, which treat of the general principles of nature, of the frame of the world, and of distinct bodies, and their common or peculiar properties; and metaphysics, which treat of forms and final causes: and comprehending under the latter, mechanics, as deduced from general physical causes; and magic, or the knowledge of peculiar properties and powers in nature, and of their application to produce unusual effects. Mathematics he considers as an appendage to natural philosophy. The philosophy of human nature he views generally and especially; generally, as it respects the whole man, liable to miseries, or possessing prerogatives, and as regarding the mutual connection and influence of mind and body; especially, as it respects human nature divided into body, the subject of medicinal, cosmetic, athletic, and voluptuary arts; and soul, whether rational or sensible, with its various faculties, their use and objects; and, as it respects civil life, comprehending conversation, negotiation, and government. Under the head of The use and objects of the faculties of the mind, he includes logic, comprehending inquiry or invention, examination or judgment, custody or memory, and elocution or tradition, in all the forms of speech and writing; and ethics, treating of the nature of good, simple or comparative, and of the culture of the mind, respecting its natural or accidental characters, and its affections and distempers. To all this the author adds a discourse concerning the limits and use of reason in matters divine.

"From this brief analysis of this excellent work, the reader may in some measure perceive, with what compass

of thought and ſtrength of judgment Bacon examined the whole circle of ſciences; and if the treatiſe be carefully peruſed, as it ought to be by every one who is deſirous of methodiſing and enlarging his conceptions on the general objects of ſcience, the reader will not fail to admire the active and penetrating genius of the author, who could alone diſcover ſo many things, of which former ages had been ignorant, and hold up to poſterity a light, by which they have been ſo ſucceſsfully guided into new fields of ſcience. The numerous *deſiderata*, which he has ſuggeſted in almoſt every branch of ſcience, have furniſhed hints to ſucceeding philoſophers, which have greatly contributed towards the leading object of all his philoſophical labours, the advancement of learning.

" Bacon was now deſirous of becoming a faithful and uſeful guide to others in the purſuit of knowledge, by pointing out to them the beſt method of employing their reaſonable faculties on the ſeveral objects of philoſophy; and for this purpoſe wrote his *Novum Organum*, a treatiſe which the author himſelf eſteemed the moſt valuable of his works. Rejecting the ſyllogiſtic method of reaſoning, as a mere inſtrument of ſcholaſtic diſputation, which could not be applied with any advantage to the ſtudy of nature; he attempts, in this work, to ſubſtitute in its ſtead the method of induction, in which natural objects are ſubjected to the teſt of obſervation and experiment, in order to furniſh certain facts as the foundation of general truths. By this expedient he hoped to remove thoſe obſtructions to the progreſs of knowledge, the prejudices (called by our author *idolæ*) ariſing from ancient authority, from falſe methods of reaſoning, or from the natural imbecility of the human mind. Phyſical experiment, the ORGAN or inſtrument which he propoſed for the inveſtigation of nature, he conſidered as the only effectual method of drawing men off from thoſe uncertain ſpeculations, which, contributing nothing towards diſcovering the true nature of things, only ſerve to bewilder the imagination, and confound the judgment. For the particular precepts which Bacon preſcribed for this purpoſe,

pose, we must refer the reader to the work itself, which will amply repay the labour of a diligent perusal. The great number of new terms which the author introduces, and the complex mode of arrangement which he adopts, cast indeed some degree of obscurity over the work, and have perhaps rendered it less useful than it would otherwise have bee :—but the reader who has the courage to overcome these difficulties will meet with many excellent observations, which may materially contribute, even in the present advanced state of natural knowledge, to the improvement of science. But the principal value of this work is, that it represents in the most lively colours the nature, the strength, and the mischievous effects of prejudice, and lays open the various circumstances which have, in all ages, hindered the free and successful pursuit of knowledge.

" The way being thus prepared, Bacon applied himself chiefly to that branch of knowledge which best suited his inclination, physics; and though he did not attempt to frame a system of natural philosophy, he wrote several treatises, which contain original observations on various branches of natural science, but are chiefly valuable as a pattern to posterity of the manner in which these researches should be pursued. His philosophical treatises are, Of words; of rarefaction and condensation; of sympathy; of life and death; of the three chemical principles; of bodies, heavy and light; on speculative and essential physics; description of the intellectual world; plan of the heavens; on the tides; the philosophy of Parmenides, Telesius, and Democritus; indications for the interpretation of nature; of the wisdom of the antients; a history of nature; and a new Atlantis. Besides these, he wrote several moral, political, and historical pieces, somewhat obscure in expression, but full of profound thought and just reflection, and worthy of an attentive and frequent perusal. This latter class of his writings is enlivened with examples, narratives, apothegms, similies, and many other decorations.

" The only thing to be regretted in the writings of

Bacon is, that he has increaſed the difficulties neceſſarily attending his original and profound reſearches, by too freely making uſe of new terms, and by loading his arrangement with exceſſive multiplicity and minuteneſs of diviſions. But an attentive and accurate reader, already not unacquainted with philoſophical ſubjects, will meet with no inſuperable difficulties in ſtudying his works; and, if he be not a wonderful proficient in ſcience, will reap much benefit as well as pleaſure from the peruſal. In fine, lord Bacon, by the univerſal conſent of the learned world, is to be ranked in the firſt claſs of modern philoſophers. He unqueſtionably belonged to that ſuperior order of men, who, by enlarging the boundaries of human knowledge, have been benefactors to mankind; and he may not improperly be ſtyled, on account of the new track of ſcience which he explored, the Columbus of the philoſophical world."

Mr. Hume has in ſome degree detracted from the merit of lord Bacon. He acknowledges, indeed, that if we conſider the variety of talents diſplayed by him, as a public ſpeaker, a man of buſineſs, a wit, a courtier, a companion, an author, a philoſopher, he is juſtly the object of great admiration. But he adds, that if we conſider him merely as an author and philoſopher, he was, though very eſtimable, inferior to his contemporary, Galileo, perhaps even to Kepler. "Bacon," ſays the hiſtorian, "pointed out at a diſtance the road to true philoſophy: Galileo both pointed it out to others, and made himſelf conſiderable advances in it.—The Engliſhman was ignorant of geometry: the Florentine revived that ſcience, excelled in it, and was the firſt that applied it, together with experiment, to natural philoſophy. The former rejected, with the moſt poſitive diſdain, the ſyſtem of Copernicus: the latter fortified it with new proofs, derived both from reaſon and the ſenſes." In anſwer to theſe ſtrictures, it hath juſtly been obſerved, that "Galileo was undoubtedly an illuſtrious man, and Kepler an admirable aſtronomer: but though we admit their ſuperiority in aſtronomy, mechanics, and ſome particular branches of phyſical knowledge, it does by no means follow, that either

either of them were greater philosophers than Bacon. The praise of Bacon is founded not upon his skill in this or that particular branch of knowledge, but on his great and comprehensive understanding, which took in almost the whole extent of universal science." Indeed, we think that it was wholly needless, and very invidious, in Mr. Hume, to make the comparison he hath done between lord Bacon and Galileo. The reputation of each of these great men stands upon its proper and distinct basis. We have no inclination to detract any thing from the least portion of Galileo's fame: but it may not be amiss to transcribe an observation of Dr. Tenison's. "Galileo farther improved the doctrine of Copernicus; discovered, by telescopes, new stars in the heavens; wrote dialogues concerning the system of the world, and touching local motion; which latter is the key that openeth nature. But he descended not to the several classes of bodies in nature, and the particulars contained in them, and their respective motions and uses. Neither did he publish any thing till many years had passed, since Mr. Bacon had formed and modelled in his thoughts, his larger idea of experimental knowledge." However, after all the great and just encomiums which have adorned the memory of lord Bacon, it must be confessed, that it was some discredit to him, that he could not see the reasonableness of Copernicus's system. Perhaps he understood less of astronomy, and had less extensive views wherein it was deficient, than of any other part of science and philosophy.

The reign of James the first appears with advantage in point of mathematical learning. Thomas Allen is spoken highly of in this respect. He is said to have been the very soul and sun of all the mathematicians in his time, and was accounted another Roger Bacon. It is certain that his scientific attainments were held in the utmost estimation by his contemporaries. Little, however, was written by him, and that little was astronomical; nor has posterity derived any advantage from his labours. In his own age, his great skill in the mathematics gave occasion

to

to the ignorant and vulgar to look upon him as a magician, or conjuror.—Henry Gellibrand is entitled to some distinction on the subject before us. His natural abilities, indeed, were not of the first order, his character being that of a plain, plodding, industrious and well-intentioned man. But though he had little invention or genius, his proficiency in mathematical knowledge was so considerable that it procured for him the attention and friendship of Mr. Henry Briggs. Gellibrand's writings were chiefly directed to the improvement of navigation, which would probably have been farther advanced by him, had he not been carried off when under forty years of age.—Sir Henry Savile, who is a name of still subsisting celebrity in the general literature of the period, may here be mentioned, not only as having been a skilful mathematician himself, but an eminent promoter of mathematical science. This was apparent in his having instituted, and liberally endowed, two professorships at Oxford, one in geometry, the other in astronomy. We shall hereafter have occasion to record sir Henry's literary abilities with no small degree of honour.

The prime English luminary of mathematical learning, in king James the first's reign, was Henry Briggs. To the closest application in this branch of knowledge he added the powers of genius and invention. His two great works were his "Arithmetica Logarithmica," and his "Trigonometria Britannica;" and they are works which to this day are held in high estimation. In them we meet with the most important discoveries in the mathematics, and what, by those who were unacquainted with Mr. Briggs's writings, have been considered as of much later invention, such as the binomial theorem; the differential method and construction of tables by differences; the interpolation by differences; with angular sections, and several other ingenious compositions, which cannot fail of transmitting his name with eminent reputation to posterity.

Scotland produced in this period a name of equal celebrity. This was John Napier (or Neper) baron of Marchelton,

cheſton, near Edinburgh. He was the inventor of logarithms: an invention of the utmoſt conſequence and utility in aſtronomical calculations and other parts of mathematical ſcience. Henry Briggs was ſo ſtruck with the diſcovery, that he could not reſt till he paid Napier a viſit. When they firſt met, they beheld each other for a time in mutual admiration, without ſpeaking a word; and ſo well pleaſed was Briggs with the interview, that he repeated his viſits to Scotland every ſummer, ſo long as lord Napier lived. In one reſpect Mr. Briggs had an enlargedneſs of underſtanding ſuperior to that of his friend. Napier was a believer in judicial aſtrology; but Briggs regarded it as a mere ſyſtem of groundleſs conceits. "He was," ſays William Lilly, "the moſt ſatirical man againſt it that hath been known."

The reign before us has but ſmall claim to honour on account of its improvements in aſtronomical knowledge. Copernicus's ſyſtem, and the eſtabliſhment of it by Galileo, did not eaſily or early make their way into this country. Our profeſſors of aſtronomy ſeem to have been content with purſuing the old track. Edmund Gunter, who excelled as a general mathematician, and who as ſuch was the author of many uſeful inventions and works, has in this place ſome demand upon our notice. He merited the title of an inventor by the new projection of his ſector. He invented likewiſe a ſmall portable quadrant, for the more eaſy finding the hour and azimuth, and other uſeful purpoſes in aſtronomy. By experiments made at Deptford, he diſcovered the variation or changeable declination of the magnetic needle. In ſhort, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in various important reſpects; and the chain conſtantly uſed in land-ſurveying, and which is univerſally called Gunter's Chain, will long preſerve his memory from oblivion.

With regard to natural hiſtory we have nothing particular to offer, nor does botany appear even to ſuch advantage as it did in the laſt reign. It was not, however, wholly neglected. John Parkinſon was preparing his great work, the "Theatrum Botanicum," and his other writings;

writings; but none of them were published till the next reign.—The same was the case with Thomas Johnson, another ardent cultivator of botanical knowledge. In Parkinson's works we find the name of a female botanist. This was Mrs. Thomazin Tunstal, a lady who was not only distinguished for her taste in cultivating a garden that was well stored with exotics, but for her acquaintance with English botany, and her discoveries of several curious vegetables found about Ingleborough Hill, in Lancashire, and which were not known before to grow in England.

Medical science was in a state of progressive but not rapid improvement. It was reserved for the next reign to display the full lustre of Harvey's career. The principal physicians of the present period were Richard Banister, Matthew Gwinne, Philemon Holland, Theodore Goulston, Edward Jorden, sir Theodore de Mayerne, Robert Fludd, Thomas Winston, and Tobias Venner. Richard Banister chiefly excelled in the knowledge and cure of the diseases of the eyes. The remarks which he made in a treatise upon the subject are the result of much experience, and shew him to have been a good operator and a careful observer.—Matthew Gwinne was more distinguished as a writer in polite literature, than by his productions as a physician. He was, however, much valued in his day for his knowledge and success in medical practice.—Philemon Holland is chiefly known to the world as a translator.—Theodore Goulston displayed his zeal for the improvement of the science of medicine, by instituting an annual pathological lecture within the college of physicians. "If institutions of this nature," says Dr. Aikin, "have, by the more improved and regular state of medi-"cal education, become less necessary, we are not the "less obliged to those who founded them at a time when "they were more wanted."—Dr. Goulston published, likewise, a Latin version of some of the works of Galen, accompanied with critical annotations. Like Gwinne, he was a proficient in classical learning, as appeared from his translation of Aristotle's rhetoric and poetics.—Ed-

ward Jorden was held in great reputation for literature and abilities. He had a natural propensity to the studies of chemistry and mineralogy; and these were the foundation of the fame he acquired by his principal work, a "Treatise on bathes and mineral waters." This is a work of considerable learning and ingenuity, and is written in a clear style and judicious method. Though much of it is extracted from other authors, Dr. Jorden has not failed to add many things which are peculiarly his own.—Theodore de Mayerne, who by birth was a foreigner, but who settled in England, and was knighted by king James, was the most fashionable court physician of his time, and appears to have been considered as the first person of his profession in this kingdom. He contributed to the introduction of important changes in the practice of medicine. His works will not now stand the test of a very critical examination. It is justly recorded to his honour, that he employed his knowledge in chemistry to the advancement of the fine arts.—Robert Fludd, who has been mentioned under the head of Philosophy, had the address to render his Rosicrucian doctrine the instrument of success in the way of his profession. "He is said to have used a kind of sublime unintelligible cant to his patients, which, by inspiring them with greater faith in his skill, might in some cases contribute to their cure." Accordingly, he was eminent in his medical capacity.—Thomas Winston was much valued as a gentleman and a scholar, and was in high esteem as a physician. Meric Casaubon has described him as the great ornament of his profession. Some anatomical lectures, which were read by him at Gresham college, were published after his decease.—Tobias Venner acquired great popular fame by a work on the right way to a long life. It is a plain practical piece. His account of the several articles treated of is compiled (though without any quotations) from the current authors of the age. The rules and admonitions are trite; but the style and manner of the treatise were well calculated to render it acceptable to common readers.

Francis

Francis Anthony, who was regularly graduated at Cambridge, both as master of arts and doctor of physic, is entitled to notice as an eminent empiric. His nostrum of potable gold made for some time a noise in the world; and he published a defence of it in Latin, by no means devoid of learning and art, although, in the present improved state of chemistry and medicine, it would be thought destitute of solidity. The work is methodically divided into several chapters, in which the author attempts to establish the possibility of making a potable gold; the great medicinal powers of the mineral kingdom; the superior virtues of gold; and the claim a preparation of that metal may have to be entitled an universal medicine. Dr. Anthony's book was attacked by several of the regulars of the faculty, and particularly by Dr. Matthew Gwinne. But, notwithstanding the strongest opposition on the part of the college of physicians, Anthony found means to engage the patronage of various persons of rank, and the good opinion of the people at large; to which the excellence of his moral character, and his learning and easy address did not a little contribute. He had the triumph of seeing his reputation, practice, and emoluments arrive at a great height.

In the knowledge of surgery the two most noted persons were Peter Lowe and John Woodall. Peter Lowe's "Discourse on chirurgery" is a general treatise on the subject, as well operative as judicial, and was designed for the use of beginners. It is a copious, plain, and methodical work, full of references to ancient and modern authors; and, indeed, more founded on authority than observation.—Far superior in point of merit in his profession was John Woodall. His tract on the scurvy, whether for accuracy in describing the disease, or judiciousness in the method of cure, has perhaps scarcely since been excelled. A variety of judicious remarks and directions concerning medicines, diet, and external applications, occur in the work, which appear evidently to be the result of experience and observation, and are in a great measure confirmed by modern practice. Another piece

piece of Mr. Woodall's, "A Treatise on gangrene and sphacelus," is entitled to particular consideration, on account of an important innovation which it introduced with respect to amputation. This was amputation in the mortified, instead of the sound part; a practice not new indeed, but at that time universally disused. He threw out, likewise, the first hint in favour of amputating as low as the ancle in diseases of the foot. In short, Mr. Woodall has a claim to the most honourable distinction in the surgical history of the period.

A scientific institution was established in the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, which ought to have been mentioned in its proper place. We mean the foundation of Gresham college in the city, together with a provision for seven professors, in divinity, astronomy, geometry, music, law, physic, and rhetoric. During the comparative infancy of science and learning, this institution was of great importance. In a course of time, and from a wider diffusion of the means of knowledge, it hath become of less consequence. Among the number of professors will be found the names of Anthony Wotton, William Dakins, George Mountayne, Edward Brerewood, Edmund Gunter, Henry Gellibrand, Samuel Foster, Christopher Wren, Walter Pope, Henry Briggs, John Greaves, Isaac Barrow, Robert Hooke, John Bull, William Petty, Thomas Baynes, Matthew Gwinne, Thomas Winston, Edward Stillingfleet, John Woodward, Henry Pemberton, and John Ward*.

* Hume, Parliamentary History, Anthony Wood, Biographia Britannica, Annual Register, Enfield, Hutton, and Aikin.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1794.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY

For the Year 1794.

CHAPTER I.

Great Britain. Observations on the State of Parties. Recapitulation of the Causes and Motives of the present War. Meeting of Parliament. King's Speech. Debate on the Address in the Lords—in the Commons. Earl Stanhope's Motion for acknowledging the French Republic. Debate on Mr. Adam's Motion for amending the Criminal Law of Scotland. Mr. Palmer's Petition. Further Debates on the Conduct of the Courts in Scotland. Debates in the Lords on the same Subject.

TO delineate the habits, the sentiments, the prejudices of nations; to catch with a discriminating eye the features of the times; is a task for which perhaps only the annual historian is qualified, and the due execution of it would render his labours doubly meritorious, and of the most essential benefit to posterity. The writer who records the transactions of a remote period must inevitably lose many of those circumstances, apparently minute, which in reality influence the course of events; the shades of character are obscured by the distance of the view; and the imagination is disposed to form for itself a representation, perhaps consistent in appearance, but very distant from the truth. The difficulty of the undertaking is the great impediment to its execution. There are but few men, who can divest themselves entirely of the prejudices of party; few who are connected with the busy world, that are not influenced by some motive of interest or policy: and from the retired student the public will be in still greater danger of misrepresentation. We feel ourselves the difficulty of our situation; and we are conscious that our sentiments may be equally disrelished by the two great parties which unhappily prevail in this country. We are placed between two opposing currents, and the predominance of either must overwhelm us, as well as the constitution of our country, in obloquy and ruin.

In our preceding volume we endeavoured to exhibit such a picture of the state of parties in Great Britain, as our observation warranted us in believing true. The three parties into which the nation was

...ill to ... misfor- ... decline of ... party, on ... of which ... Violente ... who finds ... and liberality, ... to the opposite ... of policy, which ... of ideal perfection ... involve the whole fa- ... in anarchy, and ..., is naturally an object of ... of abhorrence with every ... mind; but surely the par- ... of the court system do not ... their true interest, when they would involve in the guilt of such designs every man who doubts of the infallibility of ministers, or who wishes to make the people happy in order to render them obedient. Such men it is surely not consistent with sound policy to force, by a species of persecution, into the arms of their opponents; and, contrary to the maxims of our ancestors, to compel them to find in democracy the only asylum from the evils of an arbitrary system. Yet such is the injudicious conduct of the tory faction in this country.

It is a circumstance peculiarly unfortunate, that the conduct of each of the predominant parties appears exactly to point to the same deplorable conclusion*. To persevere in prodigal and fruitless wars, to aggravate the national burdens by improvident subsidies, to create new and expensive offices and places, to increase the profits, already enormous, of commissaries and contractors, is certainly not a less effectual means of promoting republicanism, than the preaching of the doctrines of equality, and inculcating the duty of insurrection. Men seldom are rebellious upon speculation; they must feel their grievances before they can be tempted to risk every thing for their redress. The restoration of peace, the re-establishment of commerce, the equalization of taxes, the moderation of the government, are more certain as well as more pleasing modes of enforcing obedience and subordination, than the uncertain sway which depends only on the augmentation of military force, or the authority supported by venal influence and public profligality. Much more indeed, on the restoration of peace, might be effected, by a wise and upright administration, in favour of the people, by moderate and gradual reforms, than could be expected from the violent, and we must say visionary, plans of democratical projectors. The penal code may with advantage be reformed; and it will be to the honour of a humane legislature to blot from it those *bloody* statutes which disgrace our jurisprudence. The administration of justice in civil cases may be rendered more simple, more easy, and less expensive. Encouragement might surely be held out for the cultivation of those unprofitable wastes which deform the face of the country, and which might be the means of rewarding those who have risked their lives in its service. The national expences might be at once retrenched, and the honourable and *honest* trader encouraged, by exciting a fair competition in the disposal of every contract, loan, or service of profit. Even the clamour for a parliamentary reform would

* It is a remarkable fact, that the decided republicans in this country are desirous of ...tion of the war.

lose much of its vehemence, if the parliament evinced only its promptitude to redress grievances, and noticed with a becoming liberality to the cause of the people. It is a saying of some note, that the government which treats the multitude as brutes, takes the most effectual means to render them such in reality, and has reason to apprehend the consequences. We are far from wishing indiscriminately to censure; and while we make these reflexions, we must in justice observe, that a spirit of bounty and generosity has long characterized the more opulent classes of the British nation; and this spirit was nobly manifested in the voluntary donations which have been dispensed to the relief of the poor, since the commencement of the war. The man of reflexion will however still have to regret the occasion for those exertions. The precarious largess of benevolence may be received with gratitude, but is seldom enjoyed with pleasure; the people must be easy in their circumstances if they are to be contented with the government. Reforms in the state we have ever contended should always (though we fear they seldom do) proceed from those who possess the authority of government; and the more of real evils which they redress themselves, the less they will have to fear from more incompetent reformers. Are we the enemies of our country when we state these sentiments? Time and experience will evince the rectitude of our intentions, and perhaps confirm the justice of our opinions.

To our last volume we must also refer for the causes and motives which have apparently involved us in the calamities of war. It is an inquiry of some importance, whether or not, on the part of Great Britain, it might have been avoided.—The question involves not only the character of the ministry, but also many considerations that must be regarded whenever a peace is to be established. If France, and all the different parties which have successively influenced her councils, were decidedly hostile to Great Britain, and, without provocation, sought the overthrow of her government, then the war was unavoidable in its origin; though it will not excuse ministers if they have neglected any opportunity which may have occurred, of securing the return of peace. If, on the contrary, the wish of the French nation from the first period of their revolution, was amity with England, and if our ministry beheld with a jealous eye the first dawn of liberty in that country; if France, on the first occasion of dispute, extended the olive branch, and, contrary to the received notions of national dignity, voluntarily offered to enter into an explanation of a decree of her legislature, which appeared exceptionable to our administration; if she proposed to submit the question relative to the Scheldt to be adjusted by the only persons who were affected by it, the inhabitants of Belgium, and those of the United Provinces; if she disclaimed those of her subjects who should demean themselves in an unworthy manner in this country, and submitted their punishment to our discretion; if, in conclusion, she threw herself at our feet, and offered the most splendid propitiation to appease our resentment, the possession of some of her most valuable colonies;—if the ministers of Britain, with a puerile arrogance, rejected every offer of accommodation; if they withdrew their ambassador; if they attempted, even with professions of peace, to withhold those supplies which were necessary to relieve the distresses of

the starving poor, while the enemies of France were cherished and encouraged; if a treaty, the most advantageous to us in a commercial view, was wantonly broken by ourselves; if official communications were returned unanswered, and the ambassador of the nation insulted by a mandate which has been compared with that of a Turkish divan; —if above all (which however we cannot credit) the ministers of this nation privately and insidiously engaged in a hostile and unprincipled league for the partition of their country: then it will be impossible to acquit our ministry of blame on their part; and the nation must be prepared for larger concessions in a negotiation for peace, than if France had been the sole aggressor. To those who are desirous of forming a rational opinion on political measures, we earnestly recommend a candid investigation of these questions. In the eye of reason and religion, indeed, the conduct of neither party will appear meritorious; the party which provokes and the party which declares war, equally err against all the interests of mankind, against all the principles of christianity. It would be uncandid, however, not to observe that the most plausible argument which has hitherto been urged in favour of ministry, is the insecurity of a peace with a nation circumstanced as the French were at the commencement of hostilities; yet to this it may be replied, that it is scarcely consistent with wisdom, voluntarily to rush into evil, because there is a chance that we may be involuntarily involved in it. Had the professions of the French been even more sincere than our ministry suspected, we probably should yet have been gainers by delay. The resources of France were daily and rapidly diminishing, while ours were increasing in almost the same proportion. The wealth, the commerce of France must have centred in Britain; and every manufacture, even that of offensive weapons, would have been neglected, while a supply was to be obtained from the markets of England.

Perhaps, however, the most important inquiry, at least as far as the character of ministers is implicated, is, whether they have neglected those opportunities to negotiate, when the most advantageous terms might have been obtained; after the defection of Dumouriez; during the decline of the Brissotine faction; and after the capture of Valenciennes? It may be asked why the season of humiliation was not embraced, when the minister of the republic, in April 1793*, sued for peace in the most unequivocal terms? Either the conduct and views of administration in these instances have not been sufficiently explained, or the accusations of their opponents are not without foundation. On the conduct of the war we shall not offer an opinion, and the best investigation of that subject will be found in the debates of parliament. We are far from wishing to cast any odium whatever on the conduct of the executive government; and when we have ventured to scrutinize its proceedings, it has been with no other view, than that of restoring to our suffering country the blessings of peace, by removing those impediments which the rashness or the pride of ministers may have thrown in the way of its accomplishment.

As our domestic transactions

* See Le Brun's letters to lord Grenville on that subject, New Ann. Reg. for 1793, p. 97.

have

have been brought down in our preceding volume to the conclusion of the year 1793, no event occurs of sufficient importance to demand particular attention till the meeting of parliament, which took place on the 21st of January 1794. In the speech from the throne, his majesty called the attention of the two houses to the issue of the war, "on which," he observed, "depended the support of our constitution, laws, and religion, and the security of all civil society"—to the advantages which had attended our arms both at land and sea—and the expectation of ultimate success, as the operations of our enemies were alone derived from an arbitrary system, which enabled them unjustly to dispose of the lives and properties of the people, which must necessarily induce internal discontent and confusion. His majesty proceeded to state the impossibility of making peace upon the only grounds on which it ought to be concluded, the permanent safety of the country, and the tranquillity of all other nations. He noticed the treaties and conventions into which he had entered for this object with foreign powers—and mentioned the general loyalty which prevailed amongst all ranks, notwithstanding the continued efforts to mislead and seduce the people.

The address to the commons was, as usual, more brief. "His majesty doubted not of their readiness to provide for all exigencies—lamented the necessity of additional burdens, and noticed the favourable state of the revenue. Both houses were reminded of the reasons so often urged for commencing the war, and were earnestly exhorted to continue their exertions against the enemy.

Lord Stair moved the address in the house of peers in a speech in which he recapitulated the various successes of the British troops, and the atrocities and misery of the French. The motion for the address was seconded by lord Auckland, in a speech very similar to the preceding, and in which his lordship strenuously justified the war. He was followed by lord Guildford, who said he conceived it necessary, before pledging the house to support his majesty in the war, to consider its object and end. The avowed object of that war had been changed:—it was at first affirmed to be the protection of our allies and the security of this realm; it was now urged by the noble lord who seconded the address, that its aim was the restoration of monarchy as it had been established under the old government of France. Let it however be for one moment supposed, that the protection of Holland and Great Britain against the French republicans was the object of the war; might not this object have been much more successfully attained by negotiation than warfare? Had this failed, we might then have commenced hostilities. It might be urged that the moment was not favourable; that the French, elated by their astonishing success, would have listened to no terms which Great Britain, consistently with her good faith to her allies, could have offered. But the history of that period refuted the assertion. There was also another period which did not support the argument. The French had in the course of the last summer been repeatedly depressed and defeated would they not then have listened to such pacific terms as it became the dignity and justice of this nation to offer? Much had been urged

of the signal advantages we had obtained, and the certain prospect of a speedy peace, by a vigorous exertion of the resources of this country in the prosecution of the war. Our advantages, his lordship feared, would be more than counterbalanced by the expences we had incurred, and the losses sustained by our traders and manufacturers. In the comparison of our conquests with our losses, we did not appear to have much reason for boast. His lordship thought it reasonable to inquire whether we had not obtained the end originally proposed, after which his majesty's ministers had solemnly declared their intentions to pursue every method for obtaining peace. He combated the opinion that the French had made efforts which they could not repeat, and that the destruction of France could increase the prosperity of this country. The arguments in support of the war were reduced by his lordship to the necessity of opposing the progress of the French, and by that the propagation of their principles; it was therefore argued that we must persevere till such a government should be established as we might treat with under the expectation of a lasting and honourable peace. However alarming the progress of the French had been, they were now driven back to a sufficient distance; and some regard ought to be paid to their declaration not to interfere in the internal government of any country, nor to enter upon any but defensive wars. His lordship demanded whether ministry had calculated the resources necessary for subduing the French. Much reliance might be placed on the assistance of the allies, but of these, it was well known to all Europe that the resources of Austria were exhausted—the distresses of the king of Prussia were no secret in Europe. If it were urged that we must on all events prevent the importation of French principles, their dissemination was certainly not to be prevented by the sword—they were to be counteracted by an impression upon the minds of the people of the blessings they derived from their own constitution. His lordship ridiculed the idea of there being none with whom we could treat for peace—with whom should we treat, but with those who direct the arms and the force of the country? As it was the interest of such to conclude a treaty, it was their interest to observe it. No difficulty could arise from the form of government of those with whom we treated; we have treated with some of a similar description, and are in actual alliance with Dantzick. His lordship therefore submitted an amendment to the address, imploring that his majesty would seize the earliest opportunity to conclude an honourable peace; and, in the close of his speech, advised, that, if the war must be prosecuted, the direction should be entrusted to abler hands.

The duke of Portland thought it the duty of every man to strengthen the hands of government, as he conceived the prosecution of the war could alone save the country and produce an honourable issue. He objected to the amendment, as recommending a dishonourable infraction of the foreign treaties. Earl Spencer joined with his grace in considering the prosecution of the war as the only means of preserving the independence and constitution of this country; and was followed by lord Coventry, who declared that he gloried in the cause in which ministry had embarked, and in which

which they should have his steady support.

The sentiments of the duke of Norfolk were very different from those of the noble peers who immediately preceded him. He lamented our being engaged in a continental war (though the object which had given rise to it was now disclaimed) which was likely to exhaust our finances, and plunge this country into unheard of calamities. He denied that the people were now anxious for the continuance of hostilities; there were no grounds for the panic of government, no danger of the introduction of French principles. He concluded by pointedly condemning the conduct of ministry in rejecting a negotiation with France.

The earl of Derby approved the amendment, but was desirous that it should be couched in still stronger language. The flattering picture drawn by a noble lord (Auckland) of the state of our revenue did not carry conviction to his mind. Admitting its truth—had all the armies abroad been employed in our trade and manufactures, the revenue would have increased, and the national debt have been consequently diminished. His lordship took a sarcastic view of the statement given by authority of the transactions at Toulon, and noticed a palpable suppression of certain circumstances. He then took a view of the conduct and situation of the allies—the poverty of Austria and Prussia—the king of Sardinia was paid for protecting his own dominions—Russia had joined in the *opinion* that it was a common cause, but her good wishes were the sole aids she had furnished. His lordship professed himself at a loss to guess how far this complaisance of subsidizing other powers to *defend their own dominions* was to carry us. He remarked that we could have small reliance upon the gratitude even of those we subsidized; some of them already, in consulting their personal safety, had disregarded the grand obligation of that common cause for which they were so liberally paid. His lordship concluded by earnestly recommending a peace.

The earl of Mansfield contended for the necessity of prosecuting the war. He asserted that it was begun by the unprovoked aggression of France, and continued, not from motives of ambition and conquest, but to restore the blessings of order and good government to France—to resist and defeat the wild attempts of those who have declared it to be their purpose to disorganize Europe, and who were the enemies of the whole human race. If such were the objects, it was clear the amendments militated against them. A lasting peace with France would be impossible; no alliance could be made with anarchy. The government of France was continually fluctuating, and the leaders of the present faction were not likely to respect any engagements formed by their predecessors. His lordship entered into a warm encomium upon his majesty, and the blessings of a limited monarchy; not that this was the cause of kings, but of society, government, religion, and law. He added that reason, policy, honour and humanity demanded our adherence to our allies; and concluded by asserting, that on the issue of this contest depended not only the prosperity of this country, but the general welfare of Europe and of society, and the happiness of millions yet unborn.

The earl of Hardwicke also supported the cause of ministry, and gave

gave it as his opinion, that if we neglected the present opportunity of securing to posterity our religion and liberty, we had no reason to hope for another. His lordship adduced the usual arguments in support of his opinion, that no peace could be made with the French; and was followed by lord Abingdon, who spoke of the address in his usual extravagant style, and said it was "founded on motives that could alone secure our political salvation, those of vigorously prosecuting the present *just* and *holy* war."

The earl of Stanhope, in reply, opposed the war on the ground of our interfering with the internal government of France, with which we had no right to interfere. He condemned it as unjust, ruinous and unnecessary, and gave notice that he should on Thursday next move "an address to his majesty to acknowledge the French republic."

Lord Grenville asked, whether, in order to obtain an insecure and dishonourable peace, it would become us to violate the most solemn treaties, and to forfeit our character for honour and integrity?—His lordship was followed by the marquis of Lansdown, who adverted to his former sentiments against the war, a war unnecessary in its commencement and impolitic in its continuance. The speech from the throne had discovered a secret, viz. that it was a war for *nothing*; *nothings* always cost most. It had been asserted that this war was unprecedented; he could indeed compare it only with that which was nearly the destruction of England, the war with America. "The ministers say (added his lordship) they know not with whom they could treat. Let them ask general Wurmser if there is no existing government in France. Let them ask the duke of Brunswic and the king of Prussia. Let them ask lord Hood and sir Gilbert Elliot—the royalist army of la Vendée—the unfortunate Lyonese—the Spaniards retiring before their arms. He feared it would not be long before the prince of Saxe-Cobourg and the duke of York must allow that there was a government in France. The horrid outrages perpetrated in France were chiefly owing to the delusive hopes entertained by the royalists of assistance from this country. The marquis compared the personal contempt thrown upon the leading members of the convention with the idle conduct respecting the American congress during our war with that country. He ridiculed also the fashionable jargon concerning English morality and English religion, compared with the manners of the French republicans. "The fast day," he said, "was approaching; and though he was not fond of party discourses from the pulpit, yet he should be glad to hear a good sermon from that instructive passage of scripture, the parable of the *pharisee* and *the publican*."

The earl of Lauderdale lamented that the noble secretary of state should not have chosen to bring forward one argument in that period of the debate. He called upon the noble lords to consider the situation of this country, and to recollect how different the measures of ministry had been in the last campaign from what they avowed as their object at present. The only argument advanced by ministry was the danger of treating with the government of France. Similar arguments had been used when the rashness of former ministers had involved us in the American war; yet what was the event? His lordship

ship noticed some consequences of the war, which he considered as inevitable. The alarm spread by opinion had been made the ground for a system of persecution; the revolutionary tribunal had been regarded with horror, and disgust; but what had been the conduct of the courts of justice in this and a neighbouring country? what their sentences? Who could venerate a constitution, which must be protected by the friend becoming a spy on the actions of his neighbour, and the hours of domestic conviviality being subjected to a state inquisition? His lordship entered at some length into the severities exercised in Scotland, and ascribed the revolution in France to the severity of punishments, and the oppression of the poor. "Does the minister then," said his lordship, "take the way to prevent the introduction of French principles, when he embarks in a war which weighs down the people with taxation; and introduces a system of severity which must make them detest, not admire, the constitution of Great Britain?"

The earl of Carlisle rose to say, that his majesty's ministers were not chargeable with having neglected their duty, in refusing to negotiate with M. Chauvelin. M. Chauvelin had no powers to treat for a secure peace; his object had merely been to disseminate faction; he thought therefore that the amendment to the address conveyed an unwarrantable reflexion on his majesty's ministers.

Lord Grenville pledged himself to shew that the laws had never been wrested for any vindictive purpose. With regard to the ruling powers of France, he would give them the opinion of M. Brissot, which was, that the executive power was any sanguinary monster, who in the revolutionary insurrection of the mob is the most ferocious and unprincipled. He denied that the present rulers of France could treat for peace on any other terms than acceding to a decree of the convention, which requires that no peace shall be made with any power that holds one spot of French territory. It was then previously necessary that we should restore whatever had been acquired from that country. His lordship entered into a long account of the disunion and miseries of the French. The French had declared our sovereign a tyrant. With such persons he thought it impossible to act. It was by terror alone that the French were governed; the consequence must soon be, that they would rise to oppose it. We had no security for a permanent peace. And his lordship concluded by expressing his perfect confidence in the ultimate success of our allies.

After a conversation between lord Lauderdale and the lord chancellor concerning the criminal courts in Scotland, the house divided on the question of amendment.

Contents 12 Noncontents 97.

The address was consequently agreed to.

To judge properly of the situation of the country, and of the wisdom of political transactions, it is necessary to pay attention to the particular points of argument which are urged by ministers. On reviewing the preceding debate, it is evident that very different grounds were assumed for the prosecution of the war, from those which were formerly taken for engaging in it. The navigation of the Scheldt; the importation of factious persons from France, who were to overturn the British government; and the decree of

of the 19th of November 1792, were the original motives for engaging in the dispute. It was afterwards discovered, that it was necessary to give to France a monarchical government; and in the debate, which has just been reported, the principal argument alleged, was the *necessity of maintaining faith and union with our allies.* Subsequent events, to which in the course of our narrative we shall have to advert, have deprived this argument of all its force: and the other avowed objects of the war being either obviated or impracticable, the impartial inquirer will be reduced, either to accept the marquis of Lansdown's explanation, that it is a war for *nothing;* or to agree with Mr. Fox, "that the true motive has not yet been declared."

The address in the house of commons was much more respectably introduced than in the preceding session. It was moved by lord viscount Clifden, and seconded by sir Peter Burrell, in a speech of considerable length, upon the grounds which have been already stated in the debates of the house of lords. After giving to the house a full account of all the late proceedings of the French, the hon. gentleman gave it as his opinion, that necessity called upon us to undertake the war; and honour and interest to continue it at *every hazard.*

Earl Wycombe thought the war might easily have been avoided, and the lives of persons, whom it had been the fashion of this country to lament, might have been spared. His lordship instanced in several respects what he conceived to be the misconduct of ministers in the prosecution of the war. The attempt on Martinico was inadequately planned, and shamefully executed. The defence of Jamaica had been grosly neglected—the French had had the uninterrupted range of the American coast during the whole preceding summer—the West India fleet had arrived, while lord Howe lay inactive in Torbay. His lordship noticed the defenceless state of the channel—the ill-planned attack upon Dunkirk, and the inadequate force employed in the West India expedition. His lordship concluded, by moving an amendment to the address in favour of peace.

Colonel Tarleton, in an animated speech, in which he reprobated the war and the conduct of ministry, supported the amendment.

Mr. Courtenay said, that we had taken every method to drive France into a declaration of war; we had refused to treat with her, "though M. Chauvelin had offered to wave all diplomatic forms;" we had seized foreign ships laden with corn, and bound for her ports, contrary to the law of nations and an express act of parliament. This he understood was at the suggestion of the secretary of state (Mr. Dundas), who had recommended *starvation* for carrying on the American war. Had our ambassador been treated like M. Chauvelin, what Briton would not have resented the insult? The hon. gentleman accused ministry of having entered upon the war, "because they conceived a fair opportunity had occurred for dividing the spoils of France;" and that they attempted to justify their proceedings by *subsequent* atrocities committed there. He strongly ridiculed the idea of prosecuting a war with France, from motives of justice and humanity, while we remained tame spectators of the plunder and dismemberment of Poland by our virtuous allies; and enforced the

the necessity of immediate peace with France.

The most distinguished advocate for administration on this occasion was lord Mornington, the chief source of whose eloquence on this occasion appeared to be a pamphlet published by the unfortunate Brissot previous to his death. His lordship contended, that the alternative of war and peace did not at present exist. "Before we could relinquish the principles on which the war commenced, proof was necessary, either that the opinions which we had conceived of the views of France were erroneous—that the war was become desperate and impracticable—or that, from some improvement in the system and principles of the French, the justice and necessity which prompted us to commence the war no longer co-operated. His lordship ascribed to France unlimited views of aggrandizement; ambition connected with principles subversive of all regular government. In support of his opinion, he adduced the act of fraternity—the assumption of sovereignty in Savoy and the Netherlands—the opening of the Scheldt, and the apparent designs of hostility against Holland. That such were their motives, his lordship contended, from the pamphlet written by M. Brissot, the conduct of the French residents in America and Constantinople, and the scheme of emancipating and arming the negroes in the West Indies. From all these proofs, his lordship was fully convinced of the original justice and necessity of the war. The original justice of our cause had received additional confirmation from subsequent events.

With respect to the invincibleness of the French, his lordship compared the situation in which we stood at the commencement of the campaign with the present time; and declared, that the campaign in Flanders "had been productive of the most considerable acquisitions both of territory and revenue," which this country had ever obtained in one year in that quarter.—The prospect abroad was, he thought, equally favourable. His lordship entered into a history of the French revolution from the overthrow of the Brissotine faction, and of the internal state of France. He detailed the atrocities of the French, and represented the existing government as the utmost excess of tyranny. He then entered with much ability, and at great length, into their system of finance, which he conceived was in the most ruinous state; and spoke of the abolition of religion, which had certainly been much less beneficial to the treasury than was generally supposed. His lordship proceeded further to explain the regulations of the French respecting agriculture, commerce and trade; contrasted their situation with that of the English, in the minds of whom there was a general conviction that they are all involved in the issue of the present contest, and a firm determination to prosecute it with vigour. From all these, his lordship deduced the strongest hopes of a favourable issue to the war.

The next point to be considered was, whether we could secure ourselves from the inroad of the tyrannical system of France by any other means than the continuance of our present exertions. In proportion as this system of tyranny consumed the property of France, it must endeavour to repair its disordered finances by foreign plunder. It must be the immediate interest of a government, founded upon principles contrary

contrary to those of surrounding nations, to propagate the doctrines abroad by which it subsists at home, and to subvert every constitution which can form a disadvantageous contrast to its own absurdities. "Nothing (said he) can secure us against the future violence of the French, but an effectual reduction of their present power. A peace founded on any other principles would not only be illusory, but produce the most fatal consequences to all our most valuable interests. Nor would the French treat with us for peace, without the surrender of every advantage we had gained by the war, and a full recognition of the sovereignty of the people; we must acknowledge the right of France to the duchy of Savoy, and surrender to her the Netherlands and the principality of Liege. National honour, and a sense of our immediate interest, forbade such a measure. After such concessions, what further indignities might we not expect? Were the French to concede any of these points, which his lordship thought improbable, since it had been declared death to propose an infraction of these preliminary articles, the whole transaction would, on the first favourable occasion, be imputed as a crime to those who had conducted it; the stipulations of a treaty, commenced in open defiance of the law, would be easily annulled; and we should discover too late our fatal error, in having relaxed our efforts, precisely at the most critical period of the war, for the purpose of negotiating with a government utterly unable to fulfil its engagements. His lordship did not however conceive, that the French had any desire to enter into engagements of that kind with us; he thought we had the most reasonable prospect of ultimate success; and that not only the characters, the dispositions and the interests of those who exercised the powers of government of France, but the very nature of that system they had established, rendered a treaty of peace upon safe and honourable terms impracticable at present, and consequently required a vigorous and unremitting prosecution of the war.

The speech of lord Mornington drew from Mr. Sheridan the most brilliant reply that perhaps was ever made in the British house of commons. He admired, he said, the emphasis of the noble lord, in reading his voluminous extracts from his various French documents; he admired too the ingenuity he had displayed in his observations on those extracts; but most of all he admired, that the noble lord should have taken up so much time in quoting passages, in which not one in ten was to the purpose. No part of the king's speech, it seems, had more fully met the approbation of the noble lord, than that in which he warned us to *keep in sight the real grounds and origin of the present war*. For his part, he knew not how to keep in sight what had never been in his view. The noble lord however appeared to understand his majesty's allusion, and to recollect the means by which we had been brought into the war. We had been brought into it by repeated declamations on all that the phrensy, the folly and rashness of individuals in France had either said or written, by which the passions of this country could be roused, or their fears excited, in order to second the views of those who had determined to plunge us into it at all events. The noble lord conceived, that a repetition of the same means which had induced us to commence hostilities

hostilities was the best means to persuade us to continue them. Hence the farrago of well known extracts and anecdotes from the noble lord. But what was the sum? That enormities had been committed in France, which disgusted and sickened the soul. This was most true; but what relation had these to England? And, if they had, what did it prove? What but that eternal and unalterable truth, that a long established despotism so far degraded and debased human nature as to render its subjects, on the first recovery of their rights, unfit for the exercise of them? But he should always meet with reprobation the inference from this truth, that those who had long been slaves ought ever to continue so. That we and all the powers of Europe had reason to dread the madness of the French, Mr. Sheridan agreed, but was this difficult to be accounted for? Wild and unsettled as they must necessarily be from the possession of such power, the surrounding states had goaded them into a paroxysm of madness, fury, and desperation. We called them monsters, and hunted them as monsters. The conspiracy of Pilnitz, and the brutal threats of the abettors of that plot, had to answer for all the additional horrors that had since disgraced humanity. We had combatted for their extermination, and now complained that they turned upon us with the fury that we had inspired. "The noble lord," said he, "after dwelling so long on the pamphlet of Brissot, draws this important conclusion, that the government adopted by France cannot stand. I agree to his conclusion, and what remains but to leave it to the natural workings of the discords it is calculated to engender? If it will not stand of itself, it is unnecessary for us to attack it. The noble lord has attempted to shew from his pamphlet, that France has not only been the aggressor in this war, but that it is still desirous of continuing it. His quotations have however only proved, that after a short experience all parties retracted their opinions and practices; and so far from boasting of having provoked a war with England, the strongest reproach that the different factions could throw against each other, was the accusation of having been accessary to involving the country in a war with the only power in Europe with whom France was eager to continue at peace. All this was proved from the quotations made by the noble lord, and the pamphlet proved to a certainty, that both parties were earnest to avoid a rupture with England; and that there are none who may not at this moment be reasonably supposed to be inclined to put a stop to hostilities.

"The noble lord," continued Mr. Sheridan, "thinks he has established a great deal, in proving that all parties in the convention were fond of the system of *fraternizing*. The noble lord would have been more candid had he dated the origin of the system; it would not have been less fair to have noticed that this system has been totally abandoned. If he refers to it, as a motive for our entertaining a just jealousy of them, he ought to admit their abandonment of it as a ground for our abandoning that jealousy. If their professing such a doctrine was a provocation to hostility on our part, their retracting it is an opening to reconciliation. From the moment they solemnly disavowed all intention or disposition to interfere in the governments of other nations, why should not we have renounced any intention of

of interfering in their? But instead of this, what has been our conduct? We continue to remind and reproach the French with their unjust and insolent conduct in respect to Brabant and Geneva, at the same time we adopt ourselves, and act upon, the very principles they have abjured, or rather upon principles of still more extravagant insolence and injustice. Who did not reprobate the folly and profligacy of endeavouring to force upon the people of Brabant French forms, French principles, and French creeds? of dragging them to the tree of liberty, and forcing them to dance round its root, or to hang upon its branches? But what has been the conduct of Great Britain, so loud in the condemnation of such tyranny under the mask of liberty? What has been her conduct to Genoa? to Switzerland? to Tuscany? and, as far as she dared, to Denmark and to Sweden? for her insolence has been accompanied by its usual attendant, meanness. Her injustice has been without magnanimity. She wished to embark the world in the confederacy against France, the moment she thought proper to join it: the neutrality of which she herself boasted but a month before, became instantly a heinous crime in any other state of Europe. And how has she proceeded? With those that are powerful, and whose assistance would have been important, she has only expostulated, and prevaricated; but in how little as well as odious a light has she appeared, when threatening and insulting those petty states, whose least obedience to her tyrannic mandates might bring great peril on themselves, and whose utmost efforts could give but little aid to the allies? The noble lord has, with a just indignation, execrated the *cruel* and *perfidious* conduct of the fraternizing French to the Brabanters; but will he defend the fraternity of the *just* and *magnanimous* English to the Genoese? Have we not adopted the very words, as well as spirit, of democratic tyranny? We say to the timid, helpless Genoese, "You have no right to judge for yourselves; we know what is best for you; you *must* and *shall* make a common cause with us; you must adopt *our* principles, *our* views, *our* hatreds, and *our* perils; you must tremble at dangers which do not threaten you, and resent injuries which have never been offered to you; you must shed your republican blood in the cause of royalty; in short, you must *fraternize* with us; you must be our *friends*, our *allies*. If you hesitate, we will beat your walls about your ears; slaughter your people, and leave your city in smoking ruins, an example to other petty states of the magnanimity of the British arms, and of the justice and moderation of British counsels."

With respect to M. Genet's unwarrantable desire to introduce a fraternizing spirit into America, Mr. Sheridan noticed the different conduct pursued by that nation and the court of London. Both, he said, had been equally insulted, attempts had been equally made to spread the sentiments of the republic; yet from the different councils that directed the two nations, America remained the undismayed, undegraded, and unembarrassed spectator of the broils of Europe; while we are engaged in a struggle (as we had been this day told by ministers) not for our glory and prosperity, but for our actual existence as a nation.

Mr. Sheridan next noticed the opinion of the noble lord, founded upon

upon Brissot's pamphlet, in which the minister Monge is mentioned as having promised in October, to have thirty ships of the line at sea from Brest in April, and fifty in July; that the French had always intended to make war against us. This however was prevented by the *vigorous* measures of ministry. What were these vigorous measures of a vigilant ministry, that defeated the equipment of fifty ships of the line? They stopped two corn ships destined for France! But how came it to pass, if our ministers had this intelligence in October, that no naval preparations were commenced on our part till February? The noble lord, still pursuing his authority, Brissot, quotes that author's recommendation to the English of a pamphlet of Condorcet's, addressed to our parliamentary reformers, who encourages us, it seems, to proceed, to disregard numbers, assuring us (being well informed doubtless of our object) that 'revolutions must always be the work of the minority. Every revolution is the work of a minority. The French revolution was accomplished by the minority!' Nay, according to Brissot, it was the work of not more than twenty men! Such is the exertion that arises from the confidence of those who look to spirit and energy alone for success, and not to numbers. "If this be true (continued Mr. Sheridan), it certainly is a most ominous thing for the enemies of reform in England; for if it holds true of necessity, that the minority still prevails in national contests, it must be a consequence, that the smaller the minority, the more certain must be the success. In what a dreadful situation then must the noble lord be, and all the alarmists! for never, surely, was the minority so small, so thin in number, as the present. Conscious, however, that M. Condorcet was mistaken in our object, I am glad to find, that we are terrible in proportion as we are few; I rejoice, that the liberality of secession, which has thinned our ranks, has only served to make us more formidable. The alarmists will hear this with new apprehensions; they will, no doubt, return to us, with a view to diminish our force; and encumber us with their alliance, in order to reduce us to insignificance. But what has the nonsense any French pamphleteer may have written, or the notions he may have formed of the views of parties in this country, to do with the question; or how can it be gravely urged as a proof of the determination of the French people to attack us?"

Mr. Sheridan, in continuation, contended that the arguments adduced by the noble lord, to prove the hostile disposition of France towards this country, were nugatory, or worse, as they in some instances proved the direct contrary. In support of this opinion, he appealed to facts, to prove the growing inveteracy of our ministry from the beginning of the revolution to the death of the king—the treaty of Pilnitz—the departure of our minister from Paris—the seizure of French property in neutral vessels—the banishing of French subjects—the violation of the treaty of commerce, and the dismissal of the ambassador. Notwithstanding these provocations, the French solicited, expostulated, sent another negotiator, and abstained from the invasion of Holland, when their arms appeared irresistible. Every fact declared that we forced France into the quarrel. Which party first said the words, "We are at war," was a trivial and childish distinction.

"Granting then this to be a war of sound sense, policy, and justice, still (said the honourable gentleman) it was a war of choice on the part of Great Britain, and from that responsibility the minister nor can, nor shall disengage himself."

Mr. Sheridan then proceeded to state, that all the professed objects for which we had been at war were obtained, and that there was no doubt of the readiness of the French to treat with us upon the principle of *being left to the exercise of their own will within their own boundaries.* "Let the experiment be made. If they prefer and persist in war, then I will grant that the noble lord will have some reason to maintain, that their minds were always disposed to that measure, and that war could not have been avoided on our part. But till then, I am astonished that the minister who sits near the noble lord, does not feel it necessary to his own dignity to oppose himself this paltry argument of the act of aggression having come from them, instead of leaving that task to us, to whom, comparatively, the fact is indifferent. When he hears this called a war of necessity and defence, I wonder he does not feel ashamed of the meanness which it spreads over the whole of his cause, and the contradiction which it throws among the greater part of his arguments. Will he meet the matter fairly? Will he answer to this one question distinctly? If France had abstained from any act of aggression against Great Britain, and her ally Holland, should we have remained inactive spectators of the last campaign, idle, apart, and listening to the fray; and left the contest to Austria and Prussia, and whatever allies they could themselves have obtained? If he says this, mark the dilemma into which he brings himself, his supporters, and the nation. This war is called a war unlike all other wars that ever man was engaged in. It is a war, it seems, commenced on a different principle, and carried on for a different purpose, from all other wars: it is a war in which the interests of individual nations are absorbed in the wider consideration of the interest of mankind: it is a war in which personal provocation is lost in the outrage offered generally to civilized man: it is a war for the preservation of the possessions, the morals, and the religion of the world: it is a war for the maintenance of human order, and the existence of human society. Does he then mean to say, that he would have sat still, that Great Britain would have sat still, with arms folded; and, reclining in luxurious ease on her commercial couch, have remained an unconcerned spectator of this mighty conflict, and have left the cause of civil order, government, morality, and religion, and its God, to take care of itself, or to owe its preservation to the mercenary extortions of German and Hungarian barbarians, provided only that France had not implicated Great Britain by a special offence, and *forced* us into this cause of divine and universal interest by the petty motive of a personal provocation? He will not tell us so; or, if he does, to answer the purpose of the hour, will he hold the same language to our allies? Will he speak thus to the emperor? Will he speak thus to the king of Prussia? Will he tell them, that we are not volunteers in this cause? that we have no merit in having entered into it? that we are in confederacy with them, only to resent a separate insult offered to ourselves, which redressed, our zeal in the cause,

cause, at least, if not our engagements to continue in the alliance, must cease? Or if he would hold this language to those powers, will he repeat it to those lesser states whom we are hourly dragging into this perilous contest, upon the only plea by which such an act of tyrannical compulsion can be attempted to be palliated, namely, that a *personal ground of complaint* against the French is not necessary to their enmity; but that, as the league against that people is the cause of human nature itself, every country where human feelings exist has already received its provocation in the atrocities of this common enemy of human kind? But why do I ask him whether he would hold this language to the emperor or the king of Prussia? The king of Prussia, sir, at this moment tells you, even with a menacing tone, that it is your own war; he has demanded from you a subsidy and a loan; you have endeavoured to evade his demand, by pleading the tenor of your treaty of defensive alliance with him, and that, as the party attacked, you are entitled to the whole of his exertions; he denies that you are the party attacked, though he applauds the principles upon which you are the aggressor; and is there another power in Europe to whom our government will venture to refer the decision of this question? If what I now state is not the fact, let me see the minister stand up, and contradict me. If he cannot, let us no longer bear that a fallacy should be attempted to be imposed on the people of this country, which would be treated with scorn and indignation in every other corner of Europe. From this hour, let him either abandon the narrow ground of this being a war of necessity, entered into for self-defence, or give up the lofty boast of its being a war of principle, undertaken for the cause of human nature."

Mr. Sheridan asked, whether our arms were likely to produce in France a government that would give a reasonable expectation of duration and security to peace? Nothing could produce this but the reformation and union of the nation of France: and then they may prescribe their own terms, we must lie at their mercy. The honourable gentleman then asked, whether, with all our boast of having weakened the French in the last campaign, the allies were nearer to the object they had in view than they were at the commencement of the war? Our first expectations were founded upon the great body of French Royalists, who were now destroyed and annihilated. Our second hope was derived from the two contending factions in France. But what has happened? To the astonishment of the world, the weaker of these factions has not only extinguished the other, but the conquering party appear from that moment to have possessed not only more powers, more energy, and more confidence than any of their predecessors, but even a vigour and fascination of influence unparalleled in the history of mankind. We were told also, that the system of disgusting and cashiering all the old experienced officers must create insubordination and mutiny in the army, bring down the vengeance of the soldiers upon the convention, and establish a military tyranny. Yet the reverse was the fact: notwithstanding repeated provocation, there was scarcely an instance of military revolt against any of the decrees. The means of supporting these armies, we were told, could not last half the campaign; but

the fact flatly contradicted the expectation. Thus disappointed in our negative resources, let us endeavour to find a compensation in the increased strength and spirit of the grand alliance. What was the state of the allies when we entered into the confederacy? The force of Austria unbroken, though compelled to abandon Brabant, and the power of the veteran troops of Prussia absolutely untried, though the seasons and disease had induced them to retire from Champaigne. What is their state now? Defeat has thinned their ranks, and disgrace has broken their spirit. They have been driven across the Rhine by French recruits, like sheep before a lion's whelp, and that not after the mishap of a single great action lost, but after a succession of bloody contests of unprecedented fury and obstinacy. Where now is the scientific confidence with which we were taught to regard the efforts of discipline and experience, when opposed to an untrained multitude and unpractised generals? The jargon of professional pedantry is mute, and the plain sense of man is left to its own course. But have the efforts of our other allies made amends for the misfortunes of these two principals in the confederacy? Have the valour and activity of the Dutch by land and sea exceeded our expectations? Has the Portuguese squadron lessened the extent and lightened the expence of our naval exertions? Have the Italian states whom we have bribed or bullied into our cause, made any sensible impression upon the common enemy? Has our great ally the empress of Russia contributed hitherto any thing to the common cause except her praises and her prayers? Are all or any of them in better spirits to act, or fuller of resource to act effectually than they were at the commencement of the last campaign? "But let me (said he) throw all these considerations aside, each one of which, however, would singly outweigh the whole of the advantages placed in the opposite scale as gained by the allies, and let me ask, is it nothing that the great and momentous experiment has been made, and that a single nation, roused by a new and animating energy, and defending what they conceive to be their liberty, has proved itself to be a match for the enmity and the arms of the world? Is the pride which success in such a conflict has given to the individual heart of every man who has shared in it to be estimated as nothing? Are the triumphs and rewards which the politic prodigality of their government heaps on the meanest of the ranks who suffer or distinguish themselves in their battles fruitless and of no effect? Or, finally, are we to hold as a matter of slight consideration, the daring and enthusiastic spirit, solicitous of danger and fearless of death, which gradually kindled by all these circumstances, but which has now spread with electrical rapidity among such a race of people, so placed, so provided, and so provoked? Be he who he may that has reflected on all these circumstances either singly or in the aggregate, and shall still say that the allies are at this moment nearer the attainment of their professed object than at the commencement of the last campaign, I say that man's mind is either clouded by passion, or corrupted by interest, or his intellects were never straightly framed.

"In corroboration of his general position, the noble lord next details to us the manner in which they have either neglected or oppressed their commerce. I have no doubt but that all he has stated on this subject

subject is true, and that they have done it possibly upon system. I should not be surprised to hear that some distinguished senator in that country, with a mind at once heated and contracted by brooding over one topic of alarm, had started up in the convention, and exclaimed, "Perish our commerce, live our constitution!" nor more should I be surprised to learn, that the mass of the people, bowing to his authority, or worked on by fictitious alarms and fabricated rumours of plots, seditions, and insurrections, should have improved upon this patriotic exhortation, and, agreeing that their constitution was certainly to be preferred to their commerce, should have conceived that they could not thoroughly shew the fervour of their zeal for the former, so well as by an unnecessary sacrifice of the latter. Whether the hint of this notable axiom was taken from the expressions of any enlightened member of our own commercial senate, or whether it was imported into this house from France, is what I cannot take upon me to decide. The only result worth our consideration is, that however their neglect of commerce may have abridged them of the luxuries and even comforts of life, it has not hitherto curtailed them in the means of military preparation, or slackened the sinews of war."

The honourable gentleman then proceeded to mention what he thought an unfair statement of the noble lord respecting the levies made in France for the support of the war, and contended that they were only intended to answer present purposes, and to subside as soon as a peace should take place.

"The noble lord," said Mr. Sheridan, "not content with the unfairness of overlooking all the circumstances which imperious necessity must inevitably impose upon a country circumstanced as France is, thinks it fair and candid to contrast the proceedings of their convention on the subject of supply and finance with the proceedings of the British minister, and of the British parliament! *We*, it seems, assist commerce instead of oppressing it. *We* lend the credit of the public exchequer to our private merchants; and for the means of carrying on the war, not even voluntary contributions are expected, unless it be in little female keep-sakes for the army, of gloves, mittens, nightcaps, and under waistcoats. Certainly the contrast between the French means of supply and ours is obvious, and long may it continue so! But the noble lord pursues his triumph on this subject too far. Not content with simply alluding to it, which one would have imagined would have answered all his purposes, he endeavours to impress it more forcibly on our minds, by making a regular speech for our chancellor of the exchequer, and exultingly demanding what we should say, if his right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt) were to come down and propose to the British parliament such ways and means as the minister of finance in France is compelled to resort to? What should we think if he were to rise and propose, that all persons who had money or property in an unproductive state should lend it without interest to the public? If he were to propose, that all who had saved incomes from the bounty of the state should refund what they had received? What, finally, if all persons possessing fortunes of any size were called upon to give up the whole during the war, or reserve to themselves only the means of subsistance, or at the utmost 180 pounds

a year? Upon my word, sir, I agree with the noble lord, that if his right honourable friend were to come down to us with any such proposition, he would not long retain his present situation. And with such a consequence inevitable, he need not remind us, that there is no great danger of our chancellor of the exchequer making any such experiment, any more than of the most zealous supporters of the war in this country vying in their contributions with the abettors of republicanism in that. I can more easily fancy another sort of speech for our prudent minister. I can more easily conceive him modestly comparing himself and his own measures with the character and conduct of his rival, and saying, "Do I demand of you, wealthy citizens, to lend *your* hoards to government without interest? On the contrary, when I shall come to propose a loan, not a man of you to whom I shall not hold out at least a job in every part of the subscription, and an usurious profit upon every pound you devote to the necessities of your country. Do I demand of you, my fellow placemen and brother pensioners, that you should sacrifice any part of your stipends to the public exigency? On the contrary, am I not daily increasing your emoluments and your numbers in proportion as the country becomes unable to provide for you? Do I require of you, my latest and most zealous proselytes, of you who have come over to me for the special purpose of supporting the war—a war on the success of which you solemnly protest, that the salvation of Britain, and of civil society itself, depends—Do I require of you, that you should make a temporary sacrifice in the cause of human nature of the greater part of your private incomes? No, gentlemen, I scorn to take advantage of the eagerness of your zeal; and to prove that I think the sincerity of your zeal and attachment to me needs no such test, I will make your interest co-operate with your principle; I will quarter many of you on the public supply, instead of calling on you to contribute to it; and while their whole thoughts are absorbed in patriotic apprehensions for their country, I will dextrously force upon others the favourite objects of the vanity or ambition of their lives."

After inveighing with much irony and at much length against the minister, and the deserters of his own party, Mr. Sheridan entered into the question so frequently urged, "with whom shall we treat?" and answered, "With those who have the power of the French government in their hands. I never will disdain," said he, "to treat with those on whom I make war, and surely no wise nation ought to persevere in the idle disdain of a negotiation with those that are a match for them in war."

Mr. Sheridan entered into a detail of all the proceedings of the campaign, to shew that government had not displayed a single exertion becoming the dignity of the nation, or calculated to accomplish the object of the war. He detailed several instances of apparent mismanagement, and thought it a duty he owed his constituents to inquire into our own object in the war, and those of our allies, who evidently had objects very different from what this country could be supposed to entertain.

Mr. Windham defended lord Mornington against the accusation of

of not having spoken to the question. He combated the opinion, that the enormities committed in France were the effects of the war. It was the duty of every government to interfere, for France was making war against all government, all religion, and all principle. How was it possible to preserve peace with a nation, which formed a ground for quarrel with every government that dared to suspect the purity of their intentions? Whatever might be understood as the binding law upon nations carrying on offensive war with respect to interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, he conceived that such opinions could not affect a nation sustaining a defensive war. "Standing (said Mr. Windham) as we do, the defenders of the present and the future world, ought we meanly to crouch in cowardice and sink in despair?" He conceived it more than ever necessary to prosecute the war with vigour.

Mr. Dundas replied to that part of Mr. Sheridan's speech which respected the conduct of the war. He was ready to avow, that if the same operations were to be repeated, he should advise and pursue the same measures. The allegations against ministers were, that they had been remiss and inactive; but these accusations would be obviated by an examination into the state of the country at the commencement of the war, and the rapidity and spirit with which the augmentations to the army and navy had been made. Our seamen in the beginning of the year were only 15,000, in the course of the war 54,000 men had been added. At the commencement of the war, we had only 13 ships of the line and 30 frigates fit for service; at the present time we had 80 ships of the line and 100 frigates in actual employ, which, with the armed vessels now in the service of the public, made the whole above 300 sail. In augmenting the army, the most effectual and œconomical system had been pursued; besides the militia, 30,000 men had been added to the army. Uncertain of the intended operations of the French fleet, ministry had dispatched admiral Gardiner to protect the West Indies. Another fleet was sent to protect our trade in the Mediterranean. Mr. Dundas said, that he knew but two ways of protecting trade; one was, having large armaments at sea, the other, having convoys for different fleets. Both of these methods had been employed; the admiralty had indeed done every thing which the means of the country enabled them to do. Mr. Dundas spoke in strong terms of the success of lord Hood at Toulon, and vindicated the conduct of lord Howe with the channel fleet. Taking a general view of the aggression of the enemy, and the importance of preserving the constitution and dependencies of the empire—he concluded, that more had been done in the first year of this, than of any former war; and added, that upon the issue of this struggle every thing that was valuable to us, either as individuals or a nation, depended.

It was late in the debate before Mr. Fox rose. He expressed his earnest desire to know for what purpose we were engaged in a war. From the speech of the noble lord (Mornington) he fully understood, that while the jacobin government existed in France, no propositions for peace could be made or received by us. The chancellor of the exchequer, though he reprobated a jacobin government, had in the former year declared, that would

be no bar to a negotiation, provided the safety of Holland and the navigation of the Scheldt were secured. He actually opened a negotiation with persons holding their authority from the jacobin government of France, with M. Dumouriez and M. Chauvelin. Had peace, in consequence of these negotiations, been then preserved, what would have become of that reasoning? He should be told, perhaps, peace was not the object they had in view. The truth of this was indeed proved by the haughty conduct of lord Grenville towards M. Chauvelin: ministers began a negotiation which they had no design to perfect; they only sought a pretext for reconciling the minds of the people to war, in which they had previously determined to embark. The object was then said to be, to protect an ally; the real object was the subversion of the ruling power in France. Is it then at last decided, that we are to stake the wealth, the commerce, and the constitution of Great Britain on the chance of compelling France to renounce certain opinions, for which we have already seen they are ready to sacrifice their lives? Mr. Fox contended that every state had a full right to regulate its internal government; and asserted, that the manifesto of the duke of Brunswic, and the treaty of Pilnitz, had occasioned all the excesses of the French. Upon the subject of acts of aggression previous to the war this difference subsisted. France was always ready to negotiate; the British government invariably refused. The former expressed the strongest dislike to war, and took every step to avoid it; the latter not only shewed an inclination for war, but endeavoured to inflame and provoke hostilities. Mr. Fox proceeded to consider, whether such a peace with France, as might be attainable, was so desirable, as to induce us to treat; and whether a failure in the negotiation would be attended with such dangerous consequences as ought to induce us not to hazard the attempt. He noticed the great difference of our conduct with respect to France and Poland; and called the attention of the house to the nature of every peace that had ever been made. What offence or what pretension had appeared on the part of France at present towards this country, which had not occurred in the reign of Louis XIV? That monarch was a declared enemy to our revolution; he corresponded with the jacobites of England; he endeavoured to overturn our establishment in church and state; he invaded Holland, and confined not his projects of conquest to the banks of the Rhine. Let us be satisfied with the best security we can procure, taking care by our vigilance and conduct, that the power with whom it is made shall have no temptation to break it. Were France to accede to our wishes, and take Louis XVII for their king, would ministers in making a peace cede to them the places they have taken? No—the secretary of state says, we must have an indemnification for our expences in the war. What then would be the language of the French nation? They would complain of the deprivation, and seize the first opportunity of again entering upon a war. What security are we to have for peace, even upon the terms prescribed by ministers? He then pointedly ridiculed the boast of victory in his majesty's speech, and said, if the advantages were such as were represented, we could assume the dignified

dignified character of dictating the terms of peace. The right hon. secretary had stated, that our object in the West Indies was to obtain some indemnification for the expences of war. This, however, was a distinct object from giving such a government to France as ministers might think it safe to treat with, and in some respects contradictory. Whatever islands we took for Louis XVII we must wish to keep, and, as we wished to keep the islands, must wish that Louis XVII, who would have a right to demand them, should not be restored. Since the close of the last sessions of parliament, the successes of the French against both their internal and external enemies had been such, that Mr. Fox contended, there was no probability of soon, if at all, vanquishing that country. With respect to what had been urged of the ruinous state of their finances, he remembered similar statements had been made during the American war. There was then much talk of a vagrant congress, which was no where to be found, of their miserable resources, and their wretched paper money at 300 per cent. discount, of which, with any few halfpence you had in your pocket, you might purchase to the amount of 100 dollars. The Americans were represented as exercising on each other the most intolerable tyranny; on the royalists the most unheard of cruelty; and it was then said, that if such principles were suffered to exist, if the cause of America was ultimately successful, there was an end of all civilized government, England must be trodden in the dust. "Yet then (said this able statesman) I recommended negotiation, and lived to see Great Britain treat with that very congress, so often vilified and abused, and the monarchy remain in sufficient vigour. God grant that I may not see her treat with the present government of France, in circumstances less favourable for making peace than the present!"—Mr. Fox then endeavoured to shew, that by a negotiation for peace we might gain much, and could lose little. We should at least gain the point in this country, of having it generally believed, that the war was defensive; we should diminish the enthusiasm of the French, who would be disgusted with the refusal of the jacobins to treat.

Mr. Fox strictly insisted on the misconduct of ministers in the prosecution of the war, and particularly noticed the failure of the expedition against Dunkirk, and the evacuation of Toulon. A plan was projected, said he, for making a descent on the coast of France, under the command of the earl of Moira. When we ask why that expedition was so long talked of, and never undertaken, the right honourable secretary tells us, that it was delayed for want of troops. What, when we had at last hit upon a plan which was to conduct us to the gates of Paris, were we obliged to abandon it for want of men? Were no Hanoverians, Hessians, or even Austrians, to be found? Miserable indeed must be the alliances contracted by the minister, if neither those whose cause he had undertaken to support, nor those whom he had taken into his pay, would furnish him with men sufficient for an expedition, the success of which might have redeemed so many miscarriages! Did he defer that expedition till winter, because the difficult navigation of the coast of Normandy was peculiarly safe at that season? Or did he choose to delay

delay it, because then the prince of Cobourg would be unable to act, and of consequence the French troops in that quarter would be disengaged? thus with a spirit worthy of a British minister magnanimously displaying his contempt of danger, and his disdain to take the enemy at a disadvantage, defying every obstacle of the season, and braving the collected force of their armies.

Knowing these transactions, Mr. Fox contended that it would be the most contemptible sycophancy to concur in an address to his majesty, in which it was stated that the war had been successful. With respect to the avidity with which different states had put themselves under our protection, the duke of Tuscany had been compelled by menaces; our conduct to the Genoese had been modelled on the same principles; the Swiss cantons were prohibited from holding any commerce with France. The courts of Sweden and Denmark had the wisdom and firmness to resist every art and menace to induce them to relinquish their system of neutrality. At the time when ministers were inveighing against the French as invaders of the rights of nations, they were themselves daringly infringing the rights of independent states. They issued an order for seizing on American vessels bound to the West Indies, and have only retracted it from a dread of the power of that country. How infinitely superior must appear the spirit and principles of general Washington, in his late address to congress, compared with the policy of modern European courts! "Illustrious man, deriving honour less from the splendour of his situation than from the dignity of his mind, before whom all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance, and all the princes and potentates of Europe (excepting the members of our own royal family) become little and contemptible! He has had no occasion to have recourse to any tricks of policy or arts of alarm; his authority has been sufficiently supported by the same means by which it was acquired, and his conduct has uniformly been characterised by wisdom, moderation, and firmness. He, feeling gratitude to France for the assistance received from her in that great contest which secured the independence of America, did not choose to give up the system of neutrality in favour of this country. Having once laid down that line of conduct, which both gratitude and policy pointed out as most proper to be pursued, not all the insults or provocation of the French minister Genet could at all put him out of his way, or bend him from his purpose. Entrusted with the care of the welfare of a great people, he did not allow the misconduct of another, with respect to himself, for one moment to interrupt the duty which he owed to them, or withdraw his attention from their interests. He had no fear of the jacobins; he felt no alarm from their principles, and considered no precaution as necessary in order to stop their progress. The people over whom he presided he knew to be acquainted with their rights and their duties. He trusted to their own good sense to defeat the effect of those arts which might be employed to inflame or mislead their minds; and was sensible that a government could be in no danger, while it retained the attachment and confidence of its subjects—attachment, in this instance, not blindly adopted, confidence not implicitly given, but arising from the conviction

consisting of its excellence, and the experience of its blessings. I cannot indeed (added Mr. Fox) help admiring the wisdom and the fortune of this great man; not that by the phrase *fortune* I mean in the smallest degree to derogate from his merit. But, notwithstanding his extraordinary talents and exalted integrity, it must be considered as singularly fortunate, that he should have experienced a lot, which so seldom falls to the portion of humanity, and have passed through such a variety of scenes, without stain and without reproach. It must indeed create astonishment, that placed in circumstances so critical, and filling for a series of time a station so conspicuous, his character should never once have been called in question; that he should in no one instance have been accused either of improper insolence, or of mean submission in his transactions with foreign nations. It has been reserved for him to run the race of glory, without experiencing the smallest interruption to the brilliancy of his career. The breath of censure has not dared to impeach the purity of his conduct, nor the eye of envy to raise its malignant glance to the elevation of his virtues. Such has been the transcendent merit and the unparalleled fate of this illustrious man! But if the maxims now held forth were adopted, he who now ranks as the asserter of his country's freedom, and the guardian of its interests and honour, would be deemed to have disregarded and betrayed that country, and to have entailed upon himself indelible reproach. How did he act when insulted by Genet? Did he consider it as necessary to avenge himself for the misconduct or madness of an individual, by involving a whole continent in the horrors of war? No; he contented himself with procuring satisfaction for the insult, by causing Genet to be recalled; and thus at once consulted his own dignity and the interests of his country. Happy Americans! while the whirlwind flies over one quarter of the globe, and spreads every where desolation, you remain protected from its baneful effects, by your own virtues and the wisdom of your government. Separated from Europe by an immense ocean, you feel not the effects of those prejudices and passions, which convert the boasted seats of civilization into scenes of horror and bloodshed. You profit by the folly and madness of the contending nations, and afford in your more congenial clime an asylum to those blessings and virtues which they wantonly contemn, or wickedly exclude from their bosom! Cultivating the arts of peace under the influence of freedom, you advance by rapid strides to opulence and distinction; and if by any accident you should be compelled to take part in the present unhappy contest, if you should find it necessary to avenge insult, or repel injury, the world will bear witness to the equity of your sentiments and the moderation of your views, and the success of your arms will, no doubt, be proportioned to the justice of your cause! I have now nothing more with which to trouble the house; I am sensible, indeed, that at this advanced hour I have already detained them too long. But I was anxious to put the question upon its true footing, and to free it from that misrepresentation in which it has been so studiously involved. We have of late been too much accustomed to invective and declamation; addresses to our prejudices and passions have been substituted instead of appeals to our reason.

reason. But we are met here, not to declaim against the crimes of other states, but to consult what are the true interests of this country. The question is not, what degree of abhorrence we ought to feel of French cruelty, but what line of conduct we ought to pursue, consistently with British policy. Whatever our detestation of the guilt of foreign nations, we are not called to take upon ourselves the task of avengers; we are bound only to act as guardians of the welfare of those with whose concerns we are immediately entrusted. It is upon this footing I have argued the question." Mr. Fox concluded by proposing an amendment, recommending to his majesty to treat for a peace with France upon safe and honourable terms, without any reference to its existing form of government.

Mr. chancellor Pitt observed, that the amendment negatived the address. He recapitulated the arguments which we have given in the account of the debate in the upper house, and in the speech of lord Mornington, to prove the aggression had certainly taken place on the part of France. He mentioned the system adopted by the French, as subversive of all regular government—their usurpation of foreign territory—their hostile intentions against Holland—and their unprecedented views of aggrandizement and ambition. Unless it could be proved that we had mistaken these principles, we were bound to continue the war; and, supposing that difficulty and disappointment had occurred in the prosecution of it, they ought to inspire us with additional vigour, and stimulate us to new exertions. Had there been any misconduct (of which he was not sensible) in conducting the war, yet these could not affect the general question. If those difficulties arose from the want of abilities in those to whom the management was entrusted, let us resort to others; if the difficulty arose from the nature of the contest, then the argument against ministers would be much weakened. At the close of the last session, he stated he had placed the termination of the war upon two circumstances, the being able to procure a secure and permanent peace, and an indemnity for the expences incurred. In order to accomplish those ends, he had suggested the propriety of an interference in the internal affairs of that country; and he vindicated this measure upon the ground of securing our own safety. The affairs in France had now come to such a crisis, that, while the present system continued, peace was less desirable to him than war under any disasters which he could possibly imagine. Mr. Pitt then recapitulated the heads of lord Mornington's speech, which he vindicated from the charge of declamation. He conceived there was not the least probability of the continuance of the present government of France—the efforts of the people had been merely the result of terror—they were supported by the most desperate resources, which could not possibly continue. "The question of pursuing the war must depend upon the convenience with which it can be carried on; but I (said Mr. Pitt) have no hesitation in unequivocally declaring, that the moment will never come, when I shall not think any alternative preferable to that of making peace with France, upon the system of its present rulers." Mr. Pitt said he united with the hon. gentleman in thinking, that a safe and advan-

tageous peace ought to be concluded, but the security and benefits of that peace must depend upon the establishment of a government essentially different from the present. He affirmed, that had Louis XIV succeeded in his projects, what we should have suffered from him would have been a deliverance, compared with the consequence of success attending the present French system. He denied having attached the same degree of importance to the restoration of monarchy in France, as to the destruction of the present system. He attached importance to the former only as a form of government, in which the greater part of the people would be disposed to concur. That form would afford us the best security for the permanence of peace. Mr. Pitt noticed the decree of the French, declaring their unity and indivisibility, to prove the impossibility of treating with them for peace, and recapitulated the arguments to this effect adduced by lord Mornington. He did not hope for any more moderation in them from a change of parties. There could be no question but to resist, till such time as, by the blessings of Providence upon our endeavours, we might secure the independence of this country, and the general interests of Europe. On a division for the address the numbers were,

Ayes 277 Noes 59.

On the 22d of January, the lords presented their address to his majesty. They thanked him for his gracious speech, promised to enter into a consideration of the circumstances of the country, considered the war as involving the continuance of its constitution, and the security of civil society. Their lordships congratulated his majesty on the success of his arms, and, assured of the justice of their cause, promised to his majesty all possible support in the just and necessary system in which he had embarked. The address from the commons was similar in its import, and was received the following day.

After the reading of his majesty's answer to the address from the lords, earl Stanhope called upon ministers to specify the grounds upon which they had deluded the people on account of the war. The noble lord said, they had averred that if France could not get arms from this country, she could not for any length of time prosecute the war. This supposition was however so erroneous, that the French had 700,000 muskets, and confessedly the best artillery in the world. Ministers, in the commencement of the war, deceived the public respecting the quantity of ammunition possessed by the French, and their ability to increase it; but they now had sufficient powder for seven years to come, and saltpetre for seven more. His lordship conceived the people to be still further deluded by what had been said of the French with respect to their want of money, of clothing, of the inefficiency of their assignats, of the superiority of the troops of Great Britain and her allies, and the probability of starving the French into submission. He then entered into a long detail, to prove that all these ideas were delusive if applied to encourage us in prosecuting the war. He noticed the inconsistency between the original causes which had been avowed for the war, and the proclamation of lord Hood at Toulon, in which he declared that he took the place for the purpose of establishing monarchy. His lordship contended, that

that there was an important difference between the *real constitution of France* and the *provisional government of France*: the first was fixed, definite, clear and permanent; after the forming it by the convention, a copy was sent to every parish in France, where it was left for the opinion of the people, who were to transmit their acceptance of it to the convention. In reply to the question, what *security* we should have for a faithful observance of any treaty with the French at present; he should say, the French constitution, which was a higher degree of security than any other power in Europe could give, because that constitution was the act of almost entirely the whole people of France. By that constitution, the French had renounced the thoughts of interfering with any government but their own, and expressed a friendship for every free people. This constitution was unalterable; but the *provisional government*, under which all the sanguinary decrees lately passed in the convention were to be taken, was of a temporary nature, and might be repealed whenever it became necessary. The French had shewn the utmost desire to be on friendly terms with us; they had united the flag of Great Britain with those of America and France in the hall of the jacobins. His lordship asserted, that atheism in France was confined to the superior orders, and very much owing to the misconduct of the clergy. His lordship was interrupted by the bishop of Durham, and a slight altercation took place; after which his lordship resumed, and moved an address to his majesty, stating, that the French had recognized the sacred principle, that no country possessed the right to interfere with another independent nation—that they had declared themselves the friends and natural allies of every free people, and they will not interfere with the government of other nations—beseeching his majesty therefore to acknowledge the French republic, and thereby to lay the foundation for a safe and honourable peace.

Lord Dacrey maintained, that it was impossible for the king's ministers to attempt a negotiation at present, consistent with the national honour and good faith to the allies. He should shudder if he supposed ministry would treat with those whose design it was to destroy the laws, the liberty, the happiness of every country, and the christian religion. So far was he convinced of the inexpediency and impolicy of the motion, that, if the French were desirous of peace with Great Britain, and to purchase it by the gift of their islands in the West Indies and their territories in the East, the minister who should propose to treat for it would deserve to lose his head. His lordship was followed by the earl of Warwick, who conceived, that little doubt could be entertained of our ultimate *success* in the war. The motion was negatived without a division.

A discussion on the criminal law in Scotland was introduced into the house of commons by Mr. Adam a few days after the commencement of the session; and on the 4th of February he proposed a motion upon that subject, at the same time giving a short detail of its history. Soon after the union, the laws of Scotland, in cases of treason, were assimilated with those of England; ten other acts had since passed, amending the Scotch criminal law; the motion therefore was not without a precedent, and it was founded upon the principle, that the equity in which a case

a case originates, ought not to be the ultimate court to decide. The object of the motion was, for leave to bring in a bill to grant an appeal to the lords of parliament, from the judgment of the courts of justiciary and circuit in Scotland, in matters of law; and he moved to refer this to a committee of the whole house.

Mr. Anstruther opposed the motion; it went not to recal the law of Scotland to its original purity, but to establish an essential alteration in the principle of the law. He should oppose it also, on the ground of expediency; he believed such an attempt would be very unpopular, as he had no doubt that the great mass of the people of Scotland were perfectly satisfied with the administration of justice in that country. He was replied to by Mr. Adair, who differed widely from the hon. gentleman, in the idea that no discussion should take place concerning the alteration of a law in any part of the kingdom, unless a general wish was expressed by the people. He differed from him in his legal statement; he differed also in believing, that so far from this bill being unpopular in Scotland, it would be highly acceptable to the majority of the people. The learned gentleman had also said, he would prefer a short bill to annihilate the whole Scottish law, and to declare the law of England that of Scotland; he thought, on the contrary, every alteration in the existing law should be gradual.

The bill was opposed by the attorney general. The English and Scotch had, he said, each a partiality for their respective systems. The institution of the courts was also different—the courts of Scotland were framed with a view to the laws which they had to administer, and there would be danger in attempting to change them.

Mr. Fox strongly reprobated the opinion, that no interference was to be made till the people brought forward complaints of the judicial power. The maxim was in a high degree dangerous. Mr. Fox entered into an animated defence of the right of appeal; the principle of appeal was the wisest that ever was attended to in the formation of laws for civil society. The master of the rolls on the contrary thought, that to bring the criminal law of Scotland to be decided by the analogy of the criminal law of England, would be impolitic and unwise; and stated various objections to the possibility of effecting this, even if it were expedient, arising from the want of conformity in the forms of the law of Scotland to the law of England, and the difficulty of moving the record to this country. On a division for the motion, the Ayes were 32. Noes 126.

Earnestly desirous, however, of extending to Scotland the advantages possessed by the English in criminal cases, Mr. Adam on the 14th of February gave notice to the house of a motion relative to the proceedings which had taken place in certain trials in Scotland, in August and September last. He wished to have an authentic record of the trials laid before the house. This measure was opposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, who said he could not consent to the production of the papers, because it might imply something like an idea, that there existed some ground of doubt or suspicion, as to the legality or the propriety of the proceedings in question before the court of justiciary in Scotland. He was himself

self of opinion, that the determination of the judges was strictly legal and highly meritorious. Mr. Adam said, it was far from his intention to contradict or negative the proceedings of the court of justiciary. He was ready to confess, however, that the proposition he had to make, would tend to the investigation of the judgments of that court, if not to prove them wrong; but it would be extremely difficult for him to support an objection to the legality of a judgment, without that judgment having been previously laid before the house. The facts which he wished to appear before the house were—the libel charging Mr. Muir with seditious practices—the plea put in by the defendant to that charge—the verdict of the jury on the trial of the issue—and the sentence of the court on that verdict. The consideration of this motion was appointed for February 24th; but the discussion was interrupted, and the business adjourned to a further day, in consequence of a petition from the rev. Fische Palmer, which was presented by Mr. Sheridan, representing, that the petitioner was now suffering under what he conceived to be an unjust sentence of the high court of justiciary in Scotland, from which there was no appeal to any other court. Mr. Pitt objected to receiving a petition, the purport of which was, to pray the interposition of the house between a sentence pronounced by a competent court and the execution of that sentence; and said, the regular mode of proceeding was, to petition the crown for mercy.

Mr. Fox, on the contrary, justified the presenting of the petition, on the broad and liberal principle, that it was *the duty of the legislature to attend to all the complaints of the subject*, of whatever nature they might be. Mr. Dundas took a different ground from either of the preceding speakers, and insisted that "the sentence was already executed, the warrant for the transportation of Mr. Palmer having been both signed and issued." The gentlemen in opposition exclaimed loudly against the indecency of this proceeding, and said, that while the house, in consequence of Mr. Adam's notice, pretended to deliberate on the legality of the sentence, "to suffer that sentence to be executed was a mockery of justice." Even some gentlemen in the habit of voting with ministers censured the temerity of Mr. Dundas in this instance; they pretended, that the convict being on board a transport ready to sail, was no reason for flying in the face of that house, while the matter was actually under discussion; and a motion being made to prevent the sailing of the vessel till the 29th, Mr. Dundas was severely ridiculed for asserting, that his *conscience* would not suffer him to neglect his duty. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Whitbread senior insinuated a doubt concerning the mental sanity of Mr. Palmer, which the reader will find afterwards alluded to. The motion for preventing the sailing of the transport was lost by a great majority; but the further discussion of Mr. Palmer's petition was deferred to the 27th, when Mr. Sheridan having produced some incontrovertible precedents of similar applications, Mr. Pitt was compelled to acknowledge his error, and the petition was received and ordered to lie on the table.

On the 10th of March Mr. Adam brought his promised motion before the house, and proposed to review the late proceedings and decision

sition of the supreme court of justiciary in Scotland, against Thomas Muir, and the trial of the circuit court of justiciary against the rev. Fysche Palmer. From the records he required, he meant to question the legality of the sentences; and upon that doubt, as no appeal could lie from this questionable conviction, he proposed to move for a respectful address to his majesty, in favour of these unfortunate men. In discussing the subject, Mr. Adam maintained, with great strength of argument and legal knowledge, 1st, That the crimes set forth in the indictments against Messrs. Muir and Palmer were called, in the law of Scotland, *leasing-making*, which was properly a misdemeanour in the nature of a public libel, tending to affect the state, or disturb the government, and that their indictments charged no other crime. 2dly, That transportation could not, by the law of Scotland, be legally inflicted for *leasing-making*, the act of Anne 1703-4 having appropriated to that crime the punishment of fine, imprisonment, and *banishment* only; and that the annexing of the pain of death to the return from transportation was an aggravation not warranted by law. And 3dly, That if the acts charged in the indictments do not constitute the crime of leasing making, the indictments charge no crime known to the law of Scotland. Mr. Adam said he had heard, and not without horror, that as new manners made new crimes, the court of justiciary was supreme, and, without appeal, could make law applicable to the occasion. This sort of doctrine had disgraced the star-chamber and high commission court. If it was possible to conceive, that any court of judicature in this country, that boasted of its freedom, and of the pure administration of criminal justice, could have such power, he must say, that it violated all his ideas of the constitution of this country, and was an outrageous libel upon common sense. But Messrs. Muir and Palmer were charged in the indictments with no other crime than that which is in England the misdemeanour of libel, and the hon. gentleman believed there were few present who would deny that their punishment exceeded all the bounds of sound discretion. There was a phrase in the Scotch law, which answered to what in English law was called accessary; the term was *art and part*. But by the Scotch law, the principal may be charged *art and part*. The prisoner is obliged to deliver in the list of witnesses he intends to call for his justification, a certain number of hours previous to his trial, and yet the prosecutor is entitled to prove *art and part* from circumstances, though those circumstances are not contained in the indictment; and in that case he is not permitted to call any new witnesses against such new charge. This singular process was practised in the case of Mr. Muir; it was proved he had recommended "Flower on the constitution of France," and had uttered some expressions about reforming the abuses in the courts of law and justiciary, though neither of these had been articulated in the indictment. Mr. Adam contended, that by *art and part* the indictment could only mean *art and part* of the crimes libelled, and not of any other crimes: yet the lord advocate had said, that under the terms *art and part* he could prove the sedition of the pannel's whole life, and draw into it every act of every kind. If so, he must aver, that the men had not had

had a trial that ought to subject him to the dreadful punishment passed upon him in the sentence, which was illegal, arbitrary, and unwarrantable. Mr. Adam entered into an account of the jury, some of whom had excluded Mr. Muir from a society to which they belonged, in consequence of his approbation of Paine's Rights of Man, and were objected to by Mr. Muir on the ground that they were prejudiced, had declared their prejudice, and had acted upon it. They were, however, held to be fair jurors. The treatment of the witnesses was equally adverse to justice. John Russel, one of the defendant's witnesses, was sentenced to three weeks imprisonment, because, in the commencement of his examination, he had not been able to mention the names of the persons who had spoken to him on the subject of the trial. Another witness for Mr. Muir who from motives of conscience hesitated at taking an oath, was ordered to be imprisoned perhaps for ever. After examining the whole business with the most anxious attention, Mr. Adam said he must declare in the most solemn manner, that he questioned the soundness of the discretion exercised in the court, in the sentence which they had passed. What was the crime? Misdemeanour.—What was the punishment? Transportation—and that the most aggravated and afflicting known to the law, not to cultivated society, to an easy master and kind treatment, but to a desolate island, an inhospitable desert, at the extremity of the earth, where all is rude and barbarous, where they are deprived of all communication with intelligent beings like themselves, where they can find no social pleasure, but are condemned to live with ruffians whom the gibbet has spared, and under a system of despotism, rendered necessary for the government of such a tribe. They have also to undergo the fatigues of a long voyage, in which many have perished. After entering at much length into the whole of the case, Mr. Adam made a short but elegant conclusion, as to the motives which had induced him to come forward on this occasion. He had been led to the discussion, not from motives of professional interest, nor from personal knowledge of the sufferers, not from personal prejudice to the judges, whom he respected, not from his love of Paine, of whose writings he had frankly declared his disapprobation; but because he considered the equal distribution of criminal justice as the best defence of public liberty, and because he believed the perversion of criminal jurisprudence was likely to be the forerunner of anarchy on the one side, or of despotism on the other.

The lord advocate entered into an elaborate defence of the Scots judges, and said, that the whole speech of the learned gentleman, as far as it respected the proceedings in question, was founded on misrepresentation, misconception, or total ignorance of the law of Scotland, and the practice of the Scotch courts. Messrs. Muir and Palmer had not been tried upon the charge of leasing-making. When such daring, profligate, and abandoned proceedings had been entered upon, as those upon which they had been convicted, it had become his duty to look into all the old laws of Scotland upon those points: the result was, that, as Mr. Muir had been guilty of exciting persons to acts of sedition against the king and constitution, he could not indict him for leasing-making, which, properly

properly defined, meant the crime of telling lies of the king, his nobles, &c. Had he, however, been indicted for leasing-making, that would not have altered the nature of his punishment. Mr. Adam had contended, that there was a difference between banishment and transportation, the former of which only was the punishment for leasing-making; but the law of Scotland knew no such distinction, and his lordship entered into a detail of the existing acts where these words occurred, and of the practice of the Scottish courts, in support of this assertion.

With regard to what passed at the trial of Mr. Muir, the lord advocate said he asked the court to do nothing, but what it was bound to do by the strict rules of the laws of the country. He endeavoured to bring in facts which were not stated in the indictment. How far he was right in doing so, was a question for the house to determine, always taking it into their reflection, that it was not the law of England but the law of Scotland they were to be guided by. The learned gentleman totally misunderstood the law of Scotland, if he thought the Scotch lawyers were to plead as formally as they do in England. Such was not the practice of the law of Scotland. It was enough, by that law, if a charge was made out in general terms; and the time, by the common practice, in which the prosecutor insisted on any act of the defendant, was three months, within the time of which the prisoner had notice. The prosecutor was not bound to prove what he stated specifically; it was enough to prove, that the nature of the charge generally was sufficient to entitle him to give evidence of speech, words, or letter. This doctrine applied to the case of the book called "Flower on the Constitution," in the defendant's pocket.

As to the objection against the jurymen, they had indeed united for the defence of the constitution. That disqualification might lie equally against the first characters of the country. Unless it could be proved that traitors and seditious persons were the only proper persons to sit on juries, this jury could not possibly be accused or impeached, since there only could be found two descriptions of persons—those who wished to support the constitution, and those who wished to destroy it. With respect to the witness Russell, on being asked whether any body had told or instructed him what to say on the occasion, he hesitated; and, upon a further investigation of the business, it appeared that he had held conversation with some persons on this subject since his citation, and therefore his testimony was inadmissible. The defendant had lost nothing by the rejection of this witness; he only came to prove what twelve other witnesses had sworn, that Muir frequently desired the populace to behave peaceably, &c. These witnesses, his lordship had no doubt, had conferred upon the subject, and that was the reason they agreed so well in their testimony. As to the soundness or discretion of the court of justiciary, the sentence of transportation, and its excessive rigour, he felt himself bound to defend it under every circumstance. He had heard much of the superiority of the English law; but in this case the law of Scotland was superior, and much better adapted to suppress sedition. The lord advocate concluded with an invective against those who had been charged with seditious practices, and amongst them mentioned Gerald.

rald. He was called to order by Mr. Thompson, on the plea, that as that gentleman was now upon his trial, this was an indecent anticipation of his sentence.

Mr. Sheridan thought there was fallacy in all the arguments of the learned lord, who he conceived had confounded two things essentially different, the crime of leasing-making and the crime of sedition. He ridiculed the idea of lawyers from Scotland telling the house they were not qualified to judge on a point of common sense, because they were not Scotch lawyers. He reprobated in severe terms the idea, that there was no middle class of people in Scotland between those who wished to destroy the constitution, and those who applauded the proceedings of the court of justiciary. This assertion he hoped and believed to be as false, with regard to the people of Scotland; as he knew it to be false in application to the great body of the people of England; he knew, that in England there was a class between that of republicans and levellers, and that of associators and alarmists, and much more honourable in their views than either; men, who would defend the constitution with unabated ability and undaunted courage. Mr. Sheridan expressed much indignation at the lord advocate, for preferring the criminal law of Scotland to that of England; such assertions ought never to pass with impunity, lest contempt should be construed into acquiescence, and there might be found a minister bold enough to make the experiment of changing the law of England for that of Scotland. If the statements of the lord advocate were correct respecting that law, he had presented a picture calculated to alarm every man in this country. He took notice of the conduct of the court respecting the witness Russell, and maintained that the lord advocate and the court had acted illegally upon that subject: their conduct had not been agreeable to any principle of law recognized in any civilized society, for Russell had only said that he did not recollect what no person in court could prove to be false. He applied many pointed observations on the refusal of the court to allow the objection of Mr. Muir to the jury, as having prejudged his cause. This, he said, confounded two things essentially at variance in the administration of justice in every court where justice was known or pretended to be administered—that of the accuser being the judge, which was the case on the trial of Mr. Muir. He ridiculed the effect of the researches of the lord advocate, who had professed to have studied the law of Scotland upon these subjects for eighteen months; and the result was, the bringing forward a law, which had slept above a century, and which when produced turned out to be only a law upon *leasing-making*, whereas the subject to which he applied it was sedition. Mr. Sheridan proceeded with much humour to notice the singularity of the lord advocate's not being able to find any law for sedition in the course of a century, which had produced in Scotland not only sedition and insurrections, but two rebellions. As the lord advocate had gone into the evidence on the trials, it became fair for him to go into the accusation against Messrs. Muir and Palmer. What was this accusation? Mr. Palmer had been accused of inciting poor people to insist upon a parliamentary reform. Had the lord advocate not been as ignorant of English

glish history as of English law, he would have found some resemblance to Mr. Palmer's conduct. He would have found a resolution, signed Pitt and Richmond; from which every word and sentiment used by Mr. Palmer had been taken. Mr. Sheridan said he had drawn up, in three columns, the declaration of Mr. Palmer, Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond, and Mr. Burke; and declared that no other difference subsisted between them, except that the latter had gone greater lengths in calling the people to assert their rights, and throw off all dependance upon parliament. The learned gentleman, he said, had boasted, that in the conduct of Mr. Muir's trial the established course of proceeding was followed, but had forgotten to state, that on summing up the evidence, while every circumstance of aggravation was brought forward, no notice was taken of any part of the evidence in favour of the accused. Mr. Sheridan totally differed from the lord advocate respecting banishment and transportation; and after considering the cases adduced by him as precedents, and the legal opinions he had produced, as totally irrelevant, he called the attention of the house to the question in debate, whether in the cases of Messrs. Muir and Palmer there appeared sufficient grounds to order an examination into the conduct of the court of justiciary, or whether or not the whole proceedings ought to be revised, and, if necessary, amended? Before Mr. Sheridan concluded, he mentioned an insinuation, which, from the best of motives, had fallen from an honourable member of that house, (Mr. Whitbread senior) respecting the sanity of Mr. Palmer. This imputation had sensibly touched the unfortunate sufferer, and was a total mistake. This was confirmed by Mr. Whitbread junior in a short but animated speech, in which he reprobated the conduct of the Scottish courts.

The motion was opposed by Mr. Wyndham in a very desultory speech, in which he appeared to insinuate, that if the laws of England with respect to sedition were not found adequate to the restraint of offenders, they ought to be assimilated to the laws of Scotland. Mr. Wyndham was followed by Mr. Fox. He considered the present question as one of the most important that ever came before the house; a question which involved not only the sufferings of two oppressed individuals, but the consequences which would result to posterity by establishing a precedent dangerous and inimical to their liberties. Should the law of Scotland be introduced here, he conceived it would be proper to accommodate his affairs, and retire to some happy clime, where at least he might enjoy the rights which God had given to man, and which his nature tells him he has a right to demand. "My hon. friend Mr. Wyndham (said Mr. Fox) has been talking of the adequacy of the laws. Does he mean that the laws of this country are not adequate to punish sedition? He has told us, that if they are not sufficient to check the career of sedition, laws ought to be introduced to answer that purpose—that the laws of Scotland should be introduced in their place. The question is unfortunately a complicated one. In complicated questions it will always happen, that there are some particular parts in which gentlemen will disagree; parts that some will overlook, and others will combat; but in every question, however intricate or comprehensive its

views, there are certain essentials, in which all who value truth, or act from the honest impulse of their heart, must be unanimous. Justice in every country must be the same. If, therefore, in England this sentence must be considered as notoriously unjust, and repugnant to every principle of humanity, it is impossible for ingenuity to varnish over such a system of iniquity, or give to that which in its very face wears the features of cruelty and oppression, the appearance of justice and humanity. The lord advocate, in order to vindicate the proceedings of the trial, had chosen to consider banishment and transportation as synonymous terms. Mr. Fox contended that this was not true; and in proof he cited the statute of 1672, in which the words "banishment to the West Indies" were expressed. If this word extended generally to transportation, why was the place pointed out in some cases and omitted in others? The reason was obvious. When the law of Scotland only meant the exiling of a man from his country, it used the word banishment only, it gave him the liberty of choosing a spot for himself: when the offence called for more exemplary punishment, the place was specified. Mr. Fox warmly disapproved of the conduct of the trial in Mr. Muir's case, the questioning of his own servant respecting his private and unguarded conversation, and the severity of his sentence, which he conceived illegal. He noticed the inconsistency of Mr. Wyndham in decrying the conduct of Messrs. Muir and Palmer. In the American war, he had himself been extremely active in delivering sentiments hostile to government. Why are Messrs. Muir and Palmer considered as sowing the seeds of anarchy and confusion, for only pointing out to the people those privileges which they had a right to enjoy? Sedition, he said, was of a generic nature; there were several species of it; and possibly the lord advocate had been guilty of one, in respect to this trial, respecting two witnesses, one of whom, though incompetent to give evidence, was admitted, while the other, on account of his credibility being doubted, was rejected. With respect to the credibility of Russell, that ought to have been left to the jury, without the judge usurping their province. One of the lords of justiciary had said, that no man has a right to speak of the constitution unless he possesses landed property; men of personal property, however great it might be, had no right to speak. Another of this learned body had wandered into the *Roman law*, and had at last discovered, that, according to that law, the punishment for this offence there stated was, either being torn asunder, thrown into a den of wild beasts, or transportation. Another of these learned lords had asserted, that now the *torture was abolished*, there was no *adequate* punishment for sedition; and the lord advocate had pronounced upon the guilt of Mr. Gerald before he was brought to trial. It could not, he said, escape gentlemen, that not many years ago there were associations in this country, formed exactly upon the principles that Mr. Muir and his friends had formed theirs. But it will be said, that the French revolution has changed the nature of affairs. It may be so; but I wish never to believe, that what was once meritorious, and considered as the only means of preserving the liberties of our country, can of a sudden become so atrocious, as to call down upon the head of him who

who so far reverses the constitution of England as to wish to restore it to its primitive perfection, the unrelenting vengeance of persecution; while those who perhaps set this fatal example have fled into the arms of power, and are now enjoying the emoluments of the highest places of this kingdom. "Yes, these unfortunate gentlemen have done what the chancellor of the exchequer and the duke of Richmond have done before them. They have done no more. Will this house forget the addresses of those two gentlemen to the people—and this not to petition for a reform in parliament, not simply to state abuses, and to pray for redresses of those abuses, but to *demand* them as their right? As long as gentlemen shall remember the Thatched House, and those associations, it is impossible they can forget their addresses to the people."

The chancellor of the exchequer conceived the grounds of discussion on this subject were simple, and in his opinion no doubt could be entertained either of the legality of the trials, or the propriety with which the lords of justiciary had exercised their discretion on that occasion. He accused Mr. Fox of having confounded the distinction between capital and arbitrary punishment, and contended that by the law of Scotland the judges were empowered arbitrarily to regulate all punishments short of death. Mr. Pitt accounted for no recent instance of sedition having occurred in Scotland, though there had been two rebellions, from the struggle in that country having been for the higher exercise of power and prerogative in a particular family, and not for the propagation of principles which had a tendency to promote sedition. He quoted the legal opinion of sir George Mackenzie, that sedition was a crime deserving capital punishment, wherever it led to commotions among the people, and thought the offences of Messrs. Muir and Palmer had that tendency. The honourable gentleman vindicated the whole of the proceedings upon these trials, and referred to his speeches during the preceding sessions, to shew why he at present opposed a parliamentary reform. The conduct of the judges through the whole of these proceedings appeared to him highly meritorious and advantageous to their country; and he concluded by declaring that he should have thought them highly culpable if, vested as they were with discretionary powers, they had not employed them for the present punishment of delinquents, and for preventing the diffusion of their doctrines.

On a division of the house the motion was negatived by a majority of 139 against 32.

On the 25th of March Mr. Adam introduced a third motion relative to the regulation of the justiciary courts of Scotland. The several heads he wished to have considered were, the nature and punishment of leasing-making, and of sedition—the propriety of appeal from the Scotch criminal courts—the expediency of granting a new trial in certain cases—to know in what manner petty juries were returned, and what right of challenge was allowed to the prisoner—the powers of the lord advocate, and the expediency of granting to the Scotch the protection of a grand jury—and the power of the criminal courts to punish contempts, and the power of inferior courts to try criminal causes, and punish without the intervention of a jury. Mr. Adam entered into an investigation

of all these points, and of the conduct of the English courts. He was answered by Mr. Dundas, who conceived that the assimilation of the Scotch to the English law was not desired by the country, and was a violation of the articles of union. He contended that the Scotch were equally happy under the administration of their laws with the English. The honourable gentleman added, that with respect to the punishment for libels in this country, when he saw "the attacks that were daily made on the very vitals of the constitution; when he saw this systematically done; when he found that works in their nature hostile to the government of the country, addressed to the lower orders of society, for the purpose of creating discontent among them, were left in cellars and on stairs, dropt in streets, and scattered about on highways and on commons (nay, he found one of them himself on Wimbledon Common the other day); he thought it his duty to say, that something must be done to check those practices. These things were carried on, and these sentiments were spread with great assiduity by persons denominating themselves corresponding societies, and other names by which gentlemen choose to adorn their meetings; and under all these circumstances, he was ready to say that he was clearly convinced that the punishment hitherto inflicted by the law of England was not sufficiently severe to deter persons from this practice." [A cry of *Hear! hear!*] Mr. Dundas said, he would again repeat it, in order to be well understood —"He was clearly convinced that, on proper inquiry into this subject, it would be found that the law of this country was insufficient in this respect, and that the legislature must proceed in some measure or other different from what the law was at present in that particular."

The lord advocate strenuously vindicated the constitution, and administration of the Scottish criminal laws, and, as well as the master of the rolls, gave a negative to the motion.

Mr. Fox, in a speech of great ability and energy, supported the motion. It was, however, strongly opposed by the attorney general, and, on the question being put, there were 24 for the motion, against it 77.

The discussion of this question was not confined to the house of commons; it was introduced into the upper house by lord Stanhope, who brought forward a motion for addressing his majesty to suspend the execution of Mr. Muir's sentence till the house had examined the circumstances. His lordship's motion, after much had been said concerning the trial, nearly similar to what we have already detailed, was thrown out by a majority of 49 against 1.

On the 14th April the earl of Lauderdale moved for the production of the papers relative to the trial of Messrs. Muir and Palmer, preparatory to his intended motion for an address to his majesty in favour of these unfortunate persons. His lordship's speech was replete with ability, and judiciously arranged; but we have already entered so fully into the proceedings of the house of commons, that our limits do not allow us to extend this topic much further. The motion was negatived without a division, and was succeeded by a motion from the lord chancellor, declaring, "that there was no ground for interfering in the established courts of criminal justice,

justice, as administered under the constitution, and by which the rights, liberties, and properties of all ranks of subjects were protected." This was put and carried; and this closed the parliamentary proceedings on the subject.

CHAP. II.

Message from the King—Debate on the landing of Hessian Troops—Motion by Mr. Grey for a Bill of Indemnity—A similar Motion by Lord Albemarle in the Lords—Mr. Sheridan's Motion for an Account of certain Expenses, &c.—Committee of Supply—Mr. Fox charges the Naval Department with Neglect respecting Convoys—Debate on that Subject—Debate concerning Nova Scotia in the Committee of Supply—Debate in the same Committee on the Treaty with Sardinia—Debate on the Naval Supply—Budget—Parliamentary Proceedings on the Tax Bills—Debate on the Lottery.

THE minds of men, both within and without the walls of parliament, continued to be agitated by the very interesting question of peace or war, and the consideration of the impediments which obstructed the restoration of that tranquil system of policy, under which the nation had found itself both flourishing and happy. This subject therefore naturally intermixed itself in most of the succeeding debates. Independent, however, of the party and temporary politics, which were necessarily alluded to, some of the discussions involved points of the utmost constitutional importance, and these were ably contested on the part of opposition. Among these, the debate concerning the employment of foreign troops within the territory of Great Britain is not the least worthy of attention; and the arguments of the minority, though unsuccessful as to their object, will, we doubt not, obtain an influence with posterity on any similar occasion.

On the 27th of January Mr. Dundas brought up a message from his majesty, informing the house that a corps of Hessian troops, employed in his service, having been brought to the coast on the Isle of Wight, to prevent sickness on board the transports, his majesty had given orders they should be quartered in the island. An address of thanks was voted for this communication. On the following day Mr. Grey called upon ministers to assign a reason for landing the Hessian troops. He could not, he said, but observe, that neither the amount of the Hessians so imported, their destination, nor the time for which they were to remain our guests, had been specified. Mr. Fox thought full information was necessary upon these points. Mr. Pitt objected to the discussion of their future military operations, as improper in that place; and for the same reason could not state the duration of their stay; no regular account of them had yet been made out, nor were they all arrived. On the 10th of February Mr. Grey again called the attention of the house to this subject. He professed that he should set out with declaring that, as far as related to the present question,

tion, he did not mean to consider the expediency of introducing at this time foreign troops into this country; his object was to prove that the measure itself was clearly unconstitutional, and undeniably illegal; that the king had no power to introduce them without the consent of parliament. By the bill of rights it was positively declared, that the raising or maintaining an armed force or standing army within these kingdoms in time of peace, unless by the consent of parliament, was against law. He might be told this did not apply to a time of war; but he liked not the distinction, nor did the principles of our constitution turn upon these subtleties. The principle was, that parliament should always have the power of granting and regulating all military force. Largely and liberally considered, it would appear that the framers of this bill had it in contemplation, that at no time should the king have power to introduce foreign troops into this country without the sanction of parliament. Mr. Grey entered into a history of various cases, as applicable to the point in question. He then called the attention of the house to the act of settlement, which expressly declared, "That no office of trust, civil or military, shall, on any account whatever, be held by any but natural subjects of his majesty, born within the realm." The command of these troops now within the realm was a great military trust, and therefore contrary to that act. The mutiny bill too would illustrate his proposition, without the annual passing of which, the army could not be under military law. The marine mutiny bill was of a similar nature. These Hessians were not under the military law of this kingdom; whatever power was pecu-

liarly exercised over them, from the moment they landed here they were *ipso facto* discharged; and if any deserted or disobeyed, there was no law by which they could be tried. The landing of foreign troops was besides expressly prohibited by many acts of parliament; he instanced the 29th of George II. and the 8th of his present majesty. He reprobated the resorting to precedents to justify any measure repugnant to revolution principles. Mr. Grey produced several instances to prove that parliament had uniformly opposed this measure as unconstitutional and illegal. Whenever such a measure became necessary, ministers should either obtain the previous consent of parliament, or apply for a bill of indemnity. He begged leave to remind gentlemen, that while they duly expressed their alarms at popular incroachments on his majesty's prerogative, it would highly become them not to sit silent and neglect the rights and privileges of the people. He was sure his majesty had no bad intention in the exercise of his power; but it was the duty of that house to watch over the prerogative, which his ministers might advise him to make use of. Mr. Grey concluded by moving, "That to employ foreigners in any situation of military trust, or to bring foreign troops into this kingdom, without the consent of parliament first had and obtained, is contrary to law."

The motion was opposed by Mr. Powis, and supported by Mr. Whitbread, who expressed his dissatisfaction with respect to the message from the king: but there was one article in the treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, which, in his opinion, was more unconstitutional than the landing of the troops in England: he meant the article by which

which his majesty agreed with the landgrave, that if any of the troops should be employed in Ireland or England, they were to be put upon the same footing with British troops. Mr. Whitbread conceived his majesty's prerogative would not enable him to comply with this article, but should be glad to know the opinion of gentlemen on the other side of the house.

Mr. Wyndham said, that with respect to the bill of rights, and the abstract question, he took it to be, whether ministers had acted illegally in advising his majesty to bring foreign troops into this kingdom in time of war, and when the exigency of circumstances was such as in their opinion rendered it an advisable measure? He contended that the arguments deduced from the declaration of rights, and from the other precedents, were unfavourable to the inferences drawn from them. Opinions on great constitutional questions ought to be formed from the practice of the constitution, rather than theories and discussions upon abstract principles. He contended that his majesty was authorized to use a discretionary power in this respect, and was enabled at any time, during a war, to bring foreign troops into this country without the previous consent of parliament.

Lord John Cavendish and major Maitland earnestly concurred in the motion. They were followed by Mr. Francis, who conceived that the mover and supporters of the motion, together with Mr. Wyndham, had mistaken the bill of rights, which he contended had said nothing relative to the introduction of foreign troops; a native force alone was what it referred to, the force which they had seen maintained by James II. and they applied the remedy to that grievance. A distinction, he said, had been taken, and supposed prodigiously material, that foreign troops could not be introduced in times of peace only. But taking for granted the general position, which however he declared himself ready at any time to controvert, that the king may make war at his pleasure, the ministers had only to excite or create a foreign quarrel, which was at any time in their power, and then foreign forces might be introduced into the kingdom, because it was a time of war. If on this ground it was lawful to bring in four thousand Hessians to-day, why not ten thousand Austrians to-morrow, and twenty thousand Russians the day following? A corrupt and abject people, when once frighted, will submit to any thing for the sake of being defended. The English will be threatened with a French invasion; and instead of being called to defend themselves, will be told that they may be perfectly quiet, for the king has subsidized an army of Germans to protect them. Mr. Francis hoped that Englishmen would look a little to the consequences of this doctrine; and said, that were he to choose whether the king should possess the power of introdneing foreign troops into the kingdom in time of peace, or in time of war, he should much prefer the former. Such a step would then appear so alarming and exorbitant, that every man would oppose it, and the precedent could not be established; which would not be the case when foreign wars and fictitious alarms furnished pretences for calling in a foreign force.

Mr. Wallace thought that the favourers of the motion had not proved, that to bring a foreign force into these kingdoms in time of war was contrary

contrary to any existing law, or contrary to the custom and practice of the constitution; nor, if the power subsisted in the prerogative, had it been proved to have been abused in the present instance. Amongst the numerous occasions on which foreign forces had been in this kingdom; he could discover no instance of any thing like a previous parliamentary consent. He conceived his majesty fully possessed this prerogative, and that it became the house to watch over it with due vigilance and attention, but not with suspicion. He did not think it becoming the house; it could not be for the interest or peace of the country, that all confidence in the executive power should be at an end; he did not think it amongst its duties to teach the people that their interests and those of the crown were at variance, and that ministers were ever on the watch to surprise and overthrow them.

Mr. Serjeant Adair declared, that he believed the king did not possess the prerogative of introducing or keeping foreign troops in this kingdom. He was, he said, a firm friend to the principles of the motion, but not to the form of it, or the time in which it had been brought forward: he therefore moved the previous question, and was seconded by the attorney general.

Mr. W. Smith said, if such a prerogative existed, as that of the king's introducing and employing foreign troops in the country, without the consent of parliament, he wished to know what was the security of the subject. The king possessed the indubitable right of declaring war. If he had annexed to this prerogative the right of landing foreign troops in this kingdom without number, the security of the subject was no more.

Mr. Pitt contended, that for his majesty's ministers to introduce such troops into the country in time of war, either to a place of rendezvous for foreign service, or for the defence of the kingdom, his majesty communicating what had been done, and receiving in an address the apparent approbation of parliament, was contrary to no law or precedent. He strongly asserted, that his majesty possessed this prerogative, and adduced a number of precedents to support his opinion. The remedy for any danger resulting from this prerogative was the power of the house to withhold the supplies for the payment of troops. He appealed to the treaty with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, to prove, from the stipulation for the pay to be received by his troops, in case they were taken into Great Britain or Ireland, that it was considered that the crown was invested with the power of landing foreign troops.

Mr. Fox conceived the introduction of foreign troops to be a most dangerous and unconstitutional stretch of prerogative. He very ably recapitulated every argument against the measure, which had been already brought forward. From the bill of rights, the mutiny bill, and the debates in 1775, on sending foreign troops to Minorca and Gibraltar, he contended that they could never be introduced into this kingdom without the consent of parliament. He conceived the present question important in the highest degree. Ministers affirmed they were not to remain long: but that was not the question; and who were to tell an army of Austrians, of Hanoverians, of Hussars, or of Dutch, that their further continuance in England was contrary to law? Was the house to wait till it was surrounded by foreign mercenaries,

naries, and then present them with a piece of parchment, or the bill of rights, to convince them that they were violating the liberties of Englishmen? and he conjured the house to consider that the liberty of Europe had been destroyed by the illegal use of the mercenary arms of kings and of princes. He entreated the house not to desert either the liberties of the people, or the privileges of parliament. If there existed a party in this country, who wished to lower monarchical power, that party would be defeated by not rendering that power odious by such a dangerous extension of the prerogative. He wished that some mode could be adopted for qualifying in some degree a measure, which was perhaps not blameable in itself, so as not to establish a precedent of right in the crown. The house divided on the previous question, ayes 184, noes 35. The original motion was consequently lost.

This very important question was again brought before the house, (March 14,) by Mr. Grey, who controverted in strong terms the opinion of the chancellor of the exchequer on the former debate. He considered that opinion, as coming from such authority, of the utmost importance. However the landing of the Hessian troops might be justified by necessity, it was so clearly against law, that the house should make as speedy an atonement as possible to the people for this breach of the constitution, by passing an act of indemnity; which, while it secured such as had counselled the act, bore testimony to those principles so essential to the preservation of our liberties. From a review of the general tenor of the bill of rights; from the following acts of parliament; from the answer of the house of commons to king William, peremptorily refusing to allow his majesty to keep his Dutch guards even in time of peace, he would maintain that the king had no right, either by law or the practice of the constitution, to bring foreign troops into this country at any time, without the consent of parliament. By the act of settlement no foreigner could possibly hold any office of civil or military trust in this country; and according to the mutiny bill, such troops when in this country; could not by any legal means be under any military law. The 1st of George I. which was an amendment of the act of settlement, enacted, that in every naturalization bill, the person naturalized should be held incapable of accepting any civil or military trust. What then was the situation of the Hessian officers? He might be told there were precedents to sanction the measure, but no precedent could sanction illegality; that which was unjust must for ever remain so, notwithstanding the number of instances in which it was repeated. He professed he had no other view in the measure than guarding against the establishment of a dangerous doctrine and a dangerous precedent. Whatever might be the pride of ministers, the house were bound to maintain the principles of the constitution. Mr. Grey directed the attention of the house to the possible effects of a measure like the present. What was the security for the freedom of the country, when a king had the power of introducing such a force as would terminate all disputes about rights?—What would become of the controul of parliament should such a circumstance take place?—What was the remedy he proposed to this evil? A bill of indemnity. Did this hurt the pride of the minister,

ster, or was he to be deemed incapable of having erred? What inconvenience could result from such a measure? If the house refused his proposition, what remained on the other side? The law violated, and a precedent established pregnant with the most dangerous consequences. Mr. Grey ended by moving for a bill of indemnity, and was seconded by Mr. Francis.

Mr. Grenville said, that with every possible attention which he could give to the question, he could not find one declaration of law which fairly applied to the present case. The bill of rights did not reach it; for that bill only declared, "that the king should not keep a standing army in this country in time of peace, without the consent of parliament." He thought no one, upon fairly reading the act of settlement, would say, that its regulations were framed with a view to a case any thing like the present; he conceived it was only intended to prevent foreigners from being introduced into places of trust by the family recently admitted to the throne. He referred to the conduct of those who framed the act, who fourteen years after, when 6000 Dutch troops were introduced into this country, in their debates on the subject never expressed a doubt of the legality of their introduction. The conduct of ministers on that occasion had never been questioned as illegal; indeed, in no one instance since the present century, in which foreign troops had been introduced into the country in time of war, had a bill of indemnity ever been thought necessary. The opinion of the honourable gentleman was, he thought, contrary to the letter of the law, to the practice of parliament, and the spirit of the constitution. He mentioned the responsibility of ministers for every undue exertion of the prerogative, and asked whether, an invasion from the French was apprehended, and the regular troops of this country employed abroad, at the same time there happened to be 15,000 of our allies at Ostend, would or would not the minister be justified in sending for them? Most certainly, if he did not, he would deserve to be impeached.

Mr. serjeant Adair, in a speech of considerable length and ability contended, that so far from the king being empowered to maintain foreign troops without the consent of parliament, he could at no period of the English history call out the native troops without that consent. During the operation of the feudal laws, the monarchs did not levy troops merely as kings, but as the territorial lords of the country. That at common law there existed no right in the crown to embody any armed force within the country, was clear from the first establishment of the militia in the reign of Charles II. At that time the greater part of the feudal tenures were abolished, and the system of national defence founded upon them of course fell to the ground. In their stead, parliament established a regular national militia, because they knew that the king by his prerogative had no power to provide for internal defence. From that time a system had been gaining ground of having a regular body of forces, in the nature of a standing army, which had become in some degree a necessary measure. But this army must be annually voted by parliament, and a mutiny bill yearly passed for its regulation. The jealousy of parliament on the prerogative of the crown to levy troops commenced at a very early period, and was evinced by several acts

acts and resolutions of parliament. In the reign of Edward III. an act was passed which enacted, that no person should be called out of the shire in which he lived, except in cases of insurrection or invasion, and he could not conceive our ancestors would be guilty of such a solecism in politics as to prevent the drawing forth our native forces, except in times of extraordinary danger, and yet leave to the crown the right of bringing into the kingdom an indefinite number of foreign troops whenever it pleased. The 25th of the same king restricts this military force to such as were bound by their tenure and possessions to defend the country. Respecting the militia, though composed of persons peculiarly interested in the welfare of the kingdom, the king is not by law wholly invested with the controul of these troops: even in cases of the utmost exigency he is not empowered to call them out, without first acquainting parliament, if it is at that time sitting; and if not, it shall be convened within fourteen days, and the measures which had been adopted laid before it. If, however, his majesty was vested with the power of introducing what number of foreign troops he pleased into the kingdom, this jealous caution of the legislature was totally useless and inefficient. From the silence of the bill of rights respecting the prerogative of the crown in this instance, it would be wrong to suppose the existence of such a prerogative. As well might it be said, that several of the most valuable privileges of British subjects which they hold under magna charta, and the habeas corpus act, did not exist, since they had not been recited in the bill of rights. The act of settlement and the naturalization bill clearly proved that this prerogative did not exist in the crown. Mr. Adair confessed himself no enemy to the ordinary prerogatives of the crown, which were known, defined, and legal; but the prerogative which appeared to him dangerous, was that prerogative, which, if it at all existed, was unknown, undefined, and unascertained. With respect to what had been said by an honourable gentleman concerning the acquiescence of those who had framed the act of settlement in the subsequent introduction of foreign troops, that this was at a time when there was an open rebellion in the country; the present introduction of foreign troops, he thought, might be fully justified on the grounds of necessity and humanity; and he should have considered that there was little cause for jealousy, had not the assertion of this prerogative proceeded from a quarter which gave occasion for more than common jealousy, when the question was between the prerogatives of the crown and the law of the land.

Mr. Anstruther defended the power of the crown in the present instance, from the powers with which it is vested for the protection of the kingdom, and the practice of stating to the house, in his Majesty's speech, that he deemed it necessary to augment his forces. Supposing a war broke out in the recess of parliament, and the king increased his military establishment for the immediate safety of the kingdom, would any man regard this as a violation of the sacred principles of the constitution? In support of the right of his majesty to call out the forces of the kingdom in time of war, he appealed to the precedents of Henry VII and VIII, and the reign of Philip and Mary, and cited the preamble to an act in the latter of

of these reigns, to prove the prerogative at present contested. He cited other acts, to prove the power of the crown to raise troops in time of war. He would not allow, that the argument respecting the militia applied to the question, and equally set aside the applicability of the act of settlement. How could the house pass a bill of indemnity for an act that could not be found considered as an illegal act on any of the statute or law books? Would any gentleman assert, that the king had not at any period raised forces in this kingdom? From the year 1698 to the year 1701, there was a standing army kept up in this country, and the mutiny bill was suspended. From that period to the present, no bill of indemnity, under circumstances like the present, had been passed; therefore it could not be presumed that this was a fit ground upon which to found a bill of indemnity.

Mr. Sheridan, with his usual ability, combated the arguments of Mr. Anstruther. There was, he contended, only one part of the hon. gentleman's speech which applied to the question, the precedents in relation to the conduct of bills of indemnity. But to look into books for the illegality of such a claim, was a mere waste of time; common sense was sufficient to shew that it could not exist. It had been asked by an hon. gentleman (Mr. Grenville), whether, if an invasion was to be threatened here, and our troops were abroad, we should not impeach the minister who should, in this exigence, neglect to bring from Ostend the troops of our allies to defend the country. To this he would answer, "that if the country could suffer the incapacity of a minister to bring it into such a situation, it would not be worth while to impeach him, for the country would be past the possibility of being saved." If it were the wish of the king to land a foreign force, any construction which could be put on the bill of rights was a paltry consideration, compared to the consequences which must result from such a measure. The militia act enjoined, that if the domestic force of the country was necessary to be called out, the circumstance should, as soon as convenient be submitted to the house. But if, in an interval of anarchy, 50,000 foreign troops were to land in the kingdom, who would assert, that the responsibility of ministers was a sufficient apology for the measure? With respect to impeaching or reproving ministers, of all men, he should like the least to reprove the leader of an army of foreign troops. While the house was dividing on the reproof, they might meet his advanced guard in the lobby. The question, Mr. Sheridan said, lay in narrow bounds. Let it be proved, that the prerogative contended for had always existed, that it was safe, and subject to proper control. Every control of the executive power was attended with some disadvantage; but the general result was of such inestimable benefit, as far to outweigh all the partial inconveniences.

The attorney general agreed with Mr. Sheridan, that if the minister was at the head of 50,000 men, it would be difficult to make him responsible; but the supposition was too extravagant for a comment, and the argument made not more against our own than against every other species of government. He asserted that governors must act as individuals; if it was thought advisable to grant them any power, they

they must also be allowed the means of maintaining their authority, or such powers could not exist to any useful purpose. He concluded, by contending that no argument drawn from the danger arising from the abuse of power ought to have weight in determining the decision of the house respecting a question so nice in its nature, and which, for a variety of reasons, had better remain as it was.

The earl of Wycomb declared, that if every idea of the constitution he had been able to collect for himself, or had received from education, were not founded in prejudice, the king had not the prerogative now contended for. He could not wonder at the people being enraged, when they saw foreign mercenaries introduced into this country, at a time when our own troops were sending out of the kingdom. The introduction of those troops was inconsistent with the established constitution and maxims of economy, and repugnant to rational policy. He should vote for the motion, considering the power which it was meant to disallow as unfit to be possessed by the sovereign of a free people; and a bill of indemnity, in this case, might establish a necessary and useful precedent, which would prevent future ministers from transgressing the limits prescribed by the constitution.

Mr. Smith also thought the illegality of introducing foreign troops could not be questioned. No constitution could contain a principle, which was *felo de se*, which struck at its vital part, and endangered its existence. It had last year been asserted by ministers, that they might build barracks in any part of the country, and when built, parliament might take into consideration the propriety of their being erected. If the crown had the power of garrisoning these fortresses with foreign troops, procured by treaty or by pay, what can it have to fear, what may it not accomplish?

Mr. Fox, with that energy which characterizes all his exertions on constitutional questions, said, that if the introduction of foreign troops into this country was legal, to talk of liberty was absurd; to speak of a free constitution was weakness. If the house did not come to some resolution on its illegality, all the libels of those who said we had no constitution, would be converted into melancholy truths. The argument of responsibility would justify any prerogative, but it was a very different thing to be able to tell a minister he was wrong, and arrest him in the very first step, and to be obliged to watch him in his progress, in order to prove something wrong, when the proof might come too late. He thought it would be criminal to sit silent, and not at least establish a settled precedent for posterity; since it was the silence of parliaments, on similar questions, that gave us the smallest cause to doubt of the illegality. But our ancestors never imagined that there would have been any ambiguity in construing the act of settlement: had they entertained the smallest doubt, they would have guarded against the delusive and artful practice of endeavouring to confound right and wrong, truth and falshood, so often resorted to in cases of difficulty by the present servants of the crown. He did not suppose ministers would engage in a measure declaredly illegal; but if their intentions were pure, what objection could they make to the proposed bill of indemnity? Mr. Fox quoted the

the authority of the late lord Mansfield, to shew the propriety of ministers seeking indemnity, whenever necessity should urge them to act illegally. Mr. Fox called upon gentlemen to consider the duty they owed their constituents, and upon the crown lawyers to decide this important point. If the motion was to be negatived, he said one of two ideas would go abroad, either that the house had affirmed the legality, or that, from timidity and deference to men in power, they had shrunk from the inquiry. If it was asked why decisions were not called for on other points of the constitution as well as this, he would answer, that on most other constitutional points there was no material difference of opinion, but here a new and dangerous claim of prerogative had been maintained by great abilities and great authority.

The chancellor of the exchequer recalled the attention of the house to the preceding debate on this subject, and said, that the act, which they had then, on full discussion and mature deliberation, declared to be not illegal, they were now called upon to declare illegal, by passing a bill of indemnity, in which such a censure was evidently implied. It had ever been the practice of parliament, in difficult cases, not to follow up to strict and precise definitions, questions which might be better left to practice, and they had always avoided coming to decisions upon them, unless in cases of such exigency, as rendered a decision unavoidable. Gentlemen had maintained, that doctrines were asserted contrary to the constitution, and it was insinuated that the case of right, whether in the prerogative or not, had never been fairly brought into discussion. The fact was he said directly the reverse; not a single man had occurred since the revolution, in which ground had not been furnished for some proceedings on the subject. Mr. Pitt mentioned different instances in which the question had been discussed, and inferred, from what had arisen on these occasions, that it had been the uniform practice of parliament to avoid coming to a declaration on the subject. He persevered in his opinion of the legality of introducing foreign troops into the kingdom without the previous consent of parliament, and called upon gentlemen to point out to him what positive law was contravened by it, what precedents it violated, or what course of practice it traversed? He denied that ministers would think themselves lowered, or their pride wounded by a bill of indemnity; on the contrary, he should have occasion in a few days to move for such a bill, but he should never think it right, merely to save a warm debate, to avoid odium, or to spare trouble, to concede so far as to ask for or agree to a bill of indemnity on a matter not declared to be illegal.

Mr. Grey contended that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had referred to precedents which did not apply to the present question. Had they however been applicable, and proved that similar acts had been practised by the king at former periods, without any notice having been taken of them; the silence of parliament on these occasions, was of itself a sufficient inducement for him to bring forward a motion like the present. He peremptorily denied that there ever was a similar case in this country; in the only case produced by Mr. Pitt which bore any sort of resemblance to the present, the circumstances were essentially different, and no man in that

that house attempted to support the prerogative in the manner it had been lately attempted. He declared his intention to pursue the subject till he should be able to effect something for the preservation of the constitution. He conceived it to be a point of the utmost importance to the people of this country, whether their liberties did or did not depend on the exercise of a prerogative, which he contended, was totally repugnant to the spirit and practice of the constitution, and the statute law of the land; a prerogative, destructive of all the rights and liberties of Englishmen, and by which they might all be overthrown at a single stroke. On the motion being called for, the Ayes were 41, Noes 170.

A motion for a bill of indemnity, on occasion of landing the Hessian troops in England without parliamentary consent, was also brought forward in the house of lords, on February 21, by the earl of Albemarle, in a speech eminently conspicuous for sound argument and historical knowledge. After a review of the bill of rights, of the act of settlement, and the mutiny bill, his lordship entered into a consideration of various precedents in parliament relative to the question, tending to shew the jealousy with which every incident likely to affect the principles of the constitution had been regarded. His lordship particularly noticed that of 1775, in which year ministers wished to send foreign troops to garrison Gibraltar and Mahon, and landed them in England with that view, justifying the measure under the subterfuge that these places were without the kingdom: the evasion however was scouted, and a bill of indemnity brought in, which passed the house of commons, but was lost in the lords, from the objection made by the marquis of Rockingham to the preamble, in which it was stated, "whereas *doubts* have arisen, &c." the marquis declared no such doubt had existed, for it was clearly true, that the crown had no right to land foreign troops without the consent of parliament. His lordship contended that the case of the Hessians was stronger than any of the precedents to which he had referred. He trusted he had proved, that by law the king could not introduce foreign troops without the consent of parliament; and by law, that both houses of parliament had uniformly entertained a constitutional jealousy upon the subject.

Lord Spencer combated the opinion on this subject, taken from the bill of rights, that the king has not the power to employ a standing army in this country without the sanction of parliament, on the plea, that the present case did not amount to this. The act of settlement, which prohibited foreigners from holding any civil or military trust in this kingdom, was equally irrelevant, for the Hessian officers, while here, were not in any office of trust. When indeed troops were thus landed, to justify the act, it was essential they should have a foreign destination, that their residence should be temporary, and that there should be a prompt communication to parliament of the measure. All these points were to be found in the conduct of the present measure. "It certainly was not in the power of the prerogative to introduce foreign troops, either to quell domestic disorder, to share in garrison duty, or to make a permanent residence in the

kingdom, without the sanction of parliament;[a] but their introduction on an emergency, and under the modifications he had stated, was clearly not against law, and wanted no indemnity.

Lord Auckland was sorry to see a great question agitated on very slight grounds. He could not consider the measure in question as an illegal act, though *he would not go so far as to say it was according to law*. There were in our constitution many cases in which the law is silent, and it had been the wisdom of parliament to remain silent also, unless there were some unequivocal reasons for apprehending, that the crown was making a pernicious use of the discretionary power resulting from the silence of the law. His lordship thought such a power ought to subsist in the hands of the king, to be exercised for the benefit of his people. He mentioned several cases, in which the existence of this power would be salutary, and observed, that the possible dangers attending it were no more than might be conjured up against every prerogative of the crown.

Lord Romney said, a regard to his own character would not suffer him to give a silent vote, after having heard what had fallen from the noble lord (Auckland), which, considered in a constitutional point of view, appeared to him to be a doctrine *the most extraordinary that had ever been avowed and maintained*. It had fallen to his lot, he said, 19 years ago, to rise in the other house of parliament, and move an amendment to the preamble of the indemnity bill then brought in, on the business of ministers having sent foreign troops to garrison Gibraltar and Port Mahon. At that time, *it was not even pretended*, that to introduce and employ foreign troops in any part of the king's dominions was not illegal and unconstitutional. It was admitted on all hands, and the only question was, how to frame and word the preamble of the bill of indemnity, so as not to throw a doubt upon a principle, respecting which there was no doubt entertained, or question made. His lordship however in the present instance did not think an indemnity bill absolutely necessary, though he should not like to give his vote against one, moved on the ground of preserving the constitution from encroachment.

Lord Grenville considered the question as turning wholly on an abstract proposition, and saw no use in agitating abstract propositions in parliament. He justified the measure of landing the troops on the plea of exigency, but in what had been done, did not conceive the smallest illegality had arisen. His lordship admitted, "that the crown had no power to keep up a standing army without the consent of parliament," which possessed abundant security against it from a variety of checks. These were of three descriptions, the supplying of money to pay the army, the enacting and investing the crown with the power to discipline the army, and enabling the crown to provide the army with quarters. It certainly would not be laid down as a maxim, that where there was prerogative, there must exist an abuse of it. All prerogative was inconsistent with liberty; but it was an evil which, on the ground of the general good, was submitted to as a necessary evil. His lordship mentioned instances, in which the exertion of the prerogative in question might be necessary for the general good. He called the attention of their lordships to the double responsibility

responsibility of ministers, who incurred a double danger both by bringing troops into the country at an improper time, and by omitting to bring them in when there should be real occasion. If the house should declare, by passing a bill of indemnity, that it was contrary to law so to introduce troops at all, how could they afterwards impeach ministers for omitting to do so in a case of real exigency? It would therefore, he thought, be better for the country that the question should be left open, and ministers remain subject to double danger, than that it should be decided upon either one way or other.

The earl of Lauderdale observed, that it had been contended, that it was the undoubted prerogative of the crown to bring foreign troops into the kingdom, but that it was parliament alone which could enable or authorize the crown to continue them. In opposition to this doctrine, it was plain that, according to the letter of each message from the king relative to the landing of foreign troops down to the present instance, the communication had been made in sufficient time to *enable parliament to prevent their landing, if they thought it unsafe or improper*. It was argued, that no danger could arise from the measure, because the troops could neither be paid, disciplined, nor sent to quarters without the consent of parliament. Was it then to be gravely argued, that the crown possessed the envious prerogative of landing, at pleasure, any number of armed banditti? for as such must all troops, not subject to discipline, be considered. The king could not keep native troops without the mutiny bill; but, according to this doctrine, he might keep foreign troops. Parliament were to see the introduction of foreign troops with perfect tranquillity, because afterwards they might, in right of their constitutional authority, dispute the use to which they were to be put. His lordship said he did not highly approve of arguing a point with 30,000 armed logicians.

The substance of lord Hawksbury's speech on this occasion was an echo to that of lord Grenville. He was followed by earl Stanhope, who noticed the less lofty terms, in which the present question was agitated in that house than in the other. It lay, his lordship said, with the supporters of the prerogative to shew the law which justifies and allows such an exercise of the prerogative. He stated to the house the difference between statute and common law, and contended, from a full consideration of both, that nothing appeared in either to justify the exercise of the prerogative in question. His lordship mentioned the precedent of 1775, when foreign troops had been landed to garrison Port Mahon and Gibraltar, and it had been found indispensibly necessary to come to parliament to obtain its sanction, and pass a bill for quartering these troops; which proved that, without the sanction of parliament, they could not be kept in the kingdom. Precedents, his lordship said, he considered as nothing; on that ground it had been contended, that there was no necessity for a bill of indemnity in the present instance, because it was to be found, by reference to precedent, that illegal measures had been employed in many instances, without any notice having been taken of them by parliament. Upon this idea ministers might act as they pleased, for he believed

there was nothing so bad, so illegal, or so enormous, but there might be found a precedent for a similar crime without its being noticed by parliament.

Lord Carnarvon conceived the bringing in, or maintaining foreign troops without consent of parliament was illegal and unconstitutional; but he saw nothing in the present case which called for a bill of indemnity.—His lordship was followed by the earl of Guildford, who thought no argument of expediency could justify any deviation from the principles of the constitution. If troops could be thus introduced, James II. might have brought into this country a sufficient number of French troops to prevent Great Britain from ever having enjoyed a mild government under the house of Brunswick. On what ground a bill of indemnity was rejected, he was at a loss to guess. It was pretty generally admitted, that the landing of the Hessian troops was unconstitutional and illegal. By what milder mode could the encroachment be set to rights than by such a bill? With respect to what had been said of the message from the crown being sufficient for the executive government to act upon, he would reply in the words of lord Coke, "that the king's message was gracious, but what is the law of the land?"

The duke of Portland thought landing the troops was unconstitutional and illegal, but expressed his surprize, that none of the noble lords had adverted to the treaties entered into with the landgrave of Hesse, which had lain upon the tables more than twelve months; and in which it was expresly stipulated what the pay of the Hessians should be in case they were brought into this kingdom—that was a pretty long notice of the possibility of such an event.

The marquis of Lansdown considered the question as one of the most important that could be possibly argued in that house. He conceived the discussion as no more dangerous than any one of their lordships consulting a lawyer concerning the title deeds of his estate, when it was not challenged. His lordship said he paid little attention to precedents; they were generally used to serve the purpose of those who brought them forward in debate, and were so convenient to the times in which they were produced, that they often saw at different conjunctures the same precedents differently applied. To demonstrate this, his lordship noticed the seven years war from 1756 to the peace of Paris, which cost this country 78 millions of money, when both houses of parliament were unanimous in their sentiments and votes during the whole of the war, though after the peace in 1763, they were as unanimous in reprobating the system upon which it proceeded. From all the precedents, however, his lordship inferred the illegality of the measure in question. His lordship observed, that this pretended right had been compared to different branches of the king's prerogative, his power of pardon, and *veto*—but those were powers given and acknowledged, whereas the power of introducing foreign troops either in time of peace or war, without the consent of parliament, never had been given. An attempt had been made to place the executive power of the crown and the parliament as plaintiff and defendant, on which ministers built their grand argument of responsibility. In short they were to do what they pleased, and

and then say, we do not wish for an act of indemnity; if we have done wrong we are responsible. His lordship argued strenuously in favour of bills of indemnity, and asserted, that in case of invasion these troops could not be employed without the sanction of parliament. He made some remarks upon augmenting the militia, and mentioned, in pointed terms, the danger of mercenaries, the bad economy of employing them, and the little necessity for having recourse to them, considering our own internal resources.

The duke of Bedford noticed many contradictions in the present discussion. One noble lord had said, ministers had done nothing improper; therefore, why pass a bill of indemnity? Had ministers done what would have subjected them to censure or punishment, a bill of impeachment would have been voted, and the house, in that case, ought not to pass a bill of indemnity. A noble duke had noticed, that treaties lay upon the table, stipulating for the pay of Hessians, if brought into the kingdom. His majesty had undoubtedly the prerogative of making all treaties; but the noble duke's argument, if it meant any thing, went to the enormous length of giving the king an absolute power to land as many Hessians as he pleases. A noble earl (the earl of Carnarvon) had supposed the case of sickness as an apology, but this his grace considered as a shallow pretext; a hundred thousand might as likely be sick as ten thousand, nay an army of the former size was more likely; and under that pretext infinite mischief might arise to the constitution.

The bill was rejected by a majority of 77 against 12, and a protest was signed by the earls of Stanhope and Radnor. Though the bill of indemnity was thus rejected, or rather evaded, upon what many will consider as frivolous pretences, yet the mode in which it was discussed in the house of lords, may be considered as a real triumph by the friends of the constitution; and from the debate of this day, the principle may fairly be considered as established beyond the power of ministers to shake; "THAT TO INTRODUCE FOREIGN TROOPS INTO ANY PART OF THE DOMINIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN, IS ILLEGAL AND UNCONSTITUTIONAL. In this, every respectable man among the peers of Great Britain, whatever his party was, decidedly agreed. Such a manly avowal of constitutional principles, reflects the highest honour on the old aristocracy of the kingdom; a few such discussions would efface every prejudice which democratical speculation has excited against them; and when we compare this debate with the manner in which the subject was treated in another place, it serves effectually to illustrate the truth of a position, which we have often laid down, that the liberties of Great Britain will never suffer from the ancient nobility, and landed interest of the kingdom; but will be overturned, if ever they are overturned, solely by the influx of corrupt contractors, commissaries, venal stock-jobbers, the plunderers of Asia, and the commercial locusts of Europe, into the lower house.

An attention to perspicuity compels us occasionally to transgress the order of time in reporting the transactions of parliament. But the advantage which must result from presenting to our readers a complete and connected view of all the reasoning which occurred upon one subject, before we venture to advert to another, will, we doubt not, plead our apology.

On the 28th of January, Mr. Sheridan rose to make the motion, of which he had previously given notice, respecting what he denominated *job*. As it was, he said, the first duty of that house to inquire into the application of the public money—it was the interest of every fair and candid minister to countenance the inquiry, and at no time could inquiry be more necessary. We had heard in the speech from the throne information deeply interesting to the people of Great Britain. Very soon the chancellor of the exchequer would have to bring forward his budget; he feared it would then appear, that the surplus of the revenue so much boasted of, and the application of it for the reduction of our debt, would all at once be swept away, and with it would vanish that pleasing prospect of alleviating the hardships of the people, by the reduction of the taxes. That cheering hope of reducing our peace establishment, of the diminution of our debt, and the alleviation of our burdens, which had year after year been held out to us, would vanish. If peace was concluded to morrow, many years must pass before we could hope to be in the same situation as at the commencement of the war. On the preceding day he had used the word *job* as applicable to some part of the minister's conduct, with respect to certain appointments since the commencement of the war. The minister (doubtless from his simplicity and innocence) did not seem to comprehend the word. It was certainly, though not very elegant, very intelligible. He would however explain it by saying, that whenever any emolument, profit, salary, or honour was conferred upon any person who had not gone through a public service or necessary public duty, that was a job. After more observations, Mr. Sheridan moved for "an account of all the expences incurred by the employment of counsel, &c. relative to the affairs of India, in assisting and advising the board of control, from the date of the board down to the present time.

"An account of the salary now enjoyed by —— Anstruther, esq. as counsel for the board.

"An account of the half pay, or pension, or emolument in lieu of half pay, to John Erskine, esq. for his services at Toulon, &c.

"An account, in the same way, to Joseph Dornford, esq. for his intended expedition on the coast of France.

"An account of the salary, emolument, half pay, &c. to Sir Gilbert Elliot, for his services at Toulon, &c.

"An account of the expence in consequence of the mission of lord Yarmouth to the king of Prussia, &c.

"An account of the salary of lord Malmsbury, for his late mission, &c."

The first motion was put and carried. To the second Mr. Anstruther denied having any salary from the board of control, and the motion was withdrawn. A motion, for an account of the pension granted to Mr. Hayes in lieu of the place of Welsh judge, was agreed to. With respect to the pensions, or half-pay, granted to Mr. Erskine, or any other gentleman employed in the commissional department at Toulon, the chancellor of the exchequer stated, that it had always been the practice for commissaries to have commissions granted them, which entitled them to half-pay. The motion for an account of salaries granted to Sir Gilbert Elliot was agreed to. On moving for an account of the expences

expences attending the earl of Yarmouth, &c. his lordship rose and assured the house, that he had neither demanded nor received any gratuity for the services he undertook. A very warm altercation took place on this occasion between Mr. Sheridan and the chancellor of the exchequer, which was interrupted by Mr. Fox, and the motion respecting lord Malmsbury passed. Mr. Sheridan added to these a motion for an account of the expenditure of the sums of 5000l. and 11,000l. granted last sessions to defray the expences of the India board of control, which was agreed to. These accounts were laid before the house January 31st, when the earl of Yarmouth clearly evinced the perfect *disinterestedness* which peculiarly marked his mission.

On the 27th of January lord Arden brought forward a motion for a supply of 85,000 seamen, including 12,115 marines for the service of the present year. Mr. Fox rose, not, he said, to oppose the motion, for if we must have war, it was necessary to prosecute it with vigour, but he thought it proper to inquire into the conduct of the war. On the motion for the address to his majesty, it had been stated by an hon. gentleman (Mr. Dundas) that the exertions of the navy had never been better conducted, particularly respecting convoys. These assertions, Mr. Fox said, he had heard with considerable jealousy and distrust; he had since taken pains to investigate the business, and the result had been unfavourable. The Baltic fleet had all been in danger of being captured, and 16 or 17 had been taken into Norway; whether or not they were condemned, was another question. The Quebec fleet sailed under the convoy of one ship only, the Severn, and that he understood was unfit for sea. That part of the fleet destined for Great Britain had been saved, only because there was nothing to oppose it; of that part destined for Spain and Portugal, some were captured. Mr. Fox inquired whether a whole fleet was not ready to sail from the West Indies about the 15th of May, which was compelled to wait for a convoy till the 23d of August. He stated the loss that must have been consequently sustained, and the risque of the sea at that time of the year; and that in consequence of the delay in convoy for some ships in the Mediterranean, there was a litigation between the English and Italian merchants about receiving the goods. Another thing not very flattering to the pride of Englishmen was, that six French frigates had been masters of the channel for a considerable time, and had, as he was informed, taken 26 sail of very valuable prizes. A fleet destined for the West Indies had been detained by the rumour of a French fleet being out, and this at a time when we were assured every thing was protected. These circumstances he thought necessary to state to the house, as grounds for his jealousy and distrust of the information received from the ministers, on the opening of the session. Admitting, however, all that had been said respecting the naval service having been as well performed during this as any preceding war, was it wonderful that Great Britain, in the plenitude of her power, should be equal in her navy to what she had been on former occasions? Was it wonderful, that after having deprived France of a great part of her navy, we should be afterwards able to protect ourselves at sea,

sea, and do what was done in the year 1778, when we contended with France, Spain, and Holland united? He had, however, made some inquiries, and the result was, that he doubted whether more of our ships were taken in 1778, when we contended with those powers, than we had lost since the commencement of the present war. Mr. Fox read a statement, taken from Lloyd's List, of the vessels captured from the 1st of February 1793, to the 1st of February 1794; from which it appeared, that there was a balance of 94 ships in favour of the French, against all the combined powers.

The chancellor of the exchequer confined himself to the consideration, whether any material neglect had been manifested, and whether any ships had been taken for want of sufficient convoy. We could not cover the seas with our fleet, nor be secure against the inclemency of the season. The observations he applied to the Baltic fleet, but did not state whether any had been lost. If any of the Quebec fleet were taken, it must be after they separated from the convoy. He mentioned several causes which might prevent the sailing of a convoy at a particular time; but these, he did not conceive, appeared in the present case. The delay respecting the Mediterranean fleet was on account of the necessity of making inquiry into the force of the enemy. Notwithstanding the circumstance of six French frigates remaining six days in possession of the channel, he thought our success on the whole exceeded the most sanguine expectations. When the intelligence of the French being in the channel arrived, our fleet had returned to refit, and the French, who had abandoned their foreign possessions, might easily concentrate their force to any particular object. We had a superior force to the French, though they had so much the start of us at the beginning of the war. We had protected, and safely brought home, our East and West India trade, and made great exertions in the Mediterranean, where we had a large fleet; yet, with all this, we had fifty ships of the line. He noticed that we had given a decisive blow to the French maritime power at Toulon, and had blocked up the whole of the Mediterranean till this was effected. We had been ready for action, but the enemy had never met us; if they wished not to engage us, the fault was not ours. After having been long out in hopes of meeting them, it became necessary to return, and then they collected their force into one point, and had a temporary superiority. With respect to obtaining information of the proceedings in France, Mr. Pitt asserted that it was very difficult.

Admiral Gardner gave an account of several convoys which had protected ships of great value; and mentioned, that the whole of the victualling fleet from Ireland, except one ship, had safely arrived.

Mr. Fox admitted that the Baltic fleet was separated from the convoy, which was the circumstance of which he complained, and insisted that 16 sail were actually taken. Much had been said of our great success; the hon. gentleman had forgotten that we had any allies—if ever there was a time when we might expect complete protection to our commerce, and decided superiority, this was the period. That we had a decided superiority in our navy, he not only agreed, but asserted that no circumstance, however disadvantageous, could render

render the French superior to us at sea. He maintained, that none of his objections were fully answered, nor was it proved that any thing he had stated was not true.

The chancellor of the exchequer again replied and said, that the aid of our naval allies had not been of such a nature, as to disengage any part of our own naval force. Holland was so much engaged, that we had her trade to protect. The naval exertions made by Spain, though very considerable, did not allow us to concentrate our force at home. If we had not sent a fleet superior to that of the French into the Mediterranean, the important advantages accruing from the surrender of Toulon would not have been obtained.

Mr. Sheridan stated that Toulon had been taken not in consequence of the loyalty of the inhabitants, but of force and famine. A right hon. gentleman (Mr. Dundas) had contradicted the statement of a noble lord (earl Wycombe) of the defenceless state in which Halifax had been left, and said there were 4000 men to defend it. A letter from a person in whom he could confide, dated Halifax, Dec. 7th, stated, that the trade from thence had no protection, that it possessed no means of defence, and was in a state of the utmost alarm. A conversation ensued, in which the chancellor of the exchequer and admiral Gardner supported the adequacy of the force at Halifax. The resolution for the 85,000 seamen was agreed to.

On the first reading of the report of the committee of supply, a long conversation took place between the speakers in the former debate, and with the usual effect, that of each party appearing more decidedly attached to their respective opinions. Mr. secretary Dundas contended strongly in favour of the superiority of the exertions during the present war, and adverted to the situation of Halifax, to prove the strength of which, he read several letters. He stated, that 4000 militia could be brought together there at a few hours notice —that 9160 were in the settlement, all animated with loyalty and a detestation of French principles—that some of them were men of 100l. per annum and upwards. He contrasted this report with the letter read by Mr. Sheridan.

Mr. Sheridan vindicated the letter he had read on a former night, from the charge of being anonymous; and contended, that from the letters just produced, it appeared that there were no fortifications, nor was the colony in any adequate state of defence previous to the 27th of August. He noticed, that the last letter produced by the hon. secretary was dated Nov. 9th; his was dated Dec. 7th, and he wished to know whether ministers had received no letters since, and if so, from what cause that proceeded. The right hon. gentleman had stated that 9000 militia were in Nova Scotia, that 4000 of them were collected in Halifax, but had allowed that they had still their exercise to learn, being freeholders and merchants. He averred, that whatever might be the individual exceptions to the contrary, the general opinion was, that the trade and commerce of this country had not met with adequate protection from the admiralty.

Earl Wycombe professed himself astonished at the great exertions which, according to the statement of Mr. Dundas, had been made to establish a militia in Nova Scotia. He considered, however, the keeping

ing it up as highly detrimental to the industry and prosperity of the colony. His Lordship represented the effects of obliging the quakers, the most useful and industrious part of the inhabitants, to quit their situation; and stated the inconveniency and loss of sending negroes thence to Sierra Leone. Admiral Gardner and captain Berkley strenuously contended in favour of the sufficiency of the convoys, and their assertions were supported by Mr. Dundas. Mr. Vaughan, however, with his usual ability and commercial knowledge, asserted that the merchants in general held a language relative to the convoys directly the reverse of their statements. The supply was agreed to after the usual forms.

Mr. Pitt moved in the committee of supply, that the treaty between his Britannic majesty and the king of Sardinia be referred to the said committee. Mr. Fox said he considered this treaty as one which his duty to his constituents did not allow him to assent to, without some observations, and a satisfactory answer to those observations. He had never conceived that it was wise to enter into a treaty by which we were to receive nothing, and to give every thing. When he looked at the treaty, he should have supposed that the king of Sardinia possessed the power to put into our possession the port of Nice, or to afford us an easy passage through Savoy into France; but on the contrary he found the king of Sardinia had lost both Nice and Savoy, before we entered into any negociation on the subject. The assistance of the king of Sardinia might be useful in the prosecution of the war, but in obtaining assistance, we ought to estimate what we gave, as well as what was to be given. By this treaty, the king of Sardinia was bound only to maintain 50,000 men for the defence of his own territories; and conformably to this, he had not given the least assistance to the royalist party in France. On our part, what did we engage to perform? Not only to pay a subsidy of 200,000l. a year, but to restore to the king of Sardinia all those territories which the French had wrested from him, while we were sitting by and boasting of our neutrality. Mr. Fox observed, that in the vicissitudes of human affairs, we might be reduced to purchase peace by great sacrifices on our part, in order to make these engagements good. For the sake of argument he would admit, that the restoration of Savoy was necessary to the balance of Europe; but it would have been more honourable and advantageous to us, whenever we did make peace, to have insisted on this restoration as a preliminary. Mr. Fox strongly ridiculed the idea of *paying a man to defend his own territory*, and asserted the competency of the house to refuse the ratification of treaties.

Mr. Powis appealed to former treaties, to prove that the treaty in question was not unprecedented—when, by the treaty of 1704, in which we obtained the accession of the king of Sardinia to the grand alliance, the war then was of a nature similar to the present. He strongly reprobated the French, and would say, let every man who can furnish money, furnish money—let every man who can furnish a shirt, furnish a shirt.—In a war of defence, assistance was to be obtained wherever and however it could be had; and those from whom we received assistance were to be assisted in return. The subsidy granted to the king of Sardinia

Sardinia was for the general purposes of the war, and, if he was not mistaken, the Sardinian troops sent to Toulon were held to be paid for by the subsidy.

Mr. Ryder entered very fully into the account of former treaties, and mentioned the importance of the assistance of Sardinia in preventing the French from possessing themselves of the country of the Milanese, and thence drawing supplies, which might enable them to overrun the Italian states. He stated that the exertions of the king of Sardinia had occasioned a very important diversion of the French forces, and that it was our duty to enable him to defend himself effectually. The question in debate was, whether 200,000l. was too large a sum—but would it be contended that we should rather force the king of Sardinia to be subsidized by other powers? He noticed the extreme scantiness of his revenues, and his troops not overcharged with military spirit. By the treaty of 1703 we paid 160,000l. for keeping up only 15,000 men, and in 1743 we paid the sum now stipulated for only 45,000; we had now 50,000. He admitted that supplies for carrying on the war must bear hard upon the peasantry, but it was as applicable to any other war as this. No man would have objected to adding 5000 seamen to the 85,000 already granted; yet the subsidy to the king of Sardinia did not exceed that expence, and the assistance obtained by it was much more effectual. Mr. Ryder contended, that whatever might be the event of the war, our stipulations to the king of Sardinia did not militate against our interests.

Mr. Grey vindicated Mr. Fox from the charge advanced against him by Mr. Powis, of having called the treaty an unprecedented one. But had he used that epithet, he said, he must hear many more circumstances than had been stated, before he could think that the epithet did not apply, as well as the epithets absurd and iniquitous. Mr. Grey contended, that so far were the precedents alluded to similar to the present occasion, that the treaty of 1703 was concluded with the king of Sardinia when he was in actual alliance with France, and these terms were the price of breaking it. In default of other arguments, the favourite topic was resorted to, which, as had been justly said, made "men's passions instruct their reason;" the house was told that the anarchy of France was more dangerous than the ambition of Louis XIV. On concluding the treaty of Worms, the king of Sardinia was engaged in war, and had lost part of his dominions. To this treaty the queen of Hungary, our ally, was a party. Did it appear that our present allies were parties in the present treaty? If, however, the precedent was apt, did the concluding of a bad treaty formerly justify concluding a bad treaty now? It was something singular that those ministers, who saw Savoy taken from the king of Sardinia, and who, after it was taken, had boasted of their neutrality, and had been ready to treat with the French without mentioning it, as was evident from the correspondence between Lord Grenville and Monf. Chauvelin, now come forward and talk of its importance.

Mr. Canning, in his maiden speech (according to the technical language of the house), said, there were but two possible objections to the treaty in question; the first, that under all existing circumstances

stances it ought not to have been made; the other, that on comparing it with similar treaties it must be deemed bad. Upon the first he had not heard any gentleman attempt to rely. With respect to the second, he had been at some pains in comparing the past and the present treaty, but was unable to discover the defects so strongly insisted on. He gave up the treaty of Worms, but mentioned the treaty of 1758 between this country and the king of Prussia, who was subsidized by us to the amount of 670,000 per annum, on the ground that he was on all sides oppressed by enemies, whom, in appearance, he was unable to resist; and that his overthrow would be destructive to the balance of power in Europe. This, he contended, was an instance directly in point, both in principle and fact. Mr. Canning justified the vote he meant to give on this occasion, by recapitulating the arguments of the last session in favour of the war. Had it not been for the war, he said, some corresponding revolution society might possibly have been sitting on the benches of that house, or, instead of debating on a treaty of alliance, might have been debating on the means of raising a forced loan, demanded by some proconsular deputy from the French convention.

The resolution for allowing his majesty to make good his treaty with the king of Sardinia passed without a division. The chancellor of the exchequer then moved two resolutions, to allow his majesty 4,500,000l. for the present year, by loan on exchequer bills, which were put and carried.

On the 3d Feb. the house again resolved itself into a committee of supply, and lord Arden moved, that 558,021l. should be granted to his majesty for the ordinaries of the navy, and that 547,310l. be granted for defraying the expences of building ships of war, over and above the sum allowed for wear and tear, which was agreed to. The secretary at war then called the attention of the house to the subject of the army. He represented the uncommon exertions which had been employed to increase the troops, and stated that the greatest number of men raised in any one year, during the war of 1756, and during the American war, had not amounted to more than 22,000 men; but that in the space of one year, the whole time of the present war, by the addition of new corps of cavalry, marching regiments, guards, &c. 37,165 men had been raised. He concluded by moving, "that the land forces for the service of the current year do consist of 60,244 men, including 3382 invalids."

The motion was opposed by Mr. Hussey. The honourable secretary, he said, had stated the comparative exertions in raising troops during the present and former wars; he could have wished he had stated their operations then and now, and would have rejoiced to hear what benefit we were to expect from our present military force. He conceived that a few good ships had for us ten times the force of any land operation. He wished ministers had stated some inducement for this augmentation; but country gentlemen would recollect that this island was encompassed with sea, and the great basis of its resources was commerce. What was likely to extend that revenue, and increase that commerce? Our navy. There were now mustered between 75 and 76,000 men; and if we could afford to augment any part of the

armament, why not make this 300,000? He complimented the army, but did not think, on this occasion, their utmost exertions could be beneficial to Great Britain.

Major Maitland conceived, that the exertions of our army, prudently planned and directed, might be beneficial to this country. More troops were said to be now employed than in the American war; but the question to be considered was the manner of raising them, and in what services they were afterwards employed. If more levy money was expended than on former occasions, there was an end of all the merit of raising men. In stating the numbers at present employed, he wished the military operations of the campaign had been also stated, and what the forces had to contend with. He believed it would then be found that we were fighting against that for which military prowess is not a match: there was no military skill that could alter sentiment or eradicate opinion. Before he consented to take more money out of the pockets of his constituents, it was right to consider whether ministers had already made a good use of that they had in their hands; whether they had not employed a small force where great force was indisputably necessary, and employed great force where small would have been sufficient. Leaving out of the question what had been the conduct of our allies, who however he was ready to prove, were at this time in a much worse state than at the commencement of the campaign; he would confine himself to the operations of British troops, upon every one of which he contended we had completely failed. This censure he meant not to affix either to the generals, officers, or men, but to the misconduct of ministry. The major contended that the success which followed the embarkation of the guards for Holland by the relief of Williamstadt could not be attributed to the wisdom and foresight of ministers, for as it was a defensive measure, no previous plan could be adopted to insure success. Their success at Valenciennes was owing to their number and that of the allies, and, considering their numbers and the time, there was nothing wonderful in what was achieved. When they came to act separately and without the allies, as they did before Dunkirk, the consequence was disgrace; and he attributed the series of disasters during the subsequent part of the campaign to separating the armies, for the purpose of undertaking that unfortunate siege. He paid several compliments to the duke of York, whom he considered as in no respect blameable for the miscarriage, which was solely to be attributed to ministers. The taking of Dunkirk was certainly desirable, but the plan was ill contrived. He understood that when the duke came there in expectation of the requisite supplies being forwarded, many essential requisites were wanting. Our disasters at Dunkirk was the signal for rallying throughout France. The consequence of our failure at this place was the defeat of the prince of Saxe Cobourg at Maubeuge. With respect to Toulon, we had got it by treaty, and lost it by force of arms. How did this prove a military advantage? We got Toulon by promises to the French there; we lost their confidence by betraying them. Ministers sent a force there insufficient to keep it; we were faithless to our

trust,

truſt, and the only thing done was creating a ſtaff, and purſuing all the expenſive part of a military eſtabliſhment. If Toulon was of the conſequence it had formerly been ſtated, why was the expedition under Sir Charles Grey ſuffered to be diverted from its preſervation? After the capture of general O'Hara, general Dundas had ſtated the doubtfulneſs of holding Toulon without the poſſeſſion of the heights, which yet they were unable to preſerve for want of troops. The expedition under Sir Charles Grey was deferred by repeated interruptions and delays, till at length it ſet forward in ſo dangerous and boiſterous a ſeaſon, that by the laſt accounts it was ſeen with only one man of war, a frigate, and three tranſports. With reſpect to the expedition under the earl of Moira, it had ended as his hon. friend (Mr. Sheridan) had ſaid on a former night, in an invaſion of this country by a troop of Heſſians. In the Weſt Indies a ſimilar ſcene of miſconduct and misfortune met his view. Our expedition againſt St. Lucia had failed. The taking of St. Domingo was the effect of negociation, not of military exertion. Tobago was taken, which was the more deſpicable, as it had been poſſeſſed before by the Britiſh, and had many Britiſh inhabitants. The expedition to Martinico had completely failed, and that by an inadequate plan, which on the part of miniſters had been ſhamefully executed. Whether he looked at home or abroad, he ſaw every effort of miniſtry tending to the diſhonour and diſcredit of the country. He did not however oppoſe the ſupply of troops required, but could by no means approve of the mode in which they were applied to the ſervice of the country. The major ſaid he had hoped that the money to be levied for the purpoſe of war would have been ſtrictly applied to that purpoſe. But how could he, when additional burdens were inevitable, approve of ſo large a ſum as 100,000l. expended for the multiplication of barracks within the kingdom, a meaſure which he reprobated as dangerous and impolitic. By the plan now adopted, likewiſe 15l. per man was allowed for raiſing troops, of this 5l. was ſuppoſed to be paid by government, the remainder aroſe from the ſale of commiſſions. This added an unneceſſary number of officers, and men whoſe ſervices deſerved better were ſuperſeded, unleſs they could raiſe money to purchaſe that to which their ſervices gave them a claim. This was cenſurable, becauſe it was unconſtitutional to raiſe troops without the expreſs conſent of parliament; and if economy was the object, miniſters had better regard the long liſt of uſeleſs places that might be ſold. The laſt point he meant to advert to was the unprecedented expence of the ſtaff, exceeding that of any other ſtaff in the moſt brilliant period of the Britiſh annals. It amounted at preſent to 97,000l. per annum, a ſum exceeding by 30,000l. a period when the war of this country was guided by the late lord Chatham. From all this he inferred, that miniſters were laviſh and improvident of the public money, that they were inadequate to the guidance of the public force, and that all the misfortunes during the laſt campaign were to be attributed to them alone.

Mr. Jenkinſon ſaid, that if the war was to be conſidered as ſucceſsful, it was to be taken as *primâ facie* evidence of merit in thoſe

to

to whom this success was owing; but if otherwise, still ministers were not to be deemed culpable, unless specific charges of neglect or incapacity could be made out against them. We had employed 10,000 more men than at any other period of the same length; this proved that ministers had been attentive to the public force. Mr. Jenkinson vindicated the conduct of the siege of Dunkirk. The division of the allied armies was necessary, as at the same time that Dunkirk was attacked, there were several other places to be attended to. As to the time when the division of the armies took place, that must appear equally justifiable. Had the attack been delayed to a later period, all hopes of success must have been precluded by the low and marshy situation of the place, which rendered it inaccessible when the rains set in. He could answer for it, that no remonstrance from the commanders had ever occurred, stating, that in a military point of view the siege of Dunkirk should not have been undertaken, or was impracticable; had this been the case, the cabinet never would have thought of it. Mr. Jenkinson complimented the duke of York, who had done all that could be done. Was success to be always expected? Our second object was the capture of Quesnoy: we took that, and we failed to take Dunkirk. With respect to the ordnance, he believed it was expresly desired by the commander not to be sent till the arrival of the army at Dunkirk, lest it should fall into the hands of the enemy. In consequence the attack was unsuccessful; but the effect of the siege there was highly favourable to the general cause, by drawing away the troops from the Rhine and Moselle, in order to relieve Dunkirk. The plan respecting Martinico and Guadaloupe was certainly a good one; at that time we had reason to apprehend they were in the power of the aristocratic party. Before the arrival of the troops the democratic party had gained the ascendancy. We had in fact been betrayed, and treachery could not be foreseen or guarded against. Toulon was certainly an object to us; but depending, as there was reason to do, upon the assistance of the royalist party in France, ministers were justifiable for thinking that an additional force might be better employed in the West Indies. The reason why the expedition under the earl of Moira did not take place, was owing to the negligence of the royalists in not endeavouring to gain possession of the sea-ports, previous to which it was impossible to send a sufficient force to that country to give any hopes of success. Captain Berkeley stated, that if his information was right, the ordnance for the siege of Dunkirk was required to be at the place of destination between the 21st and 24th of August, and it actually arrived on the 24th.

The chancellor of the exchequer stated in reply to Mr. Hussey, that *a naval war would prove inefficacious, because it would not bring that immediate pressure upon the enemy, which was necessary to accelerate the prospect of peace. Mere naval exertions are not sufficient* against a country not possessing the command of the sea, nor formidable from its maritime power; a country which is satisfied voluntarily to annihilate its own commerce. He stated the grounds of the war to be the encroachments made by the French on the adjacent powers. To prevent their attaining such an extent

extent of territory and of coast as they aimed at, was as much an object with Great Britain as with Austria; but could this be effected with a naval force? Even the failure in the last campaign, which yet he would prove on the whole had been successful to this country, afforded the strongest reason for the addition of our land forces. All these failures arose from the want of a sufficient force. We had to contend not only with *an army* but *an armed nation.* If, as an hon. gentleman had insinuated, there was reason to doubt whether any force could ensure success, our condition was desperate indeed. But if this country had not lost its courage and its hopes, they would look forward with confidence to those greater exertions, which we had it yet in our power to make. If, with all the difficulties and disadvantages under which we laboured at the commencement of the war, we achieved a certain degree of success in the first campaign, might we not entertain much better prospects from the issue of a second? An hon. gentleman had asserted that we were in a worse situation at the end than at the commencement of the campaign. The fact was, that the Netherlands were restored to the dominion of Austria. Holland, at that time invaded, was now protected by strong armies, and the combined armies in possession of several fortified towns belonging to the enemy. We were driven, he said, into war with a diminished peace establishment; we had now 85,000 seamen voted, of whom 75,000 were mustered; the army was augmented by 30,000 men, and we had in our pay a considerable number of auxiliary troops. All this afforded the most flattering prospect of success. The siege of Dunkirk was not undertaken against the advice of the illustrious commander who conducted it, and, though an important object, was not so much so as to supersede other operations. He had no objection to meet every inquiry respecting his advice on this subject. No exertion respecting the ordnance had been omitted: the true cause of the retreat was, that the covering army was attacked by such a superior force as could not be resisted. Respecting the conduct of the war in other parts, what could ministers do more than they had done with the force they had at their command? A force had been ordered for Toulon which had been thought sufficient, and it would not have been justifiable to forego the expedition under sir Charles Grey; this force had been since diminished, but such as it remained it was thought adequate to the service for which it was sent. The capture of Toulon had been highly honourable to this country, and the evacuation conducted in such a manner as was highly creditable to the British name. Respecting the force under the earl of Moira, it was idle to discuss the merits of an expedition which had been only projected, and was now laid aside.

Sir James Murray, in reply to captain Berkeley, stated, that the ordnance for the siege of Dunkirk ought to have arrived between the 20th and 22d August, and did not reach till the 26th or 27th. By the dispositions made after the retreat, the French were repulsed at Ypres. Menin was retaken, and West Flanders saved.

Mr. Fox observed, that were it possible to speak with levity of the situation of Europe, which he considered as highly disastrous, he should

ſhould congratulate the houſe on a campaign, with which all parties engaged in it were pleaſed. We extolled the ſucceſs of our armies, ſo did the French that of theirs. We applauded the evacuation of Toulon: the French celebrated that event by public ſpectacles. We had however ſeen little ſucceſs and much defeat. The latter part of the campaign had been uniformly unſuccefsful, and the early part, inſtead of conducting to new ſucceſſes, had only led to diſaſter and diſgrace; he therefore augured ill of the future, as every rational man muſt augur. The reſponſibility in theſe caſes, he conceived, lay wholly with miniſters. He knew not whether the commander in chief of the allied troops, or the illuſtrious prince who commanded at Dunkirk, approved or diſapproved the expedition; but if it ſhould appear to be undertaken againſt the judgment of ſuch profeſſional men, it would form a ſtrong aggravation of the charge againſt miniſtry. The chancellor of the exchequer had ſaid, that the defence of Toulon was not to ſuperſede the expedition to the Weſt Indies. In one point of view the defence of Toulon was paramount to the capture of all the Weſt India iſlands, for it was to preſerve the faith of the nation, ſolemnly pledged to the inhabitants, who had put themſelves under our protection. "We entered Toulon by treaty, not by conqueſt, as the ally of Louis XVII. in conjunction with the king of Spain, to whom the place was as much ſurrendered as to us; and on the expreſs condition of reſtoring to the inhabitants who admitted us, what they called their conſtitution of 1789;" although he heard that the part of the treaty to which he alluded had been broken by our ſubſequent proclamations. We got poſſeſſion of the ſhips and ſtores in truſt for our ally Louis XVII. and after that, to boaſt of deſtroying them as the ſhips of an enemy, was a perverſion of terms. He admitted, that when they could not be defended, we had a right to deſtroy them, or, what was ſtill better, to bring them away, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of thoſe who were the enemies of Louis XVII. But this was to be lamented as a misfortune, more eſpecially if any conſiderable part of them did fall into the hands of his enemies; not vaunted as an inſtance of extraordinary ſucceſs. Let miniſters hold to Louis XVII. or his repreſentative, if he had any; let them hold to the French royaliſts the language they held to the houſe, of preferring an expedition to the Weſt Indies to the defence of Toulon: let them ſay, 'We have got poſſeſſion of a port and a fleet in truſt for you; but we muſt take your Weſt India iſlands for ourſelves; we cannot attempt the one without endangering the other; and we prefer taking what we mean to keep at all events, to defending what we muſt reſtore to you, when reinſtated on the throne of your anceſtors;' and ſee with what cordiality and gratitude it would be received. If ſeating Louis XVII. on the throne of France was the object to which miniſters looked as the means of peace, they ought to have ſent the whole force at their diſpoſal to Toulon, if neceſſary, in preference to every other expedition, on motives of common policy, much more on the ſtrongeſt of all motives, that of good faith.

The next matter to which Mr. Fox adverted, was the dreadful fate of the unhappy inhabitants left in Toulon; thouſands of them had

glutted the vengeance of those whom they had made their implacable enemies by the confidence they reposed in us. It was insinuated that Toulon had been taken by blockade, by famine, by skilful exertions in opposition to a superior fleet. He had always understood that the officers of that fleet were willing to treat with us, not on account of famine, but their hatred of the French convention. That fleet, said to be superior to ours, admiral Truguet had long represented as in a condition unfit to act; and admiral Trogoff, who commanded it at the time of its surrender, had now a command with us, he supposed in the service of Louis XVII. It had been said, that had Lyons held out Toulon would not have been taken. Such were the hopes held out in the American war. In the south of France, when Toulon was in our hands, Lyons in open revolt, and all Marseilles discontented; in none of the adjacent provinces did the people rise in our favour. What prospect had we that they would on any future occasion? Mr. Fox stated that 15,000 men was a very inadequate garrison for Toulon, especially when that number was composed of different nations, and under an undefined command; and this was so undefined, that general Dundas did not know, after the capture of general O'Hara, whether he or the Spanish general was commander in chief. If success was, *prima facie*, some proof of merit, want of success must, by parity of reasoning, be a presumption of demerit. The minister had said it was fit to assist the royalists, yet neglected all the summer to assist them; then put a force under the earl of Moira, to form which he had crippled another expedition, and then found it too late to assist the royalists. The expedition under the earl of Moira, when coupled with the evacuation of Toulon, taught every Frenchman, that the allies were neither able to aid nor defend. The motives respecting the whole conduct of the troops under the earl of Moira were fit objects for parliamentary inquiry, and in all countries the administration of public affairs had been improved in proportion as the right of inquiry had been exercised. Mr. Fox then stated, that, according to the opinions advanced by ministers, assisting the royalists was the most important operation they could perform. In allusion to an expression used by Mr. Pitt that the French were an *armed nation*, he laboured to prove that the same reason which makes an armed nation invincible in defence, renders it in attack quite the contrary. The desire of conquest can only animate a few, and they will be opposed by the same principle of resistance in their attempts to conquer other countries, which enabled them to defend their own. He conceived the French would not succeed in their attempts at conquest, and that we might make peace with them with the utmost security. Had we formerly said we would make no peace with that country without a change of their government, which we knew to be hostile to our own, we should have been at war for more than a century. Mr. Fox entered into a short history of the efforts made by the French court to seat the pretender on the English throne, to overturn the constitution, to establish an arbitrary government, to subvert the protestant and introduce the roman catholic religion. Yet we never then said we would make no peace with a government whose principles are so hostile to ours. If France were an armed nation,

nation, we might accelerate the calamities we dread, but should not conquer France. When once a nation, Mr. Fox said, instead of maintaining regular armies becomes an armed nation, it must be united, because the only power of resistance to a reprobated system of government was in the hands of those very men, who taking up arms in its defence against the attacks of foreign enemies, made it an armed nation.

Mr. Pitt explained, that by an armed nation he meant only to say, that from the present horrid system of compulsion in France, they had a larger mass of armed men than they could have by any other means, and that to this mass they owed their success. He strongly vindicated the necessity of the war. The several resolutions were agreed to, and ordered to be reported.

The preparatory steps having been accomplished, on the 5th of February the minister proceeded to that branch of the financial arrangement which in the technical language of parliament is usually distinguished by the homely name of opening the budget, and stated, 1st, the extent of the provisions made for the vigorous prosecution of the war; 2dly, the articles of supply and ways and means; and 3dly, the particulars of the loan, the resources from other measures of finance, and the new taxes necessary for defraying the additional expence of the interest of the loan. The first of these heads had already been detailed. The leading question, he said, for every man that felt for all that was dear to him, was, whether our exertions were adequate to the object in view, or limited only by our ability? The contest in which we were engaged was for the whole we possessed. The first head of public service was the navy. For the second year of the war 85,000 seamen had been voted, but we had the satisfaction of having mustered within 10,000 of that number at the end of the first year, and the increase of our shipping had even exceeded in proportion. He noticed the exertions that had been made as unexampled in this country, and the provision made on this account as fully adequate to what could be required. With respect to the army, the augmentation amounted to 30,000 men by the vote passed in the committee of supply; the troops of this country, including the fencibles and militia, amounted to 140,000 men, and the foreign troops to between 30 and 40,000. The ordnance had also received considerable augmentation; the body of artillery now amounted to between 5 and 6000 men. Thus it appeared that not less than two hundred and fifty thousand men were to be employed in the public service in the prosecution of the war. Such was the extent for the present year, but a large provision was necessary for the exceedings of the past year. The progress of the navy outstripped at that time the provision made for its support, and the number of seamen exceeded the numbers voted by not less than 14 or 15,000 men. In consequence a large navy debt had been contracted, which must be provided for in addition. Mr. Pitt then stated, that there had been already voted for these services.—

NAVY.

General service of the navy - -	£. 4,420,000
Ordinaries -	558,000
Extraordinaries -	547,000
Total amount of the navy - -	5,525,000

ARMY.

General service -	£. 4,362,000
Foreign troops -	1,169,000
Extraordinaries for 1793	808,000
Total amount of the army estimate -	6,339,000

ORDNANCE.

Ordinaries - -	324,000
Extraordinaries -	377,000
Debt incurred last year, and unfunded	644,000
Total of the ordnance	1,345,000

The miscellaneous services were 206,000l. exceeding by 80,000l. the estimate of the finance committee of 1791. The deficiency of grants was 474,000l. deficiency of land and malt taxes 320,000l. In addition to the war and ordinary charges, there was a sum of 200,000l. which the house, in 1792, had appropriated to the reduction of the public debt, and this he should continue so to appropriate. The exchequer bills, amounting to 5,500,000l. it had been usual to discharge, and to issue new bills for the same sum; at present it was necessary to include them in the account, as he intended to provide for any expences that might be incurred in the course of the year. He meant therefore to propose a vote of credit for 2,000,000l. in exchequer bills, issuing only 5,500,000l. this year, and leaving the 2,000,000l. on the vote of credit, if it should be necessary to issue more. The supply would then be

Total amount of navy, army, and ordnance -	£. 13,209,000
Miscellaneous services - -	206,000
Deficiencies in grants	474,000
Ditto in land and malt tax -	350,000
Additional sum to the commissioners for discharging the national debt - -	200,000
Exchequer bills -	5,500,000
Total amount to be provided for -	19,939,000

The ways and means to provide for this were, land and malt 2,750,000l. Exchequer bills 3,500,000l. The amount of the permanent taxes from January 1793 to January 1794 was 13,941,000l. The produce for the present year was to be estimated either on an average of former years, which were years of peace, or on the produce of one year of war. The difference was, however, not material. After deducting the amount of taxes repealed, the average of four years was 13,994,000l. The charges on the consolidated fund for this year were 11,797,000l. The growing produce of the fund for the present purpose was therefore 2,197,000l. The East India company 500,000l. The sum wanted to make good the supply was to be raised by loan—he enumerated the articles as follows:

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land and malt tax -	£. 2,750,000
Exchequer bills -	3,500,000
Growing produce of taxes, after answering charges of consolidated fund -	2,197,000
From the East India com.	500,000
Loan - -	11,000,000
	£. 19,947,000

From

From a comparison of the different articles, Mr. Pitt contended that 800,000l. more revenue was applicable to the public service now than in the year 1791. In the course of the last year the navy debt had increased 3,200,000l. This he did not mean to leave accumulating, as in former times, to the end of the war, but meant soon to bring forward some propositions on this subject. He should propose funding all the navy bills to March 1793, about 1,900,000l. There might also be some increase of the navy debt this year, but nothing equal to that of the preceding. The expence of transports might exceed the estimate by 500,000l. The usual sum of 4l. per man per month was short of the actual expence 9s. per month, which made 500,000l. more. For the probable exceedings of the navy he meant to allow one million more. In negotiating the loan the terms were highly favourable to the public and safe to the lender. The terms were, that for every 100l. the lenders were to receive 100l. in the 3 per cents, and 25l. in the 4 per cents, and an annuity of 11s. 5d. in the long annuities. The 100l. which they received in stock amounted to a trifling fraction less than the hundred pounds which they advanced, and so far the difference was in favour of the public. The money was to be paid by instalments, the last at the end of eleven months. Those who paid immediately were to receive 3 per cent. for that time. Compared with any other loan, Mr. Pitt contended the contractors had received the smallest price that had ever been paid. After repealing the taxes on gloves, and on births and burials, which produced only 10,600l. the sum which remained to be provided, amounted to 908,000l. Our comforts under these accumulated burdens arose from the necessity by which they were required, and the view which had been exhibited of the energy and resources of the country. He trusted, great as our exertions had been, we should be able to provide for them in such a manner as to avoid any pressure which might be severely felt by the public. The surplus of the taxes in 1791, arising from the duty on British and foreign spirits, produced 385,000l. and the new arrangement adopted with respect to the duty on spirits in Scotland, amounted to 43,000l. which taken collectively, formed very near 428,000l. of the sum to be provided. The taxes he should propose in addition were,

British spirits one penny per gallon additional on the wash -	£107,000
Brandy ten-pence per gallon Rum nine-peuce per gallon	136,000
Bricks and tiles 1s. 6d. additional per thousand - -	70,000
Slate carried coastways 10s. per ton—Stone 2s. 6d. - -	30,000
Crown and plate glass, additional - -	52,000
Paper, additional -	63,000
Attornies, additional	25,000
Add surplus of taxes 1791 - -	428,000
Total	£911,000

With respect to the nature of the provision in addition to the estimates for the expences of the war, two millions were provided for extraordinary expences, with ample means for removing the pressure of the unfunded debt, and this without deranging the system

for removing the pressure of the old funded debt, the sum for which, besides accumulating at compound interest, was increased by 200,000l. Provision was made for the interest and liquidation of the new debt. The navy debt was put into an improved state. The state of our revenue afforded grounds of satisfaction beyond our most sanguine hopes. The produce of the taxes was formed on the estimate of an average of four years; the produce of 1793 exceeded that average by 137,000l. and the revenue had produced 500,000l. more than had been expected at the most fortunate period. He concluded by moving his first resolution.

Mr. Fox approved the terms of the loan and the resolution respecting navy bills, but condemned the affectation of considering the burden of one million sterling per annum, in addition to the burdens already imposed, as not likely to be severely felt by the people. He knew in the discussion of taxes it was generally admitted, that when imposed upon the lower classes, they would in some measure fall upon those who employed them. On the other hand, taxes imposed upon articles generally bought by the rich might fall upon the poor. It was maintained often as a principle, that taxes on luxury are the surest mediums of impost. But it was not easy to define what was a luxury; what was once a luxury might become a necessary, as for instance tea and sugar. Some of the taxes about to be imposed resembled these, and might be severely felt. The tax on bricks fell partially, immediately, and almost altogether on individuals, and not on the mass of the people. Respecting the tax on paper he was not sufficiently informed to deliver an opinion. With regard to that on attornies, he felt some doubts as to what it might do, unless it was meant as a regulation, and some doubts too might be entertained respecting the effects of that regulation. They were already taxed both for a licence and part of their practice, under the idea that the customer would pay it. This might be true, but perhaps the tax might fall on those whom the house did not intend to burden. The arguments respecting the shop tax applied to the present instance, and he feared the proposed tax would open a field for imposition. The right hon. gentleman had stated his hopes, that the revenue would be more productive in future than it had been. That it had already been more productive than was expected, he rejoiced to hear; but he feared when we came to the balance, after the loss we must sustain from the diminution of custom for our manufactures in consequence of the war, we should find a great deficiency. Mr. Fox noticed the languid condition of commerce in Lancashire owing to the war, and, in reply to a part of Mr. Pitt's speech, where he had said he had not mortgaged the surplus of the revenue for carrying on the war, contended that it was in its nature a thing that never had or could be done. Respecting public credit, he thought we had no reason to exult on a comparison between our situation in that respect in the American war and now. At the beginning of the American war in 1774, the 3 per cents were at 84, at the conclusion of 1783 they were about 54. After seven years continuance of the American war the 3 per cents sunk 35 per cent. In this war, during the continuance of 20 months, they had sunk 30 per cent. He thought it his duty, he said, to make these observations, and

and to say that he thought it a little hard upon the people of England, who bear heavy burdens pretty patiently, to be told from the throne that they were not severely loaded with taxes.

The resolutions were all passed.

On the second reading on the following day, Mr. Fox observed, that the statement of the taxes made by the chancellor of the exchequer from January 1793 to January 1794 appeared, from a consideration of them for three quarters of a year, to have been much overrated. The chancellor vindicated his statement, and on the production of the account, the sums were stated as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
Customs	3,668,753	18	0¾
Excise	7,158,766	14	4¾
Stamps	1,189,663	5	0
	12,017,183	17	5

INCIDENTS.

Consolidated letter money, 1787	156	0	0
Ditto salt	387,435	17	7¾
Seizures since the 25th of October 1760	14,066	18	6
Proffers —— ditto.	610	1	7
Letter money —— ditto.	250,000	0	0
Alum mines —— ditto.	960	0	0
Compositions —— ditto.	1	16	8
Rent of a lighthouse —— ditto.	6	13	4
Alienation duty	2,040	18	8
6d. deduct. on pensions, 24th June, 1721	46,342	0	0
1s. ditto on salaries, &c. 5th of April, 1758	33,470	4	1¾
Houses and windows, 10th October, 1766	335,084	19	6½
Inhabited houses, 1779	134,727	18	10¾
Hawkers and pedlars, 24th June, 1724	3,363	12	6
Hackney coaches and chairs, 1711	12,100	13	3
Ditto, —— 1784	13,116	0	0
Male servants, 1785	88,544	6	2
Female ditto, ditto	7,217	11	6¾
Horses, ditto	109,338	8	4¾
Four-wheel carriages, ditto	149,950	4	2¾
Two-wheel ditto, ditto	30,675	17	8¾
Waggons, ditto	3,299	4	4¾
Carts, ditto	3,301	0	6¾
Shops, ditto	47	12	4¾
Firstfruits and tenths of the clergy	13,873	10	9
Men servants, 1777 (arrears)	549	14	2¾
	1,795,107	4	11¾

DUTIES, anno 1791.

Sugar	311,394	9	9¾
British spirits	103,855	0	0

Foreign

	£.	s.	d.
Foreign spirits - - -	143,783	0	0
Malt - - - -	2,000	0	0
Bills and receipts - - -	159,095	2	5
Game duty - - -	12,994	8	11
10l. per cent. on assessed taxes - -	88,658	13	6½
	821,780	14	8
Total of customs, excise, and stamps	12,017,183	17	5
Total of incidents - - -	1,796,107	4	11½
Total of duties, an. 1791 - -	821,780	14	8
Grand total - - - -	14,635,071	17	0½

On the 7th of February the malt bill and land tax bill passed the house, and persons professing the catholic religion were exempted from the customary charge of double land tax. On the 12th the house, in a committee of supply, passed the following resolutions:

	£.	s.	d.
For rendering the house of peers more commodious, and for warming and ventilating it -	465	11	10½
For the clergy and laity, French refugees -	27,692	4	6½
For works in the Fleet prison - -	3,376	8	0
For ditto, at Somerset Place - -	9,255	6	9
On account of land tax paid for salaries of commissioners for auditing public accounts -	1,814	15	4
For debts contracted by Mr. Tilly, agent and consul general at Tripoli - -	2,111	1	0
For trouble of persons inquiring into losses sustained in evacuating the Musquito shore in 1786 - - - -	1,084	15	0
For surveys at Cape Breton - -	669	9	11
For moneys issued to the bishop of Quebec, for stationary for Upper Canada, and for expences of administration of justice in Newfoundland, &c. - - - -	1,504	10	6
To commissioners for inquiring into the laws, &c. of the island of Jersey - -	537	12	6
For losses sustained by Mr. Starbruck, by his removal from Nova Scotia - -	248	18	0
For American civil officers - - -	19,500	0	0
For his majesty's service abroad, between January 5, 1793, and January 5, 1794 -	14,585	16	6
For money issued pursuant to addresses -	46,619	13	7
To commissioners of woods and forests -	2,043	0	0
For American sufferers, pursuant to act 28 Geo. III. - - - -	211,295	6	8½
To ditto, pursuant to act 30 Geo. III. -	56,796	7	6

For

	£.	s.	d.
For expence of prosecuting Mr. Hastings -	10,749	3	8
For sending provisions, &c. to, and expences of convicts at, New South Wales - -	19,820	8	10
For expences of convicts on the Thames -	11,393	4	8
For convicts in Langstone and Portsmouth harbours - - - -	13,576	17	8½
For the extraordinary expences of the mint -	18,844	12	4
For the African forts and settlements - -	13,000	0	0
To pay exchequer bills, - -	1,500,000	0	0

The new taxes, except those relating to the duties on attornies and others, passed with little discussion. Mr. Adam was of opinion that a tax upon a particular description of men was invidious, and calculated to injure many deserving persons in the opinion of the public. He considered the taxing by corps or classes as militating against the principles of taxation in this country, and very dangerous and pernicious, as it operated as a capitation tax. Attornies, who were necessarily selected to be entrusted with secrets of the utmost importance, should be held up to the public as respectable characters. The tax, so far from improving the morals of the profession, would prevent many young persons in the country who were properly educated for the profession from entering into it, while several in the metropolis who understood the various chicaneries of the practice, would find the means of forcing themselves into it. The tax was also objected to by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Jekyll; the former of whom considered it as ill-founded in its principle, likely to be ineffectual in its operation, and the result of prejudice against a set of men, who, whatever might be the character of individuals, abounded in general with characters of the utmost respectability; and the latter as a peculiar hardship, as the court could strike from the roll any person, or cancel his indentures, from even an opinion that he was not qualified to act as an attorney. It was conceived that the present chief justice, who had taken much pains to render the profession respectable, would find his hands much tied up as to the removal of attornies, if after they had paid the tax they were liable to be removed at the pleasure of the court, without having their admission fee refunded, and it would be extremely injurious to the property of several young men.

The chancellor of the exchequer, on the contrary, denied any intention to stigmatise the profession, nor did he conceive the bill to throw any aspersion upon it; it was meant to operate as a regulation, in preventing indigent and uneducated persons from entering into the profession.

On reading the report on the bill for imposing an additional duty on paper, Mr. Brandling was solicitous for the re-commitment of the bill, on the ground that it was oppressive, and that the duty would amount to much more than the sum at which it was laid: he wished therefore to have the duties lowered, so as to produce only that sum. Sir M. W. Ridley objected strongly to several parts of the bill, and suggested several alterations in it. He was followed by Mr. Burdon, who thought

thought the bill inconsistent with the *wisdom* of the minister. He stated, that on those papers commonly used by the rich, there was a duty of only 13 or 14 per cent, and on common writing and whited brown paper the duty amounted to 50 per cent. Besides laying a heavy tax on the lower orders of the people, this would diminish the circulation of general intelligence, a thing that ought to be deemed sacred.

The statement of Mr. Brandling respecting the amount of the tax was contradicted by the chancellor of the exchequer, who wished much, from the pressure of business, that no farther delay should occur with respect to that in question. In this he was followed by Mr. Rose, who, though he admitted the hardships occasioned by the bill, contended that they were unavoidable, unless known and palpable frauds in the revenue were to be tolerated.

The recommitment was supported by Mr. Sheridan, who lamented the rapidity with which the revenue bills generally passed the committees. The heavy taxes on coarse paper must, he said, amount almost to a prohibition of all the cheap means of circulating intelligence. On newspapers he hoped a drawback would be allowed on the stamp equal to the amount of the additional duty. There was another circumstance which he must mention, as he should feel it incumbent upon him to introduce a clause to prevent such a scandalous abuse of the revenue laws. There was a mill for the manufactory of paper to a great amount in this country, in which the forgery of French assignats was carried on. The excise officer who attended this mill, doubted whether he ought to suffer this sort of proceeding to pass; and, on making the necessary communications, he had received what appeared to him to be sufficient authority for superintending this species of manufacture, as if it had been the regular and honest manufacture of paper in the way of trade. He did not state this upon a loose hearsay or vague rumour, he could give the name of the mill if necessary. He thought it for the honour of the nation, and for the character of government, to disavow, by its ministers, any share in such a scandalous proceeding.

This statement was corroborated by Mr. M. A. Taylor, who said he had seen a letter, mentioning at what mill this was done, and also had seen some of the forged assignats. The motion for the recommitment was negatived.

In the committee of supply (March 3d) the chancellor of the exchequer moved, that provision be made for enabling his majesty to discharge debts due on all navy and victualling bills, made out to the 1st of March 1793, amounting to 1,530,094l. 18s. 1d. which was carried. On the 5th, he explained the nature of the provision for paying off all navy and victualling bills, made out on or before the 31st of March 1793. This was, that the holders should be allowed the amount of their demand in the 5 per cents, at the rate of 99, which, as they were a little above par, would be full 10 l. for every hundred, and all navy or victualling bills issued after the 12th of April 1794 were to bear interest from the time they were issued, and made payable in 15 months from that time. On the report being brought up, Mr. Pitt stated that a doubt had been entertained by the

the holders of these bills, as to the situation of those issued between the 31st of March 1793 and the 5th of April 1794. It was an established rule, that all navy bills should be paid according to their date; and as all bills issued April 1794, would be paid in 15 months from the time; conformable to this, all bills issued before that period must be paid.

In addition to the sums which were to accrue from the new taxes of ministry, on the 28th of March the chancellor of the exchequer moved, that there be granted to his majesty for the service of the present year, the sum of 704,066l. 13s. 4d. to be raised by way of lottery, to consist of 50,000 tickets at 14l. 16s. 3d. each. The scheme was strongly opposed by Mr. M. A. Taylor, as a mode of supply pernicious and destructive in the extreme; and though insurance might in some degree be prevented by the vigilance of magistrates and the commissioners of the stamp office, he suspected it could never be abolished while a lottery continued. He had conceived, from what had formerly passed, that the minister had abandoned this fatal project; he had hoped, as the lottery of last year turned out a bad speculation, none would be wild enough to enter upon another, and was confident much better resources might be resorted to. Mr. Taylor entered into a detail of the fatal consequences so generally resulting from a lottery, and was of opinion, that if an appeal was made to the judges presiding at the Old Bailey sessions, it would be found that many of the unfortunate victims who have suffered at the gallows, were first seduced by the influence of this abominable evil.

A lottery was reprobated by Mr. Fox as a pernicious source of revenue; he would not, however, oppose the present, when we had so much occasion to increase the revenue. He noticed that the new mode of drawing the lottery had not answered the ends for which it was designed, the prevention of insurance, and thought some further alterations of this nature ought to be adopted. This observation was confirmed by Mr. M. A. Taylor on the second reading of the resolution, and the pernicious practice of raising money by this mode was reprobated by Mr. W. Smith, who observed, that the convention, which had been so much reviled, reprobated lotteries, and abolished them, as highly injurious to the morals of the people. The resolution was however carried.

CHAPTER III.

Bill to prevent the Transfer of French Property.—Debates on the Slave Trade.—Bill to abolish the foreign Slave Trade.—Mr. Vaughan's Motion relative to the State of the Negroes in our West India Islands.—Debates on the foreign Slave Trade Bill.—Bill passes the Commons.—Bishop Horsley's Motion for expediting the hearing of Evidence on the Slave Trade in the Lords.—Foreign Slave Trade Bill rejected by the Lords.—Debate in the House of Commons on the employing of foreign Officers in Lord Moira's Army.—The same in the House of Lords.—Marquis of Lansdowne's Motion for Peace.—Debates on the Neglect of Ministers relative to Nova Scotia.

ON the 1st of February the chancellor of the exchequer read to the house the decree of an extraordinary commission instituted

stituted in France, in consequence of a resolution of the joint committees of finance, of public and general safety and subsistence, directing the use of every possible expedient to ascertain the property of French subjects in foreign funds, in order that it might be delivered up to the state and become public property; and that when the transfer was made, it should be paid for in assignats estimated at par. This measure, Mr. Pitt observed, united two distinct characters; the one a robbery of the citizens of France, by obliging them to transfer what is valuable for that which they may think of no value, as they were constrained to take at par that which at times was worth only one-seventh; the other, that all debts owing from individuals in countries at war with France, instead of going to the individuals for the purposes of commerce, would supply the means of carrying on the war. Our own interest and security, and even regard to the preservation of our mercantile good faith, required, on our part, that we should prevent the transferring to the state, by this mixture of fraud and force, the payment of their lawful debts from the persons who are entitled to their receipt. The chancellor proceeded strongly to reprobate this proceeding of the French, and adverted to, as an elucidation of the matter, the general principles upon the subject by our laws. It was one of these principles, that the payment of any debt owing to an alien enemy may be suspended during war, and the king, if he thought fit, might attach it as belonging to an alien enemy. The milder practice of modern times had, however, in order to continue the benefits of mercantile intercourse, which were for the advantage of individuals, without trenching on public safety, long suffered the rigour of this law to relax. But if, instead of answering the first ends of it, that of preserving the interest of the individual without trenching on the interest of the state, it inverted both these propositions; he thought it wise, politic, just and humane, to use every exertion to prevent, at least with respect to our own country, the measure of the French from taking effect. He wished also to have it understood, that some means should be adopted for securing the property of the individuals of that country, and quieting their minds. These circumstances afforded ample justification for departing from the usual practice. He therefore thought it his duty to propose immediately to prohibit the payment of any property belonging to persons residing in France. This object was the most pressing in point of time, but there were others—the preventing the subjects of France from suffering from her tyranny, the prospect of the payment of those debts which the despotism of her rulers would have seized, and the utmost care to conceal the names of those whose property we protected, in order to prevent the sacrifice of their lives.

The motion on this occasion was brought forward by the solicitor general, and was in substance for leave to bring in a bill "to prevent the application of debts in the hands of any of the subjects of his majesty, to or for the disposal of persons resident in France, under the power of persons who exercise the present government of France, and for preserving the produce of such property to the individual owners." Upon the question for the commitment of the bill, Mr. Jekyll,

Jekyll, after declaring that he did not mean to oppose the bill, observed, that from the title it professed to have two objects in view: the one, to prevent the ruling powers in France from seizing the property of French subjects in this country, for the purpose of carrying on the war; the other, to secure the said property to the owners. He saw, however, no provision for adequately securing the latter. This was an object which he wished to have attended to, though he professed himself unable to point out a remedy. He stated the property of the French in our funds at about 250,000l. He dreaded the danger of exposing persons to persecution and death, if any public and authentic mode were adopted for ascertaining and preserving their individual properties; yet he had an invincible objection to the appointment of a secret commission for this purpose. Another point on which he entertained doubts, was the property of individuals being left in the hands of the merchants here, and consequently rendered subject to all the vicissitudes of trade and their consequences. Whereas, it must be the meaning of the legislature to give the most ample and indubitable security for the safety and return of the property. This security he did not think was afforded by the bill.

The bill was vindicated by the attorney general, who asked what security was possessed by Frenchmen this instant, but what depended on the honour and integrity of their debtors? The law afforded them none; for were a Frenchman to bring an action for the recovery of the most just debt, the defendant might plead, that the plaintiff was an *alien enemy*, and there would be an end of the action. After the passing of the present bill, however, he must pay the money when sued for it after the war. The bill was to be considered as a bill of protection to individuals, and of defence to this kingdom. As a defensive measure, it was fit to prevent France from deriving from England any resource for carrying on the war. It was therefore his intention to fill the blank left in the first clause for the description of the penalty to be inflicted on those who should be guilty of a breach of it, with the words "*high treason*," and a breach of the second clause he would consider as a "*premunire*." The bill was passed after the usual formalities.

The humane endeavours of Mr. Wilberforce, to effect a favourable change in the state of the slave trade, produced from him early in the session a motion for leave to bring in a bill for abolishing that branch of the trade which extended to the supplying of foreign territories with slaves. He accompanied his motion with a declaration of not having abandoned his original intention, of completely extinguishing the whole of this detestable traffic. He observed, that the supporters of the slave trade had rested their cause on the ground of its being necessary to the well-being of our West India possessions, which could not otherwise be *supplied* with labourers. They who were sincere in this objection must warmly defend the present motion; for, instead of abridging that supply, it tended to increase it, and to prevent our raising the West Indian possessions of foreigners into a competition with our own. It had been, he said, also declared, that if the slave trade had no existence, and it were for the first time proposed to establish it,

it, there could not be two opinions on the subject. The trade against which he now directed his efforts was at present almost discontinued; all therefore who were honest in the above declaration must of course concur with him in preventing its revival.

The motion was opposed by sir William Young, as better suited to theory than practice, as inefficient for the purpose it had in view, unequal in itself, dangerous in point of time and experiment, and vexatious to the West India merchants. The trade which it was now intended to abolish had, he said, scarcely an existence—he therefore thought the bill useless, and should oppose it, as he doubted not would be the case with several other gentlemen who concurred in the vote for the gradual abolition, from the hope that it would settle the minds of the people, and set the question at rest.

Mr. Whitbread pointedly adverted to the little earnestness manifested in another assembly respecting a question of so much magnitude. No time could be so inconvenient, no danger so pressing, as to allow the continuance of such gross injustice as that which attended the slave trade. The hon. baronet, who had been in the West Indies, had been of opinion, that the abolition of this trade was practicable; if so, there could be no doubt of its expediency. It had also been stated by him, that the trade was at an end—why not then take the earliest opportunity of wiping off this stain upon the national character? With respect to the bill just moved for being troublesome and vexatious to merchants—what was every trouble and vexation that could attend it, when put in competition with the continuance of a practice that revolted humanity, and disgraced the national character? What was it when compared with a traffic carried on by rapine, blood, and the murder of thousands? Mr. Whitbread forcibly urged the entire abolition of the trade, and declared that his chief motive for rising, was to call upon the hon. mover of the question to renew his former resolutions, and to bring them forward immediately.

Colonel Cawthorne opposed the motion in a speech of some length, and upon entirely novel grounds. He regretted that the act of last year had been frittered away, so as to be rendered nugatory, and trusted this would appear so too. It was nugatory in the retrospect to the cessation of commerce between foreign colonies, since the commencement of hostilities, and since the proclamation of French sentiments, and the confused condition of the French republic. Whatever might be the pretended motives of religion, justice, and humanity, he suspected the real motives of the enthusiasts who proposed the abolition, and believed that their proceedings were rather to be attributed to their disaffection. There might possibly be a collusion with other agents, a combination of conspiracies; and the attainment of this object might lead to greater outrages, and finally establish that system which it was only concerted to destroy. The thoughts of an abolition had certainly proceeded from the enemies of this country, and of its constitution both in church and state.

Mr. Dent also rose to oppose the motion; and thought the measure so contrary to the policy which had supported and enriched this country, that it must originate in

in enthusiasm. Moved with the importance of those evils which must attend the abolition of the trade, he repeated several opinions which had been published when the measure was previously in agitation. He was interrupted by Mr. Jenkinson, who desired the speaker to state the question before the house for the information of the gentleman. Mr. Dent apologized for the digression. He thought the prevention of the slave trade with foreign colonies would ruin many of our merchants. Some failures, he believed, had originated from the proposed abolition, more might follow. He took a view of the situation of our colonies and the condition of the negroes, and anticipated the consequences of their emancipation. He then proceeded to state the species of reform, which he thought necessary in every constitution, but was again stopped by the speaker for irregularity, and concluded by giving a negative to the motion.

The motion was opposed by alderman Newnham, as likely to occasion individual ruin, and the diminution of public supply. Every argument that had been employed for rendering slavery odious to the multitude might be applied to render matrimony detestable; but would any, because abuses existed in this state, maintain the necessity of abolishing the nuptial law? The hon. alderman descanted upon the great happiness enjoyed by the negroes in the West Indies, and observed, that were our slaves liberated, those of other nations would still continue to wear their fetters. The markets of our own islands were sometimes overstocked; in this case, must the negroes be re-shipped to their native shore, or were they to be landed, to the loss of the trader, to subsist by rapine and murder? Our foreign commerce obviated these excesses, and as long as the trade was tolerated, so long must the commerce with foreign colonies be allowed. He was followed by colonel Tarleton, who opposed the motion on the same ground, and thought, that as it was to the West Indies we must look for a prospect of indemnification for the expences of the war, any measure tending to endanger their security should be nicely balanced, scrupulously examined, and deliberately determined upon.

Mr. Dudley Ryder noticed the inconsistencies which had arisen in pursuing this subject. The opposition to the bill of last year was said to originate from the opinion, that the destruction of a trade so profitable, was an innovation dangerous in execution, and absurd in policy. It had now been urged that there was no trade, and therefore the bill was superfluous and inefficacious. No single exception had been taken to the theory of the bill, it had been admitted to be a fit and laudable measure could it be done gradually; but upon this occasion it was opposed, though it was the first step that led to a gradual abolition. At that time the measures to be adopted were only partial, at present they were likely to be general. Another inconsistency was, that we could regulate the trade with greater effect in point of humanity, but that other countries would not. We were therefore to inflict almost every possible evil upon the unhappy negroes, because some other countries would be inclined to treat them with still more severity. He entered into a general view of the advantages of the trade upon the moderate terms of the motion, which was a gradual method of abolition, and

and those derived from it in the present state, which had been so inconsistently justified.

Mr. Lechmere and Mr. Este opposed the motion, which they thought extremely ill-timed. The latter conceived it inconsistent with the previous resolutions of the house for a gradual abolition, as it went to an immediate abolition of part of the trade. He vindicated the conduct of the house of peers respecting the question of an abolition of the slave trade, and thought that house ought never to be mentioned without the reverence and respect due to their rank and situation, and considered the former resolutions of the house on this subject as alleviations, to quiet the minds of gentlemen who had been inflamed or misled by false philosophical expressions of humanity.

After noticing the different inconsistencies which had been instanced by former speakers, the chancellor of the exchequer asked, whether it was to be supposed that the house meant, by passing the resolutions for a gradual abolition, to do nothing more, and never actually to abolish it? The case was this. The house had resolved to abolish the trade totally in 1796. His hon. friend (the mover) had indeed proposed the immediate abolition; but this had been negatived by the house, not on the ground of wishing the perpetuity, or even the long continuance of it, as was shewn by the vote to abolish it in 1796; but because it was thought that great mischief must ensue to our West India plantations by a sudden abolition, and that though justice required this measure, there were some opposing claims of justice to be considered. On these grounds the vote for a gradual abolition had passed. He did not then see any inconsistency in the present motion, it went only to abolish immediately that part of our slave trade which did not affect our own West India possessions. It was also to be observed, that the foreign trade had ceased of itself, and the motion was not so much to abolish it as to prevent its revival. The question was, whether we should again set on foot a branch of that trade, which the house had condemned as unjust, and forbidden the continuance of beyond the year 1796? It was by no means inconsistent to abolish a part of that now, the whole of which was to be abolished in two years. On the contrary, the measure was one step towards a gradual abolition. Whatever had been the reasons which induced the lords to pay so little attention to the subject, he thought that house was bound by every principle of consistency to send up a bill to their lordships for the abolition of the foreign slave trade. The proposition then before the house was one which all friends to the general abolition of whatever class must agree to, and in which many, even of its enemies, *might* join on very obvious grounds, without any impeachment of their consistency.

The motion was opposed by Mr. Payne, who thought the natives of Africa not sufficiently civilized to enjoy the blessings of freedom; and from the care taken to increase their numbers by encouraging the breed, he inferred that we were willing to do that in a manner less obvious to common observation, which we were ashamed to do in the face of day.

Mr. Whitbread again strongly enforced the necessity, the good sense, and the humanity of the abolition. The object of the present motion ought, he said, to be considered

dered as the first step towards that gradual abolition voted by the house. The motion could not be precipitate, since only part of the trade was the consideration, and it was the proper time to terminate that part when it was nearly destroyed. He was earnest that the house should go into a committee, and that a separate bill should be sent up to the house of lords.

In answer to the observations of alderman Newnham relative to the dangers attending the negroes, if not purchased by us, Mr. William Smith, with his usual humane attention to this subject, stated, that the minds of the negroes had already become more tractable since their condition became an object of parliamentary discussion; that those of the traders had been meliorated, and fewer murders had been committed than formerly, even on their own coasts. He related a transaction which had lately taken place between some slave buyers and slave sellers on the coast of Africa. Some vessels had arrived for the transportation of slaves to our colonies, and a contract had been proposed for the purchase of negroes. The parties differed respecting the price, which had materially fallen, owing to the care and attention lately bestowed on the negroes in the West Indies. Upon this the slave seller refused to part with his slaves at the price offered, declaring he would rather set them to work; and they had accordingly been employed in the cultivation of the earth on their own coasts, and the captains had been obliged to seek elsewhere for a cargo.

Mr. Wilberforce noticed the advantage which had been taken of him, from his having forborne arguing against the injustice and inhumanity of the slave trade on the present occasion, as being unnecessary to his present purpose. He must, however, remind gentlemen, that there was a place called Africa, where the effects of this detested traffic were written in blood. He must remind them of such principles as justice and humanity, though the latter term appeared so indeterminate in its application that he was almost sick of it, and desirous of resting his cause on the solid unalterable principles of justice and religion. He referred to the fact stated by Mr. Smith, to prove, that were there no purchasers, there was no probability the slaves would be massacred. Nor was this a solitary instance; the accounts of the Sierra Leone company fully evinced the improvement of Africa, arising from the declension of the slave trade. Whatever objections had been taken to the present motion, on account of his bill of last year, were irrelevant. Gentlemen could not say, that the one he now intended to bring in, might not be extremely different. With respect to the motion being ill-timed, he thought the contrary; nothing more was necessary on the present occasion, than preventing the revival of a trade already nearly destroyed. This was a time when it was desirable to impress the public with respect for the character of parliament, which could not be done, if they appeared willing to return to a system of wickedness they had determined to abandon: He adverted to the terms used by the house in their late address to his majesty, where they declared their resolution to render their conduct a contrast to that of their enemies, by the practice of religion and humanity. Though deeply impressed

with the enormities of the French, he conceived the slave trade to be a faithful parallel to them. He enumerated several instances of similarity, and added, that as for the impieties of the French, the slave trade was a system of practical atheism, and he thought gentlemen should either avow the principle or abandon the practice. In answer to the question of Mr. Whitbread, he thought it at present better, merely to bring forward the bill for preventing the supplying of foreigners, but expressed his resolution never to desist from his endeavours till a complete abolition should be obtained. On a division of the house there appeared for the motion 63, against it 46.

While this bill was pending, Mr. Vaughan expressed to the house his opinion on the necessity of observing the late proceedings of the French respecting their negroes and mulattoes. The most dangerous doctrines, he said, had been disseminated among them, and in the island of St. Domingo, there had been published a proclamation by a Mr. Polverel, giving a most dangerous extension of liberty and property to the negroes; among others, a right to choose their masters once a year, and to receive a third of the product of their labour deducting the expences, &c.; that they were to have a choice in the appointment of persons who were to preside over them in the management of the estate, &c. From all this he feared much danger might ensue, and to this was added the resolution of the national assembly, which tended to establish a general emancipation. The force of our smaller islands might indeed be brought to act against any revolters in them, but Jamaica was left to its own resources, which, however, were not inconsiderable. He thought, however, that the present state of affairs called for strong measures from government here, and the colonial legislators abroad. He proposed, on our part, a mulatto and black yeomanry, and observed that a conquest of the French islands would prove but a palliative, as they had wasted 12 or 15,000 troops in a fruitless attempt to restore order in their islands. St. Domingo was said to be divided between the people of different colours who possessed property, and those who had none. A conquest might do mischief by opening an intercourse with persons whose principles could do our negroes and mulattoes no service. He did not wish to press a motion on the subject, but must on account of form, which was for an address to his majesty, to recommend such measures for the safety, &c. of the British West India islands, as in his wisdom he shall think fit. On the assurance, however, from Mr. Dundas, that the West Indies received at present every protection which the motion required, it was very readily withdrawn.

Previous to the introduction of Mr. Wilberforce's bill respecting the foreign slave trade, petitions against it were presented from the West India merchants of London and Liverpool. The bill was in the first reading opposed by Sir William Young. The circumstances of the question were, he thought, changed since the abolition of colonial slavery by the French; and the measures pursued in the French islands. The doctrines of humanity and the policy of abolition he reprobated as wild, visionary, and destructive to our commercial interest. He thought members from all the commercial

commercial towns were bound to oppose the bill. He remarked the trouble and inconvenience of licensing every slave. When our fisheries were discussed, the number of dockets, &c. was found very perplexing and oppressive; they would not be less so to merchants employed in the commerce of slaves in which 600 sloops and other vessels were continually engaged. As land carriage between the islands was impracticable, slaves must be perpetually transferred from one island to another, for the purposes of cultivation; and what trouble must of necessity ensue? The evils complained of formerly in this trade, were now nearly at an end; the transportation to the French West India islands had abated since the war; and, during the war, it was impossible the trade could rise again. Should this bill pass, it might be necessary to bring in others, to recognize the foreign conquests as British, or how could it be determined that the trade with them should cease or continue? He concluded by moving for the second reading that day six months.

Mr. alderman Newnham, in addition to the arguments which have been so frequently urged against the trade, conceived that humanity would be no gainer by the abolition, as the trade would be carried on by others.

Mr. Burdon wished the total abolition, and thought that if it had been adopted when first proposed, we should, by getting the start of the French, have annihilated the importance of the measure they had recently adopted.

Mr. Vaughan, in a speech of considerable length, spoke in high terms of the petition from the city of London, though he avowed, on this occasion, his opinion differed from many of his West India friends. He was surprised that any British colonist could object to the cessation of that part of the trade, which went to the supply of foreigners with slaves. He thought it extraordinary they should be anxious to raise up rival colonies to supplant themselves, and that the present state of the French islands was a new motive for desiring to continue to supply them. While they were in a state of convulsion, it was very extraordinary to be desirous of giving them fresh reinforcements of mutineers. If the example of French proceedings was really so contagious as was apprehended, it was little less imprudent to multiply disaffected persons in the Dutch, Danish, and other settlements; when it was argued that they would soon be unable to govern those they had already. His West India friends had deprecated discussion in their own meetings; but the matter was already spread abroad, and he was revealing no secrets, when discussing the question in that house, with a view to the remedy. He disregarded the fear that the minds of the negroes were in such a dangerous state of excitement, that we must not appear to give way upon any one part of the slave question. The votes of the house, &c. were already well known to the slaves: and little could be gained by temporizing and delay on this secondary question. Formerly the slaves were governed by force and ignorance, but the system must now be changed. Force, he was sorry to say, must still continue and ever increase; but it was too late to govern the negroes on the presumption of their being ignorant, and by the disgusting means used to keep up that ignorance

norance. The power of *opinion* over them was now vanished; if strictly analysed, this power resolved itself into the influence of *ignorance*. It had become therefore necessary to resort to force and to policy, placing our policy in the stead of their ignorance. Ideas of liberty were not indeed innate; but they were easily communicable, and were now communicated. He adverted to the fate of the mulatto question among the French, to shew that a contrary conduct would be policy in us at present. He recommended the getting the free blacks and mulattoes on our side, endeavouring to soften their manners, and the encouragement of small settlers. He insisted on the impolicy of attempting to gain the French islands; the improbability of our effecting tranquillity in them if attained; and the danger of communication with our islands. He professed himself a friend to the *principle* of the bill, looking forward, at a proper period, to an entire abolition.

The bill was supported by Mr. Serjeant Watson and Mr. Barham, and opposed by Mr. Este and Mr. R. B. Jenkinson.

Mr. Fox said, the trade having now no existence, what became of all the arguments concerning the mighty capital embarked in it; the sanction given by parliament to its continuance; the violent attack on private property; the injury to commerce; the danger of innovations? These arguments, if arguments they could be called, were fled, and it was fit that parliament should take care they should never return. Were parliament now silent on this subject, it would, at a future time, be attempted to be proved by their silence, that it had pledged itself to support this abominable traffic. He considered this bill as a material practical part of the former resolutions of the house; and in pursuing it, the house evinced to the world the sincerity of their professions and intentions. He trusted the honourable gentleman would not abate his zeal and ardour in this glorious cause. It might not be necessary to do more than push forward the present bill this sessions; but another step towards the total abolition should not be delayed beyond the next. If this important subject had, from a press of business, not yet received the determination of the lords, it could not be improper in that house to be additionally vigilant, and to remind the other house of their sense respecting the expediency of a total abolition.—Were the bill to pass the house of commons, he entertained too high an idea of the wisdom and justice of the lords to doubt of their concurrence. He contradicted the notion of any danger arising from a discussion of this subject; and contended, that no mischief could arise from the passing of this bill.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the point most relied upon by the opposers of the bill, was considered by them as a point of delicacy. The wild measure of the French, in giving liberty to their slaves, was the strongest possible argument for the present bill. Since this grant of liberty by the French, there was the greatest reason for apprehension of danger, which was only to be prevented by establishing wise regulations to preserve order, and maintain our superiority by gradual reform and limited indulgence, which would manifest our intentions, at a fit moment, totally to abolish

abolish the trade. With respect to the mutiny said to be likely to ensue from a cessation of the trade, he thought that was the most likely to happen from a continuance of the trade after the French had emancipated their slaves; it was not from the natives, accustomed to the habits of their masters, and interested in their favour, nor from slaves who had been long imported, but from those lately brought to market, raw, stubborn, and resentful at the loss of their country, &c. that a mutiny was to be expected. Mr. Pitt adduced many facts from history, in support of his opinion; and asked, if to increase the slaves, at a time when it was to be feared they may revolt, because they receive not the same benefits as the French, was either politic or expedient. He further observed, that the defect of population in the French islands, would be supplied by our foreign trade; and they be empowered to retort upon us, by the very instruments provided by us.

Col. Tarleton said, the foreign slave trade was so far from ended, that 40 or 50 vessels had been fitted out from Liverpool, for that trade, since the last session.

Mr. W. Smith censured the tardy method in which this business had proceeded. He was followed by Col. Cawthorne, who, to shew the baleful effects of an abolition of the trade, read a letter from a friend, in which it was said, that if the efforts of the abolitionists should be persevered in, the period was rapidly approaching, when the blacks would no longer suffer the whites to live amongst them. He concluded with the words, "These are my *private* sentiments, which I wish *not* to be known;" which produced in the house almost a convulsion of laughter.

Mr. Wilberforce professed his intention to move, at a future period, for the names and clearings of the ships mentioned by Colonel Tarleton, in order to see whether the Colonel or himself had been misinformed. On a division, there appeared for the amendment 38, against it 56.

On the motion for a recommitment of the bill, it was objected to by lord Sheffield, who considered this as a most senseless attempt at the abolition of the slave trade—senseless, because it might occasion much mischief without attaining its object. The professed motive of the bill was humanity; this end would, however, be infinitely better answered by conveying negroes in British shipping under proper regulations, than in the promiscuous shipping of Europe. Not a single slave less would in fact be carried to the West Indies. The trade might be turned into another channel, and deprive this country of considerable advantages respecting navigation and profit. His lordship condemned some clauses of the bill as extravagant and despotic, and likely to revolt mankind; but he hoped the British merchants would find the means of fulfilling their contracts with the Spaniards, the Danes, and the Dutch. He asserted, that the measure was highly detrimental to the shipping and commerce of this country, and highly impolitic and unjust towards the West Indians. In these feverish times, he wished the honourable mover would spare his country and his friends from promoting one of the greatest revolutions, in respect to property and commerce, which could be conceived. He concluded by mov-

ing, that the speaker do not leave the chair.

Mr. Wilberforce, after having expressed some surprise at meeting with an opposition in this stage of the bill, replied to some personal reflections cast upon him by his lordship; he justified the motives upon which he pressed forward this subject, and disclaimed all idea of endangering the commercial interests of this country, at this or any other time. On a division, there was a majority of 42 for the commitment.

The third reading of the bill was again opposed by lord Sheffield, on the ground that it was attempted to be hurried through the house, in a manner which was shameful, scandalous, and surpassing all bounds of decency; and as the merchants concerned in the foreign slave trade were to meet the ensuing day, they would lose the benefit of the meeting.

Mr. Wilberforce considered the epithets of the noble lord as applied to the whole house, as, in making the motion now before them, he only obeyed the order of the house. If any of the merchants had still further reasons to offer against the bill, they had sufficient time for that purpose.

It was contended by Mr. Fox, that the bill had been as long in passing through its several stages, as any other in that or any former session, in which the question it involved was equally well understood. It had passed a committee of the whole house; the whole of it was recommitted for the purpose of receiving any amendments from those who were known to be hostile to the bill, and sufficient time was allowed. He adverted, in pointed terms, to the delay which the slave business had met with in the house of lords. He had heard much of the new calendar of the French; the house of lords had, however, a calendar still more extraordinary. They had allowed for one great business (that of Mr. Hastings) 48 hours in the year. For another (the slave trade) only 16. This was a new mode of calculating time. He, however, advised the house of commons not to fall under the censure of the public in the progress of this business.—After some further conversation between Mr. Newnham, Mr. Dent, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Serjeant Adair, who observed, that the merchants might have met sooner, and had not chosen to be heard by counsel, the bill was read a third time, and passed.

During the agitation of this bill in the house of commons, the bishop of Rochester, on the 10th of March, attempted to introduce a discussion of the grand question of an abolition of the slave trade, in the house of lords. He observed, that three sessions had passed since that business had been before the house, and censured the protraction of it. When the question for hearing counsel and examining witnesses came before the house, he had voted for this examination at the bar of the house, not because he wanted any additional evidence to guide his mind, but that noble lords who had not made up their minds on the subject, might have a more early opportunity of being convinced of the impolicy and inhumanity of this traffic. From the experience of three sessions he deduced, that unless some mode could be adopted for expediting the business, it would never be brought to a conclusion. It was certainly an object both to those who wished, and those who opposed an abolition,

tion, to have a speedy determination. His lordship concluded by moving, "that the further hearing of counsel and evidence, on the slave trade, be referred to a committee above stairs."

The duke of Clarence opposed the motion, on the principle that an amendment to the same effect with that proposed by the learned prelate, had already been negatived by a great majority. Two other amendments had been proposed, and negatived, on this subject; from all which he argued the great attention of the house to the question when it first appeared, and the impropriety of now altering the mode of conducting it. His royal highness noticed the different state of the country, when the subject was first discussed; it was then a time of profound peace—now we were at war, and the time and attention of the house necessarily directed to business more temporary and important: that the slave trade had not been brought forward before in the course of this session, had been owing to the illness of the right reverend prelate; and he expressed his surprise that the first day his lordship was able to attend in parliament, he should bring forward a motion of such a tendency. The colonies, his highness said, could not be cultivated without slaves; and in a country like this, it was of the utmost importance to pay the strictest attention to every branch of our commerce and navigation. In this view, the trade was of the utmost importance. The country was benefited 4,000,000l. a year by it, an immense number of seamen were employed, and upwards of 70,000,000l. was embarked in the trade. From these reasons, and from its having been brought before them by the commons of Great Britain, and from the propriety of judging for themselves, he thought it incompatible with the dignity of the house to refer the business to a private committee. It was besides a time peculiarly inconvenient for their lordships to attend a committee, just when the assizes were holding. He concluded by giving a negative to the motion.

From one of the arguments of his royal highness, that there was an additional press of business from our being engaged in war, the bishop of Rochester thought it the more necessary to adopt a mode of examining evidence on this subject, better suited to dispatch. The plan proposed by the bishop was approved by lord Grenville, who professed his full conviction on the subject in question, and could see no difficulty or inattention to their own dignity in that house leaving the business to a committee. If that house, like the other, should be finally of opinion that the trade was contrary to humanity and policy, he doubted not but that their lordships would deeply lament that they had adopted so tardy a mode.

The motion was opposed by lord Mansfield, in a speech of some length, in which he placed the question in various points of view. Lord Thurlow joined his lordship in the opinion of the impropriety of referring so important a question to a committee. The petitioners against the abolition had the greatest property at stake that ever was embarked in any trade. They were countenanced in it by the legislature; and now called upon their lordships to decide, whether they had embarked in it on fallacious assurances, or were entitled to the protection of the legislature. The evidence ought to be examined in the most solemn manner; and he believed

believed the records of parliament afforded not a single precedent of a question of such infinite importance being referred to a committee. To change the mode of inquiry, after the lapse of two sessions, would imply either that the house did not consider the question of the same importance as formerly, or were tired of it. Did the motion mean that in order to expedite the business, they were to begin again? if otherwise, it would be two distinct parts, and he did not see how they could be possibly united. Was it likely that those who could not attend on the business at the bar, would do so in a committee? Besides this, his lordship thought an adoption of the measure would not be attended with any particular degree of expedition. Their lordships were not only to examine evidence, but to hear counsel. How would they judge of that which few of them, in a committee above stairs, would ever hear?

Lord Grenville said, that as the committee was open to every noble lord, it was liable to none of these objections. What sanction had been given by the legislature to this trade, if indeed it had given any, or whether the property of the petitioners was to be destroyed, would be seen when their lordships came to decide on the general question.

The motion was supported by the bishop of London, as the best mode which had yet been suggested. The immense property at stake ought certainly to weigh with their lordships; but on the other hand, they were to consider 15 millions of Africans as petitioners at their bar, 80,000 of whom were annually torn from their country and friends, to be carried into captivity. His lordship was interrupted by the duke of Clarence for going into the general question. The bishop, however, contended, that his observations were not only strictly in point, but strictly in order, to shew the necessity of avoiding any further delay, which was the question before the house. He had formed an opinion upon the general question, but was open to conviction, if better information could be procured. If their lordships should decide, that our West India islands could not be cultivated without the importation of negroes from Africa, he should acquiesce: but should they think the trade as repugnant to policy as to humanity and religion, he should rejoice.

Lord Hay and Lord Abingdon opposed the motion; which was supported by Lord Guildford, who said it was too evident that the examination of evidence in that house might extend to the period at which another branch of the legislature had decided the trade should cease. When their lordships were convinced of the impolicy and injustice of the trade, they might be called upon to allow some thousands more of the unhappy victims of it to be carried away, that the trade might not cease too abruptly. On a division, there appeared a majority of 28 against the motion.

The bill of Mr. Wilberforce, for abolishing the foreign slave trade, was, on the second reading (May 2), strongly opposed in the house of lords. Lord Abingdon, in a speech of considerable length, and in his usual argumentative strain, talked much of French principles, of correspondencies held here with individuals of the national assembly of France, of Thomas Paine, of insubordination, anarchy, confusion, murder, havock, desolation, and ruin, of innovation, the

the new philosophy, and other topics equally relevant to the subject in question.

Lord Grenville professed himself a friend to a total abolition of the trade, but said he could not bring himself to press the house to pass the bill in question, pending the inquiry instituted in that house on the general subject of the slave trade—he therefore moved to postpone the second reading to that day three months.

His lordship was followed by the bishop of Rochester. The French part of St. Domingo was, he said, in our possession, and probably other islands; a new situation of affairs had therefore taken place, and before they proceeded with the bill, he wished to know how matters were to stand respecting the West Indies. The bill at present appeared unnecessary and nugatory. His lordship added some further particulars respecting the island of St. Domingo, and of the negroes landed on that island. He professed himself inimical to French principles, and denied what were termed the Rights of Man.

The duke of Clarence rejoiced in coinciding with the noble lord and the learned prelate, for learned he must be in geography, as he had informed the house that the island of St. Domingo belonged to us and the Spaniards, and that when the negroes were landed in the English part, they might walk into the Spanish territory.

Lord Stanhope charged the noble secretary and learned prelate with inconsistency in opposing the present bill, and a conversation ensued on some of the censures thrown out by his lordship.

The earl of Lauderdale noticed those noble lords as inconsistent in having changed their opinions, without having assigned a sufficient reason for the change. He declared himself a friend to a gradual abolition; but would not, he said, consent to a premature termination of a trade, long warranted and encouraged by repeated acts of the legislature.

On a division on the motion of lord Grenville, the bill was thrown out by a majority of 45 against 4.

The employment of the French emigrants in the war against their own country, which had frequently been censured by the opposition, produced in this session debates of some magnitude. In the house of commons major Maitland, on the 1st of February, desired to be informed from Mr. Dundas, whether or not there were French officers employed as aides-de-camp to the earl of Moira, and receiving British pay? A satisfactory answer to this was evaded by Mr. Dundas, who thought the earl had a right to employ such instruments as he thought fit for executing the business with which he was entrusted, and noticed the indelicacy of mentioning the names of the French officers. He declared further, that he should decline answering any questions that tended to disclose the measures of government, the success of which might depend upon secrecy, unless he was commanded to answer by the house. The major justified himself from having called for any information which might prove injurious to the service or the interests of the country. The fact which the hon. gentleman seemed to consider as a very curious and important cabinet secret, might be learned from the meanest private soldier serving under his lordship. He understood, from good authority, that French officers were employed under the earl of

of Moira, and received British pay, which (if such was the fact) was contrary to law, and a fit object of inquiry in that house. He admitted the delicacy of their situation, and that their services might be useful; but if they were to be employed in a local way, the delicacy of their situation would not be violated, nor their services less important. If the motion he was now about to make were not assented to, he should again bring the matter before the house. The major concluded by moving for the production of the names of foreign officers serving under the earl of Moira, and receiving British pay. The motion was seconded by Mr. Grey, who declared his surprise at the question not having been answered, and spoke of the frequent departure from the principles of the constitution. He denied the right of the earl to employ foreign officers in British pay in this country, without the consent of parliament.

The motion of the major was negatived; and soon afterwards the earl of Moira introduced in the house of lords a justification of his conduct. He mentioned the invitation he had received to take upon himself the command, first of an expedition, not immediately to be undertaken, and then of that undertaken to succour the royalists, which was immediately to be undertaken. He was honoured with his majesty's commands on the 17th November, but owing to the adverse state of the wind and weather, the fleet did not sail from Portsmouth till the 1st of December. Previous to this, his majesty's ministers and his lordship had received information of a meeting held by persons deputed by ministers to the royalist army at Doll in Normandy, who had agreed on a plan of operation; but, owing to the difficulty of intercourse, this information did not reach ministers till the 25th of November. By that information it was settled what signals were to be made by the English fleet on their arrival upon the coast, for the purpose of directing the troops where they thought the descent most practicable, and a variety of other matters were adjusted. On the 1st of December they sailed, and early the next morning they made the coast of Cherbourg. He ran down the coast for a considerable extent, hoping to find the royalists in the force that had been represented to him; but not one of the concerted signals, though repeatedly made by the different ships, was answered from the shore. Not knowing how to account for this circumstance, and in obedience to his orders, his lordship said, he proceeded to Guernsey, where, in consequence of contrary winds, he did not arrive till the 25th. His lordship desired the house to attend to the dates which he had occasion to mention, because the whole of his explanation rested on that particular. While at Guernsey, he dispatched a number of emissaries in search of the royalist army. He at length learned that the royalists had made an attack on Granville, but had been defeated, and had retired to the banks of the Loire. All the French journals and newspapers however stated, that one column of the royalist army had directed its course towards Caen in Normandy. His lordship said, that on considering the port, which the royalists had named as the port for him to make, he found that from the peculiar difficulty of access and from other circumstances it would be

be impossible for him to throw succours into it; he therefore by his emissaries had sent word to the royalists of the doubts he entertained of being able to effect the purpose agreed on, and had directed their march to another point. While at Guernsey a storm arose, that separated from him half his squadron and troops. Conceiving, nevertheless, that the faith of the British government was pledged to the army of the royalists, he thought it his duty, be the event and consequence what they might, to lend them every possible succour which his reduced force could administer. Under the impression of this idea he put to sea, and after he had left Guernsey he appointed the French staff, which had been rendered a subject of discussion in another house of parliament. He begged their lordships to recollect the point of time when this appointment was made—while he was expecting to land on the coast of France immediately, and when he meant not to join his army to that of the royalists, but to engraft the royalists forces on those which he had under his command; when he expected, the moment he landed, to have proceeded to battle, to find the royalists dispirited by defeats, and to have to lead them on to instant contest: it was impossible therefore for him, with any regard to prudence, to trust to the chance of subsequent opportunity. He appointed the French staff as he had stated, and it consisted of two aides-de-camp, a French secretary, and a quarter master-general. In having appointed this staff, he had no hesitation to say, that he had not been authorised by his majesty's ministers; he conceived that the nature of his command necessarily invested him with a degree of discretion adequate to the end of the destined service. If, however, it should be thought by his majesty's ministers that he had acted improperly, he desired distinctly to be understood, that he took the expence upon himself, and that ministers might, if they pleased, upon the winding up of his accounts, deduct the whole amount of the expence.

Another matter brought into discussion in the other house of parliament, he understood had been, that he had appointed French artillerists. The fact was, that the council who directed the operations of the royalist army had stated to our government, that they had plenty of cannon, but that they really did not know how to make use of them effectually for want of proper artillerists. Considering that the French had rendered themselves so formidable in the field by means of their artillery, his lordship said, he thought the circumstance worth immediate attention. He wrote without delay to Flanders, begging that the army in that quarter would supply him with as many artillerists as they could well spare. His requisition was instantly complied with, and as soon as they arrived they were put upon allowance, but their allowance was not included in any pay-list. What could he do less with men, whom he had sent for, from an army in which they were entitled to constant pay?

His lordship spoke in very feeling terms of the miserable situation of the French officers in question, the safety of whose connections in France depended upon their names not being disclosed.

The earl of Lauderdale contended, that it was not the intention of the

the gentlemen who had agitated the matters referred to by his lordship in the other house of parliament, to investigate the time, the motives, or the principles on which the earl of Moira had appointed foreigners on the staff in his army. He thought too highly of the ability and talents of the noble earl, to believe he would take any measure of a strong and questionable nature, without having strong reasons for his conduct. Nor had he a wish to depreciate the merit of the officers in question, or to draw down upon them and their relatives those fatal consequences, which every man must dread and deplore. Had those who spoke upon the subject elsewhere received the same candid and liberal answer from ministers to a plain question, put to them in a way perfectly parliamentary, as the noble earl had given, they would have been satisfied, and the matter set at rest. His lordship censured the affected hauteur and mysterious silence of ministers on this occasion, which had excited jealousy, and suspicion in the minds of others; and thought, that in the present critical situation of public affairs, it became necessary to attend to whatever bore the appearance of trespass, either on the laws or constitution.

Lord Grenville complimented the earl of Moira on his liberality, but declared himself, and his majesty's government in general, to be considered as fully responsible for every part of the transaction stated by the noble earl. He censured, as an impropriety, the conduct of gentlemen in the other house in the investigation of this business. In this his lordship was opposed by the earl of Guildford, who thought they had acted with the utmost propriety; and had the same fair and liberal explanation been there given, he had no doubt that all inquiry would have ceased.

On the 17th of February the Marquis of Lansdowne, in a speech replete with sound observation and elaborate reasoning, introduced a motion for peace. His lordship began by stating his wish that it had come from other hands, and particularly that his majesty's ministers had derived from such a motion all the merit, and all the gratitude, which it would have fixed in the minds of their countrymen. In hopes of this he had deferred his motion; but seeing the immense preparations making for a continuance of the war, the volumes of engagements into which we had entered with foreign powers, and the solemn declarations of perseverance, he thought it time to deliberate for a moment, to inquire into the cause and object of the dispute. His lordship professed that it was not at all his intention to address himself to the passions of noble lords, but asked what must be the feelings of a burdened nation, when they saw thirteen millions of money voted for the continuance of a war, without a single consideration of the merits of the case, and on the mere pretext of a *French pamphlet*. The people, he said, were however not likely to think the sentiments of a single individual, and that individual a member of a faction that was crushed at the time of the writing, a good ground for perpetuating the horrors of an undefined and unexplained war. The present faction in France might soon be overthrown, and inflammatory pamphlets by the partisans of each successive faction might furnish pretexts for the continuance of war, if such wretched pretexts were to be

be allowed as legitimate grounds. After two campaigns, the last the most sanguinary and expensive in the annals of modern history, before involving Europe in the horrors of a third, it might not be unworthy their lordships attention to inquire into the success of the past. The question was, whether the innumerable treaties we had made were calculated to turn the tide of misfortune, and secure a rational hope of success in the ensuing campaign? He thought we had no more probability of success now than before. The line of war in which we were now engaged, had been condemned from the time of the duke of Marlborough down to general Lloyd, the last officer who had written upon the subject. The opinion of all men of great military talents in Europe had been, that an attempt to penetrate France through the frontier, which had been the seat of war, is impracticable, and this had been verified by the fate of the two last campaigns. His lordship took a concise and able review of the different attacks made in the two last campaigns on the frontiers of France, under generals of the most distinguished abilities, and all had equally failed of success. Yet, after this melancholy experience, we were hazarding a third campaign. But it seems a new officer of middle rank (colonel Mack) had formed a new plan upon which the cabinets of Europe rested their hopes, and upon which we were to risque the lives of our fellow creatures. His lordship paid every compliment to the colonel, which could be possibly his due, but did not conceive him very likely to accomplish an enterprize, which had failed in the hands of predecessors of acknowledged military experience and gallantry. It was not so astonishing to find an officer suggesting a new plan, as to see the credulous avidity with which it was embraced, and the implicit confidence given to it. We were told that Flanders had been saved; Flanders had been lost by one battle, and gained by another. This only proved, that the fate of Flanders depended upon a single battle, and it might be lost by the next. The secret history of the French would prove, that the loss of Flanders to them was the result of the animosities of private faction. These gave Dumouriez the ascendant over La Fayette, and subjected him to the triumph of Pache. To the animosities of these factions may be attributed their failure by the defection of Dumouriez. The jealousies of la Fayette and Dumouriez were the cause, and in proportion to the unanimity of the French (an unanimity established by the persecution of their enemies), will be the difficulty of making any impression upon the republic. There was a principle of action and reaction in human nature, that never failed to produce great and unaccountable effects. The result of the private factions of France had at length given to the government of France more formidable power than had ever been maintained by any state; and it was of the utmost consequence to consider the effects which were likely to follow, from keeping up in France the tone and passion they at present possessed. France, by the pressure of the allies on her frontier, had become a school of military wonder. In a few years none could prophesy what unforeseen enterprizes they might not effect. His lordship proved from history the probability, that if other governments determined to persevere in the design to goad, to attack,

attack; and to hunt the French, we should confirm, so as never to be rooted out, a military republic in the heart of Europe. Nor let us, said the marquis, proudly conceive, that our combination will make us formidable, because it is opposed to a single people; when we sharpen talents by irascibility, when we inflame the natural energies of the soul, when we call forth and rouse every faculty of nature, each individual becomes something more than man. Great moments have always produced great men and great actions. The time of conflict is the time in which nature seems to delight in her grandest productions. The whole of the rising generation in France is educated in the military art; not, as here, with a view to rising in life, but the enthusiasm of war entered into the heart, only from the enthusiasm of liberty; and the whole country is taught, that their sole occupation and passion ought to be arms, because their only good and blessing is liberty.

Such being the state of the war, his lordship asked whether it was reasonable to persevere in it? whether, upon the principle avowed, we ought to succeed? and whether, by the treaties we had made, we were likely to do so? Above all, whether the war was not likely to produce consequences fearful to England, to Europe, and to the liberties of mankind? His lordship then entered into a view of the treaties which we had made; he attempted to shew, that the jealousy of Spain, exsited by our views upon the French West India islands, which, if attained, must throw her at our mercy—by our naval interest, and the contraband trade which it had been our object to encourage, to her discontent—by the affair of Nootka Sound—by the uneasiness manifested at Toulon, when they saw a ship of 110 guns taken away by the English, which they thought belonged to them as the natural guardians of Louis XVII., was not likely to suffer that nation to entertain any substantial alliance with us? From various circumstances, his lordship proved that Portugal too would be found in the same interest with Spain, with all the numerous advantages to be derived from her ports, in case of future differences between the courts of Madrid and London.

With respect to the king of Prussia his lordship contended, that as the head of the Germanic alliance, it must ever be his policy to resist the aggrandizement of the house of Austria. This alliance seemed for the moment to be sacrificed to the project against France; and the king of Prussia was now allied with the house of Austria, to accomplish a purpose which must ruin the very object of that league. To support the independence of Prussia, his lordship said, he would cheerfully vote for almost every subsidy; for when once the principalities of Germany were enslaved, there was an end to the liberties and freedom of the continent. But was it to be believed that the cabinet of Vienna had changed its object? It had been distinguished not merely by its systematic ambition, but by incessant ability in the prosecution of its designs. His lordship called the attention of the house to the designs of the court of Vienna upon Bavaria, in which they were very near succeeding, and in which if they had succeeded, the chief of the house of Austria would have become king, and all the little German states must

must have fallen his prey. Either, therefore, Prussia cannot be sincerely united to Austria in the present war, which must threaten our confederacy; or the connexion must threaten the liberties of Europe much more than suffering France to continue her present boundaries. Can we believe that so monstrous an alliance can continue, or that the independent states of Germany can long continue so blind to their permanent interests, as to abet the court of Vienna in the present war?

His lordship next proceeded to mention Russia, and considered the court of Petersburgh, next to that of Vienna, as the most systematic in Europe. The good sense of the nation had, he said, recently saved us from a profitless war with Russia. By the fault of ministers, we made peace leaving Oczakow in her possession; and we had allowed her to give a value to Oczakow, which before was merely negative, by permitting her to seize the whole eastern division of Poland, containing three millions and a half of people, and rich in corn, forests, and pastures, which will enable her to make an active use of all the rivers east of the Danube. By these means she was furnished with every supply for land and sea operations against Constantinople itself, and this had been done while we had been intermeddling in the internal affairs of France! As to her alliance, where were the expected forces from Russia? Had she in one instance fulfilled her promises? It was her invariable policy to embroil the southern powers of Europe, in order to exhaust them. His lordship noticed her interference in the peace of 1782, and added, that instead of sending troops to aid the present confederacy, she had been erecting fortresses in Poland, that, when she had seen her rivals sufficiently exhausted, she might fall upon her long devoted victim the Turk. His lordship lamented that we should abet the designs of this truly formidable power, and, from the best information, stated the resources of the Empress as immense.

The next ally considered by his lordship was Holland—Holland, which had been the cat's-paw of the cat's-paw; for the fact was undeniable, that ministers had involved Great Britain in war, and Great Britain had tricked Holland into it, contrary to her own judgment and inclination. Had the Dutch, though a maritime power, sent a single ship to sea? His lordship compared their present backwardness with their former glorious struggles, and said it exhibited the difference between men when engaged in defence of their own liberties, and when drawn in to fight with others against their will.

The marquis next mentioned the king of Sardinia, and considered that state as too much impoverished to render us any service. It had been an opinion that the king might be a small check upon France, but he certainly never could cross the Var to any good purpose.

His lordship then observed, that upon this heterogeneous confederacy of interests so inimical to each other we relied for success in the war. He asked whether it was to be expected they would keep together? Was it to be believed, that an undefined object, in which no two of them have ever agreed, and which is stated to be diametrically opposite as soon as they attempt to define it, shall perform the mira-

cle of subduing all old animosities, stifling their jealousies, smoothing their mutual asperities, and resolving them in a mass of perfect union? The artful ambition of the courts of Russia and Prussia, he said, maintained the league only till their rivals were exhausted. In the mean time none of the allies had money, except that power which had given no other aid than promises, and the whole burden had fallen, and must fall, upon the people of these kingdoms.

His lordship reprobated the conduct of ministry towards neutral nations, whom we had endeavoured to compel to take up arms. He recapitulated the correspondence between lord Hervey and the court of Florence, and that of our other ministers with the courts of Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland and America. On the 22d of May lord Hervey sent his first note, intimating the arrival of a Spanish and English squadron in the Mediterranean. He received from the minister of the grand duke a respectful declaration, that his royal highness was determined to preserve a strict neutrality. To this lord Hervey made a reply expressive of astonishment, but declaring that he would make known the answer to the court of St. James's. Yet, to prove that he had received his instructions, he forthwith dispatched a circular letter to all the other ministers of the court of Tuscany, making known the declaration of the grand duke, in terms harsh, revolting and unprecedented. On the 8th of October he presented a memorial, peremptorily calling upon his royal highness to dismiss the French minister in twelve hours, or lord Hood would act offensively against Leghorn. This was our conduct to the brother of the emperor our ally—as distant from every principle of policy, as it was from decency and the law of nations. Ministers should have considered, before they offered such a premeditated insult, that the prince whom they treated so rudely might to-morrow fill the throne of the empire. It is a received opinion of persons conversant in courts, that services conferred upon princes are usually, if not constantly, forgotten; but that insults and injuries never are. Leghorn, his lordship shewed, had in the year 1712 been declared to be a perpetual free port, and he remarked the danger there was in future wars of Spain and France availing themselves of the precedent we had set them, and holding the same language to Leghorn and Genoa, which we now do.

Our language to Genoa had, his lordship said, been the language of the strong to the weak. With Sweden and Denmark we had stood upon particular treaties, because they suited our views. The state of them with Denmark made it necessary to have recourse to other arguments. The answer of that court, with the counter-declaration enclosed in it, was a sufficient reproof of their arrogance. In fact, count Bernstoff's reply was one of the most argumentative and the most masterly diplomatic productions he had ever read. His lordship spoke with nearly equal praise of the canton of Berne.

Our conduct towards America had been marked with more than common outrage, he even feared, with the blackness of guilt. Without any possible subject of contention, supposing the late treaty of peace carried fully into execution, we had contrived to become embroiled with that country; though in

In this present war she had passed by many provocations, and though she had at the head of her government a person of such consummate wisdom, and force of character, as to set an example to all the other powers of the world. This great man, instead of attending to the clamour of the moment, *or raising a false alarm*, in order to have a pretext for yielding to it, had the firmness to resist popular opinion, and to wait for the return of good sense and sound judgment in the public. Under such circumstances, what could tempt us to issue the order of council, November 6th, without consulting a single merchant? an order which we were obliged to repeal six weeks afterwards! The marquis intimated that suspicions had arisen, that this country was accessary to the war made upon the Americans by the Algerines, and even that we were concerned in promoting the Indian war. If these were calumnies, ministry ought to deny both, not only for the sake of their own honour, but for the public good.

Whether, his lordship said, he looked to our confederacy on the one hand, or to the neutral powers whom we had irritated, he saw nothing to hope. There was no European power who would not rather keep out of the contest, if left at liberty to do so, or who had not some separate view of interest for engaging in it which must take place at the expence of the whole. All the continental powers, the marquis added, were in want of money, which deserved some consideration, as Great Britain was to supply the deficiency. Spain had issued about three millions and a half of paper money, though she could scarcely circulate the paper she had before, which had sunk the exchange 20 per cent. None of our confederates except Russia had credit in neutral countries. All of them, except Prussia, which had no credit whatever, had proposals for loans which did not fill. The credit of Holland was worse than any, having lately endeavoured to raise a million sterling on a lottery, which would have yielded 5 per cent. to the subscribers; but none were to be found, though Holland used to get her money at 2½ per cent. On the other hand, in France every thing was converted to public use, paper was used for internal purposes, and gold and silver for its necessary importations.

The whole being left upon us, his lordship said it was not the trash of an indemnity we ought to pursue, but to conciliate the minds of the people of France, and to restore peace to mankind. This was the way to make a lasting peace between the two nations. So far in the present instance from a peace not being secure with France, it would be more secure than with any cabinet in Europe. His lordship produced several instances to prove, that cabinets were never to be depended upon. But who were we to treat with? was constantly said. "Treat (said his lordship) with the French people, no matter for the name. If our intentions are wise and disinterested, there can be little to settle, and in that would lie our great security." Ministers, he said, might make difficulties; they had done so in the American war, and he noticed the paltry shifts which had been made use of on this occasion. In the present instance our allies were talked of, who, if they meant honestly, had interests the same as ours, namely, that of peace. Other difficulties might and would be started,

started, as long as ministers were indisposed to peace; but if this were proved to be the case, he hoped that parliament would do as in the case of America, cut the knot which ministers refused to untie. He strongly asserted the pacific dispositions of the French towards this country, and solemnly declared as a fact his conviction, "that *the French never desired* a war with this country, and that there never had been a moment, to that very time, when peace was not to be had on terms perfectly consistent with the honour of Great Britain." His lordship asked, what indemnity we were to receive? Was it any West India island or islands? At the time we possessed America, this might have been considered as a source of great wealth; but now they no longer depended upon us for supplies to their markets, for their slaves, or for defence against their slaves, this was no longer the case. His lordship noticed the diffusion of the liberal principles respecting the slave trade, as an additional reason for the ceasing of the dependence of the West Indies upon us. The St. Domingo proclamation, and the late proceedings in the convention, must spread gradually through all the French islands; mutual dissatisfaction must arise at the bargain answering so little for either side; and those new conquests in the West Indies, however managed, would be to this country little better than money traps; they would belong to us not one moment longer than the monopoly of our consumption made it decidedly for their interests; and this was the case also with our own West India islands. "Let us not then, said the marquis, pursue the idea of this pitiful indemnity to our ruin. The stagnation of our domestic industry, and of our national capital for one year, was worth more than the fee-simple of any of their islands to the empire." The French, he added, considering us as the head of the confederacy, would more decidedly direct their efforts against us. They had turned their attention to their marine; and from what they had done in that way under Louis XIV, we well knew what they were able to achieve.

In this situation, the marquis said, it became necessary to ask what distinct object we had in view; and as ministers refused to name that object, he must look for it in the different manifestoes. His lordship then entered into the full consideration of the two manifestoes of the duke of Brunswick, that of general Wurmser and the prince of Saxe Cobourg, and those of lord Hood, admiral Langara, and general O'Hara, &c. and proved, that "there was not one which did not either contradict itself, or which was not immediately contradicted by a succeeding one, or which was not completely disregarded in the execution." Taken together, they conveyed no distinct idea, except that of extending absolute power and encouraging unlimited monarchy. The real objects of the war had never been defined, still less the terms upon which we would make peace. The object of the present motion was therefore to beseech his majesty to make both these things known, which was equally necessary both for war and peace. The marquis recommended, as an example to this country in its intercourse with France, the conduct of Louis IX during the civil wars in the reign of Henry III. Were we to mani-

aufest sentiments of kindness and generosity, and a desire of peace, towards the French, they would evince the same. They had always been against a war with England. Mutual rancour, his lordship said, had been excited by the mutual invectives which had been bandied about. This he earnestly wished to be avoided, and that we should behave nobly, not seeking to derive profit from the misfortunes of our neighbours. He next called the attention of the house to the critical situation in which we at present stood. It was given as a reason for the peace of 1748, that Maestricht was left the single town of the Low Countries. At present matters did not depend on a single town, but on the fate of a single battle; one battle lost, and all our advantage ground was gone. It would then be the time for the French to talk of indemnity, security and barrier. If they lost a battle, it was comparatively nothing; for it was not one, two, three, or even four battles that could seriously humble them, and nothing of this kind could have a permanent operation. The marquis said, he had no expectation that these reasonings would have an immediate effect; but he besought the house to take them into consideration, that they might produce future good. His lordship concluded by moving an humble address, to represent to his majesty the extreme improbability of conquering France—that the confederacy was not to be depended upon, was exhausted in its finances, and the burden and odium of the war must ultimately fall upon Great Britain—that were the war in future to be successful, it was impolitic to continue it, as no acquisitions of territory could be of benefit, at the risque of prolonging the present, and laying the foundation of future wars—the immense loss that must ensue to trade from the continuance of this war, and the general decay of it which had arisen in the place of an expected reduction of debt and taxes—that the dismemberment of France, if attainable, would augment the strength of the greater European powers, who were the most dangerous and the most to be dreaded—that opinions and sentiments, once disseminated, cannot be controlled by arms, and therefore every government which would guard against democratic principles should avoid the evils which gave birth to them—that the acquiescence shewn by the French in the provisionary government is no proof that they will continue it, if we suffer them to return to a state of external peace—that experience has demonstrated the futility of every attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of France, even if the justice were problematical—and that we must incur the keenest reproaches, if we encouraged further revolts in a country, where we had been unable to save those who put confidence in us from extermination and ruin;—therefore to implore his majesty to declare, without delay, his disposition to make peace upon such just, disinterested, and liberal terms as were calculated to render the peace lasting, and that he would signify this intention to his allies, that a stop might be put to the daily effusion of human blood.

Such are the outlines of this extraordinary speech: a speech which will necessarily attract the attention of every man who wishes to be acquainted with the actual state of European politics, as containing more real and curious information

tion on that subject, than any written document which has fallen under our inspection. What the noble speaker has proposed under the form of hypothesis and conjecture, has in general been since confirmed by positive facts; and the picture which he has drawn of the views and interests of the different courts is so correct, that it seems almost to have been extracted from the minutes of their respective cabinets.

The motion was clamorously but feebly opposed by earl Fitzwilliam. After the address presented to his majesty at the commencement of the session, their lordships could not, he said, consistently agree to the motion. The war was defensive, and the object of the French was to propagate their principles in every country of Europe. In justification of this opinion, he cited the pamphlet of Brissot. The object of the motion appeared highly objectionable; it appeared to be to call upon his majesty to specify the mode in which the war was to be carried on, and to violate the treaties in which he is engaged; and this, in order that we might assist the French, who had murdered their sovereign, deluged whole provinces with the innocent blood of the people, who threatened to replunge Europe into a state of barbarism. He thought the treaties wise, and that by breaking them we should at once forfeit our faith, and abandon our own interest. What the conduct of the French would have been, if not successfully resisted, might be collected from the accounts of their atrocities. In this country great pains had been taken to procure the adoption of their principles, but they had been defeated by the vigilance of government. The instances of aggression on the part of the French were, his lordship said, numerous. He instanced the decree of November 1792, which openly avowed the intention of interfering with every government that did not recognize their absurd doctrine of liberty and equality; the unprovoked aggression on the Dutch territories; the invasion of Brabant, the reduction of Savoy, and their interference with the navigation of the Scheldt. Their encroachments were of the most dangerous tendency; they did not go to a simple invasion of our territory, but to a total subversion of our constitution. We had at present no hopes of peace, without giving up our constitution; and what were we to expect if we were to withdraw from the present league, or become passive? For an answer to this he referred to the conduct of the French when they invaded Savoy. They declared they attacked the king of Sardinia because he was weak; they would therefore become more insolent as we became more humble, and our wishes for peace would remove it further from us. Before we proposed terms of peace with the French, we must disband our army, or quit the territories of the republic, and then what security had we that any honourable terms would be assented to on their part? Would the noble lord recommend it to us to disarm, and leave the French in full force? If he were in the situation of a minister, would he not spurn at such advice, as arising more from a spirit of opposition than from any reason that could justify the measure? From the most serious consideration, his lordship said, he was decidedly of opinion, that to accede to the motion would be to act as an accessary to the most essential

ſential miſchief to the conſtitution, and to ſanction anarchy, treaſon, and rebellion.

The duke of Grafton ſaid, that if he had not previouſly, from having communicated with the noble mover of the motion, weighed it in his mind, examined it in every point of view, and deliberately conſidered it, he ſhould not at this ſtage of the debate ſay a ſingle word upon the ſubject. His grace noticed his long abſence from the houſe. He did not, he ſaid, hope that the few who concurred with him in ſentiment would be at once able to effect any material advantage; but he hoped that, by conſtantly and unremittingly pointing out the obvious diſadvantages of the war, they might at length effect their object, and procure for the country the bleſſings of peace. He recollected that a minority ſmall in number, reviled, treated with ſcorn and contempt, ſlandered by addreſſes to his majeſty from different parts of the kingdom, did, by perſeverance and firmneſs, at length effect their object, convert their minority into a majority, and bring about a peace with America. The motion was not likely to be attended with any indignity to the crown; it did not militate againſt the intereſts of our fellow ſubjects; it was calculated to promote the real welfare of this country; and he believed, if right meaſures had been taken ſome time ago with reſpect to continental affairs, hundreds of thouſands of the lives of our fellow creatures would have been ſpared. He conceived the miſfortunes in which we were at preſent involved had their origin in a doctrine new to him, the doctrine of implicit obedience to his majeſty's miniſters. Such evils were the conſequences of a ſeries of ill-judged and moſt impolitic meaſures; and thoſe who ſhould adviſe a continuance of them might on a future day be called to anſwer to their injured country for thoſe miſfortunes in which they had involved her. There was ſome radical defect in the conſtitution, either in its theory or practice, or theſe miſfortunes could not have happened. It was the duty of their lordſhips to examine whence it ſprung, and the means by which it might be remedied; for the progreſs of it, if not prevented, threatened to terminate in the final ſubverſion of our excellent conſtitution.

His grace afterwards adverted to the financial oration of Mr. Pitt in the year 1792, in which he ſtated the probable proſpect of our enjoying uninterrupted peace for the ſpace of fifteen years; and had calculated upon that our finances, and built upon it a plan for the liquidation of our enormous debt. Yet, in the ſpace of twelve months, all theſe fair proſpects had vaniſhed, through the temerity of miniſters, who had involved their country in a war undefined in its principle and object; and which, from every information he could obtain, was what political writers termed *bellum internecionis*, a war of extermination. At that time the miniſter could not be ignorant of the affairs of France; yet, in leſs than the ſhort ſpace of twelve months, we were engaged in war, and the people burdened with twelve millions additional debt. What inference could be drawn from this fact? Either that the miniſter was inſincere at the time he held the language, or that the ſyſtem on our part, with reference to the politics of the continent, was changed. The firſt was uncharitable; the

second a fair inference. He would take it then we had changed our system, and that we were now to insist on a particular form of government. On this he had no idea of success, nor did he see justice in our interference, upon any pretence, in the internal government of any country. Had it not been for our alliance with Austria and Prussia, ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND lives might have been spared. His grace strongly contended for the policy of having allied this country with France, rather than with Austria and Prussia. To prove that the French would not unite with this country, recourse was had to some of the invectives of Barrere? was it from them we were to judge of the sense of a nation? As an unanswerable argument for terminating the war, his grace stated, by calculation, the enormous amount to which an annual accumulation of debt would swell in a few years.

The argument of the noble lord who had introduced the motion, and the meaning of that motion, had been misconceived. The marquis had not meant to recommend a violation of our treaties, nor the desertion of our allies; he had said, if we shewed a disposition for peace, the effect would be the same disposition for peace in all the allied powers; because we had put ourselves at the head of the war, and were so considered by the French. Certainly the marquis had not meant to recommend our disarming while the French remained armed. When they met us on the terms of a treaty, and had approached to a close, we should do as we did at the end of all wars—disarm by degrees, just as the enemy disarmed. It had been said, that the French wished to overturn our constitution; but he believed, if there was wisdom in our councils, and proper terms were offered to the French, there would be no danger. Much had been inferred from speeches in the national convention, and the pamphlet of Brissot, to prove the French determined on the destruction of other governments. He did not agree to the conclusion. Much invective had passed in our houses of parliament, and indeed such steps had been taken as had tended entirely to inflame the French. His grace particularly noticed the manifesto of the duke of Brunswick; and wished to know, whether the ministers of this country were acquainted with it previous to its publication. If they were, they should have protested against it. If they were not, it was far from respectful in the courts of Vienna and Berlin not to have communicated it. After discussing the subject of the manifestoes at large, his grace professed himself actuated on this occasion only by love to his sovereign and his country, and a regard to his own honour. He thought a continuance of the war *threatened his majesty's throne and government, and the safety and prosperity of the country.*

The earl of Caernarvon considered the speech of the noble mover of the question as little calculated to promote peace, and tending to embroil us with our allies and *neutral* nations. All that he had said against the war had been *supported by no proof*; and the only admissible position was, that peace was a blessing devoutly to be wished. His lordship mentioned, at great length, the motives for the war, which have been so often adduced; resistance to the avowed objects of the French, and security for the rights, liberties, and constitution of Great Britain and her allies. That it could not

not be avoided by negotiation, he inferred from Mons. Chauvelin's answer to lord Grenville respecting the Scheldt. His lordship vindicated the conduct of lord Hood, respecting the declaration made at Toulon [but was afterwards contradicted by the marquis of Lansdown, who read a passage from the declaration of lord Hood, at Toulon, in support of what he had asserted]. He did not, he said, mean to follow the noble lord in his comments on the different manifestoes. The superintendance of parliament was confined to the servants of the king of Great Britain, and no such intentions appeared as the noble lord imputed to them: but if a decided declaration in favour of monarchy could have given a probability of a more speedy peace, he should not have thought it objectionable. His lordship described the fluctuating and insecure nature of the French government: before he could feel confidence in a government which drew its precarious existence from the subversion of old principles, he must know its moral principles and political opinions; whether it knew the nature of a contract between nation and nation; and whether the new code of the rights of man did not overset the law of nations as well as those of France. His lordship inveighed strongly against the opinions and conduct of the French, who, he said, demanded the surrender of this government as the price of peace.

Assuming for the data of his reasoning, that the war was *really just* and *necessary*, lord Darnley contended, that we ought not to be told of its misery; for, till security could be obtained for peace, we must suffer it. He had often heard that the country was injured by the continuation of hostilities; but when he looked around him, he saw *that the same happiness was felt, and the same prosperity enjoyed, as in* 1789. His lordship patiently traversed again the track pursued by the nobleman who had last spoken; and so perfectly was he satisfied in his own mind of the urgency of pursuing the war, that he should prosecute it with his fortune and his *life*, "if *such support* should ever be deemed requisite."

The earl of Guildford rose to reply to the earl of Caernarvon. Were it necessary to make those inquiries respecting the French which the noble lord had stated, he was at a loss to know when the proper time for negotiation would arrive. Granting all that had been said of the perfidy of the convention, were they to turn their attention to the ancient system of France, they would find invariably, that in all its transactions when a monarchy there was as much perfidy, and as little dependance to be placed on its treaties, as could be stated against the convention of the present day. With respect to the question, how peace could be made consistently with the treaties entered into with our allies, he would ask what power was vested in the executive government to make treaties, by which the privileges of the house were to be entirely destroyed? Peace was, he said, universally wished for in France. With regard to the apparent difficulty of making it, from the language held out by this country, the French had little reason to flatter themselves with the expectation of a speedy peace. Why then condemn them for pursuing a line of conduct which we had ourselves pursued? It would be wild and extravagant in us to continue the war till they should have established a permanent form

form of government; and a still greater degree of absurdity, "to inflict punishment and entail calamity upon ourselves," for the sake of dragooning them into our opinion, and prescribing to them a form of government congenial to *our minds*, but odious to theirs. There were a variety of instances on record, where no sanction had been given by Great Britain to the means by which power had been acquired, and but seldom to the manner in which it had been exercised. Our own minister at the courts of Russia and Prussia had, without remonstrance, suffered these potentates to plunder, to seize upon, and to enslave Poland. We had negotiated with the emperors of Morocco, who frequently ascended the throne by the murder of their nearest relations. Fighting, as ministers asserted, for all that was dear to us, and our very existence as a nation, we ought to secure our future safety. The objects of the war being attained by the retraction of the obnoxious decree of the 19th of November 1792, by the French having evacuated the territories of our allies, and by having disclaimed all intention of meddling in future with the internal government of foreign nations, nothing could stand in the way of a negotiation for peace; and were we sincere in our offers, he doubted not the French would be glad to put an end to a war so bloody and expensive, and so ruinous to all the parties concerned. His lordship opposed to the declarations of the French those of this country, which, he said, had frequently of late been so little adhered to, that in many instances we acted in direct contradiction both to their spirit and letter. Those declarations made in both countries, as violent as the most rankling animosity could suggest, he should consider as the declarations of individuals rather than the acts of a parliament or a government, and he was surprised that they were treated as objections to the restoration of a peace. With respect to the difficulties said to lie in the way, he would ask, what difficulties? Were we afraid or ashamed to be the first to propose what was for our own good and the happiness of Europe? Much had been said concerning danger to our laws and religion; but he saw not the weight in this argument, which some people allowed to it. At so momentous a crisis we should let no prejudice, or exaggerations of the proceedings of others, so far get the better of our judgment, as to prevent our making every effort for restoring the blessings of tranquillity. Our abuse of the French, and their abuse of us, were precisely the same; but while we were satirizing their rulers and government, it behoved us not to endanger our own, or hazard the religion we so dearly prized by the conduct we were pursuing, his lordship therefore earnestly exhorted the house to endeavour to effect a peace, to abandon the project of dictating a government to France, and to forsake the destructive system of politics in which they had embarked.

The duke of Leeds objected to the time in which the motion had been made, and the ground on which it had rested, which appeared to him impracticable. He considered the war as generally justifiable, and therefore he saw no reason for particular scrupulosity in inquiring into the precise object of it. He reprobated the system of the French, thought we could only treat with them on the terms of a complete disavowal of that system; and

and that, considering the circumstances in which this country stood, it would at present favour of a timid policy to recommend peace. His grace asserted, that his majesty's ministers had done all that could be expected from them to avert the war, and vindicated the treatment experienced by Mons. Chauvelin.

The motion was considered by Lord Sydney as tending to declare our inability to carry on the war, to express our distrust of our allies, and to charge ourselves with injustice. It was said that the duke of Marlborough had acknowledged the French frontier impregnable; but was it forgotten that the duke was besieging Bouchaine at the time he was so infamously recalled? Whatever apology might be made for the conduct of the French, because it resembled the conduct of Louis XIV, he would as eagerly and as firmly have acted against that prince, had he adopted a similar course of cruelty and injustice. His lordship took a view of the proceedings of the French respecting Savoy, Austria, and Geneva. No man doubted the blessings of peace; but ought we to prefer that which was unsafe and precarious, when we had reasonable hopes, in conjunction with our allies, of compelling one which promised to be permanent and secure? With respect to ministers stimulating the Indian war, such a matter ought to have been brought forward in a charge or direct accusation, or not at all. He could not believe ministers so devoid of policy, prudence, and humanity.

Lord Lauderdale drew an animated picture of the situation in which the minority were at present placed. They were publicly calumniated as Jacobins, when their object was only the support of the liberties of the country. Though the minority was small, he trusted, however, that the spirit by which they were actuated would not abate; and he had no doubt their numbers would increase as in the American war, and their efforts be finally crowned with success. His lordship asserted, that in the history of mankind it would be difficult to find a people who had been persecuted with an equal degree of antipathy, animosity and ferocity with the French. It had been asked, what losses we had sustained. He would answer, that there was scarcely an individual who had not sustained some injury. All who had property in the funds had already lost one fourth part of it; and if those who possessed landed property were to make a fair calculation, they would find their loss proportionate. There was besides an enormous increase of taxes. Our trade, and every branch of our commerce, had suffered excessively. And what had been gained on the other side? Was there a single action which could elate the mind, or warm us with pride, on reflecting on the conduct of our country? "Had ministers pursued a dignified *neutrality, the wealth of Europe would have been poured into this island;* we should not only have reaped a noble harvest, but preserved our *honour*."

His lordship pointedly contended against the necessity of any alarm from the diffusion of French principles. There was no similarity between the government of England and the former government of France. He strongly contrasted the wretched situation of the subjects of France previous to the revolution, with that of the subjects of Great Britain. He ridiculed the idea that we could not treat with France

France without risquing our happy constitution against their principles. He recapitulated the evils which were apprehended from treating with the French, and contended that none such could arise. His lordship again mentioned the losses of the merchants, and the destruction of their commerce. His noble friends never mentioned, he said, the losses of the campaign, but ministers trumpeted forth, that they were fighting for their constitution, for their all. The noble marquis and himself had both property in the country. Were property or religion in any danger, could it be supposed the noble marquis would not be one of the last men to introduce such a motion, and he the last man to second him? With regard to the impracticability of treating on account of our alliances; had we held that doctrine in our late dispute with Russia, we must have been at war; and if it was one of our articles not to make peace till the republic of France was overturned, some of our allies could not go with us in that treaty. His lordship noticed the reluctance with which Holland had entered into the war. She cared not about establishing monarchy. Her language was, "Let the barrier be secure, and we do not care what your government is." With respect to the king of Prussia, it was well known what induced him to persevere, and that no dependance could be placed on his continuing in the alliance. It was his opinion, that in the course of the war all the weaker powers of Europe must be subsidized. His lordship mentioned several instances of the intriguing spirit of the old government of France, and recommended the line of conduct pursued by the Americans towards the present. With respect to the violation of treaties by our treating for a separate peace, if we ever allowed ministers to make treaties which bound the parliament and the people not to make peace till their wild and romantic views were gratified; the privileges of parliament would indeed be annihilated, and we should be acting, not on British, but on German and Prussian principles. His lordship concluded by noticing the inconsistency of our employing lord Auckland to treat with Dumouriez, as an agent of France, at a time when we had peremptorily refused to negotiate with the French government.

Lord Carlisle objected to the motion, because he thought the present not a proper time to treat for peace. He considered as important advantages the driving back the French from Holland and the Netherlands, the expulsion of them from India, but above all the prohibition of an intercourse with France, which nothing but war could have so completely effected, &c.

His lordship was followed by lord Grenville, who, after reviewing the different arguments adduced in support of the motion, thought it ill-timed, inexpedient, and impracticable. Whatever might be the motive for bringing it forward, he said he rejoiced in the discussion, which would impress on the house, on parliament, and on the people, the real principles of the war; it would remind them how much they had at stake in the event, and how necessary it was to prosecute it vigorously. His lordship entered into a full defence of the war, and supported his opinion with the usual arguments. He was astonished to see two such men as the noble marquis and duke, the one a person of extensive landed possessions, the other

other deriving great advantages from family grants, propose a negotiation for peace without stating any ground on which it could be effected with security. He mentioned the speeches delivered lately in the French convention, to prove that the French had not abated of their designs against all governments, and particularly that of this country. He asked whether either of the noble lords would be negotiators on this occasion? or whether they would assert, that there existed a man in France who had the power to treat with them? The advocates for the war had been challenged to express in any two words the objects they had in view: he would answer in one, it was *security*. Whatever could be done had been done to avoid a war with France, which had provoked hostilities both from this country and from Germany. When Mr. Pitt had formed the calculations alluded to by a noble duke, it was impossible to foresee that such events would happen as had since taken place. It had been said that we ought to have joined France against Austria, but would that have averted the calamities of war? or could it be thought right to join with a people, whom his lordship represented in the most atrocious light? His lordship accused Monf. Chauvelin of endeavouring to seduce the people of this country, and contended, that he had merited the *treatment he met with*. In proof of this he mentioned the notoriety of the fact, the public impression at the time, and the proclamation of his majesty issued in May. His lordship said, the mischief then done had not been diminished, nor would, till the source whence it sprung was dammed up and destroyed. If Jacobinical principles were struggling to effect here, could those who were seditiously inclined hope to carry their purposes into execution but by uniting their efforts with those of the factious banditti of France? He mentioned repeated attempts of this nature, and urged the different words from the French, adopted by certain persons in this country, as an ample and convincing proof of the spirit by which they were actuated. He appealed to the opinion of the people for a proof of the excellency of the constitution. Had we not been early provoked into the war, subsequent acts of aggression on the part of the French would have prevented our remaining in peace, had we, by a disgraceful and injurious neutrality, suffered the French to become still more formidable. Security, he repeated, was the end and object of the war, both with us and our allies. Parliament would not, he was persuaded, call upon ministers to declare the degree of security they required, or in what specific mode it was to be obtained: it depended on a variety of casual circumstances and fluctuating events. This war was different from all others, and must be estimated by a new scale: the proposition was, whether all the excesses, &c. of the French should take place in this country, and disgrace us equally. He strongly reprobated the proceedings in that country respecting religion, yet allowed that the French had lately passed a decree for its restoration. He denied the impregnability of the frontier of France; and after an extended view of the last campaign, in which he asserted the *successes were greater than had ever attended the first campaign of any war*, he vindicated the conduct of ministers towards some of the neutral nations, on the

the ground of the necessity they were under of preventing nations, under the pretext of neutrality, supplying the enemy with materials for carrying on the war. His lordship contrasted our finances with those of France, and was pleased to give the house the information, that *our commerce was flourishing, our manufactures increasing, and our revenue prosperous* He then proceeded to describe the fluctuating situation of those with whom we were requested to treat, and the hostility of their dispositions towards such a measure. He strongly denied our having had any concern in the Indian war, and mentioned his surprise, that the noble lords who supported the motion had not brought forward any specific proposal to obviate the difficulties which impeded a negotiation.

Lord Lansdowne conceived, that the noble secretary of state had in many instances misconceived and misrepresented his arguments, as well as those of the noble duke (of Grafton), whose example he however recommended to the noble secretary as that of a man, who having enjoyed the highest situations of the kingdom, had not used the influence afforded by his situation to *enrich or aggrandize his family*; he had not accumulated places, he had seized upon no sinecure, he had neither accepted *titles, grants*, nor *reversions*. It was therefore peculiarly unfair in the noble secretary to allude to the grants made to his grace's ancestors, especially considering what had passed respecting some modern *grants*. The arguments adduced by the noble secretary had been so precisely those made use of during the American war, that were he to have judged from his ear only, he should have imagined they came from precisely the same persons. His lordship expressed in the strongest terms his surprise at the statement which had been given of the prosperity of this country, and said, that "in the town of Birmingham only, 4000 persons had been added to the poor rates since the commencement of the war:"—where he lived in the country bankruptcies happened every day; the people were so loaded with taxes, that a little more would press them down. If the noble secretary dreaded discontent and clamour amongst the people, the remedy was at hand. Let him introduce a system of strict public economy, abolish all *reversions* and *sinecures* unjustly obtained, lower the taxes, extend the trial by jury equally to both kingdoms. He thought also, that since, much to the honour of the age, new privileges had been granted to the roman catholics, the same liberality should be extended to the dissenters. His lordship stated, from the late regulations of property in France, that the resources of that country were immense, though he hoped the ministers of this would never be permitted to manage the property of the kingdom in the same way. With respect to our disarming while France remained in full force, the noble duke (of Grafton) had amply explained his meaning. He noticed, that the cry of the minister was now changed from indemnity to security; and added, that many points in which he had been misrepresented, called for animadversion, but that he would not, at so late an hour, further detain the house. On a division there appeared, for the motion 13; against it 103.

The state in which Halifax and Nova

Nova Scotia had been left during the last campaign, and which had been noticed in the committee of supply, was again introduced into the house of commons on the 21st of February by Mr. Sheridan, who prefaced a motion upon this subject, by observing, that in circumstances like the present there remained only two important duties to be performed by those who wished to avert the war and prevent its continuance: these were, to obtain peace, and to see that the supplies for carrying on of war were faithfully appropriated. When, on a former occasion, he had directed the attention of the house to the present subject, his assertions had not only been denied, but it was stated to be dangerous to make inquiries respecting the executive government. If it were true that no inquiry ought to be entered into during a war, on account of some danger which might follow, then the greater the misconduct of ministers, the greater must be the danger of the country. The misconduct which it was the duty of the house to prevent or to punish, would be a conclusive argument against all inquiry. It was the interest of ministers to render inquiry difficult, if not impracticable. Mr. Sheridan, in an animated manner, contrasted the difference of the opinions now held by the minister, and during the American war, when he was a strenuous advocate for inquiry. The principle of inquiry was recognized in particular instances, in the admiralty for example, and the inconvenience of it in particular instances was more than compensated by its general good effects. He had in the former session heard the right hon. secretary lament to the house, that he never went to bed at night, or rose in the morning, without feeling that he had more to do than he was able to perform—yet, he still saw him groaning under the same load of offices and employments, and could not be surprised, if some part of his majesty's dominions escaped his attention. He had formerly mentioned Nova Scotia as neglected; he now, in addition, suspected New Brunswic and Canada to be equally so. Mr. Sheridan entered into a detail of the illiberal manner in which he had been treated on account of his former intelligence, in a newspaper called the True Briton, which was under the patronage of the treasury, and entertained the house with the most pointed ridicule and wit on this occasion. Mr. Sheridan next urged the great importance of Nova Scotia to this country in case of a rupture with America. Halifax commanded Canada, had the best harbour for shipping in that quarter, and was an excellent place for the recovery of sick seamen and invalids. Whoever was master of the sea might be master of the West Indies; but we could not be so if we had not Halifax for a place of refuge to our ships during the hurricane season. Mr. Sheridan recapitulated the nature of the defence of Halifax in 1754, when it was the great rendezvous of our fleets and armies. After the peace in 1763, six regiments of foot, five frigates, and a fifty gun ship were stationed there, and this force was increased in the American war. In 1783 there were six regiments, a fifty gun ship, and five frigates. He gave also a list of the ships, &c. in 1785, and argued, either that there was a scandalous extravagance at that time, or at present an unpardonable neglect. In 1793, when admiral Gardner's fleet

was

was taken by surprise, only one sloop of war was stationed in that quarter, and the land forces consisted only of two regiments, and one company of artillery containing about 90 effective men. He stated the property at Halifax at between two and three millions, and this was protected by only 350 wretched men. There, instead of the 9000 men in arms, 4000 effective men, and the mass of militiamen stated in the official accounts of col. Wentworth, were the only force. With respect to the naval defence, in July admiral Gardner sailed with a convoy from the West Indies. On the 24th of June the French fleet sailed for America from St. Domingo. He wished to know, whether the admiral thought that all the French ships were to come to Europe as well as himself? If he acted on this supposition, ministers were culpable for not giving him better information. The admiral had said, a single ship was a sufficient convoy for a homeward bound West India fleet. Why did it not then occur to him that a French admiral might think the same, if it had been meant to send it home, he himself remaining with the rest for other operations? What prevented the admiral from detaching part of his ships to Halifax, or going there himself, where he was expected, and cattle purchased to victual his ships? Why did he come away with two 74 gun ships, when the French had only four frigates, and no privateers? Why did he divide his ships to convoy the other fleet, and apportion so large a convoy, when a small one was sufficient? And what prevented his going to Halifax, or detaching a part of his ships to meet the French there? He would then have protected the coast, and been ready for those operations which sir John Jervis had since been sent to execute. By his sailing in July, the whole trade of Halifax was left exposed to the enemy, and the greater part of it intercepted. The French fleet arrived on the coast of America in August, and sailed avowedly for Halifax in October. The batteries were not then mounted; the regular troops, including artillery, about 260 men, and governor Wentworth's corps, which was certainly over-stated at 350, a set of men in general so unfit for service, that even in that loyal province they were called the *sans culottes*. The officers he stated indeed to be complete, though many remonstrances had been made to the secretary of state against the nomination of officers who had never seen service. The secretary of state had asserted, that there were 4000 effective men in the place at that period. Would he, Mr. Sheridan asked, maintain there were more than 700 of any description? or, taking into the account as many of the militia as he pleased, would he say this was a sufficient defence when the disposition of America was doubtful?

Mr. Sheridan proceeded to give a list of Sercy's squadron, noticed the captures and interruption of the Halifax traders on the coast, and proved, from the Halifax papers, the public notoriety of the danger to which it was exposed. The secretary of state had said the officers were all taken from half pay; this he proved was not the case; and that, complaints having been sent to England, some alterations had been made. Instead of 9000 men in arms, there were only 7 or 800, many of whom were dispersed in different parts of the country. He mentioned several different channels, by which we had received accounts

counts of losses on the American coasts, and that at a time when the Americans, provoked by Genet, would have been happy to assist us. The valuable stores and ammunition were only saved by a mutiny in the French fleet, which obliged the ships to abandon their object, and sail for Europe. The panic extended to Quebec and New Brunswic; at the latter place, indeed, there were no arms and much property; a vessel lying there at 400l. a month, was at last obliged to sail for Halifax without convoy. The alarm at Halifax was extreme; and the chief justice with several others were sending their families, and their property, 70 or 80 miles into the country. All these charges Mr. Sheridan offered to prove by the officers and engineers, and by members of the assembly of Halifax, and challenged ministers to shew the letters received thence, if they contradicted his statement.—He would not have garbled, but full accounts, and desired to see a memorial delivered to the secretary of state since the last discussion.—He concluded by moving for copies of the letters, &c. on the state of Halifax; of all official accounts of protection afforded to Nova Scotia; of the letters from general Ogilvie; of the returns of the effective force of governor Wentworth's corps; of the correspondence on raising the above corps; and an account of the dates of the sailing of the packets from Halifax, and the information brought by them of the French force on the coast of America.

After what had passed, Mr. Dundas said, it gave him concern to be obliged to withhold the letters of governor Wentworth. The contents were however true as he had formerly stated them; his answer to the general charge would also be the same, a reference to the situation in which we were at the commencement of the war. The small force we then had was to be applied to the services the most urgent. The two regiments had been removed from Halifax with regret; but the service in the West Indies was the most pressing, as government had received intelligence of a plan laid by the French of exciting insurrections among the slaves in our islands; and to this danger was added, that of the apprehension of an attack upon some of them. Ministers had then no other means of sending troops to the West Indies but from Halifax, where the danger was less, as the settlers consisted chiefly of officers on half-pay, and others who had been in the army, of whom corps for defence could speedily be formed. In order to save the West Indies, when it was well known there did exist an intention of an invasion, troops had been sent not only from Nova Scotia, but from Gibraltar and Ireland. Respecting Nova Scotia, the embodying of a militia appeared to him the best means of defence. The militia there were not entirely ignorant of the art, and were incorporated with those who had been accustomed to actual service. This plan was founded on policy: as soon as there were any apprehensions of danger, the improvement of the different military preparations in Halifax afforded the most perfect security against the attack of an enemy, and an incredible number of forces were at once collected. Mr. Dundas spoke in the highest terms of the governor; and, in order to abridge the present discussion, said, a simple recapitulation of facts, contained in the governor's correspondence,

was ready for the inspection of the gentlemen on the opposite side, if they had any particular curiosity.—He denied the weak state of Halifax, on the authority of letters from general Ogilvie, and from other most respectable quarters. Under these circumstances, the troops had been removed from Halifax, and the event justified the measure. A detail of the warlike preparations of Halifax, and a statement of the latest dispatches, had been triumphantly called for by Mr. Sheridan: he could assure him he had produced no letter which was not posterior to the departure of the French from those seas. From the testimony of an officer lately arrived, he stated the military preparations at Halifax as so extensive, that ministry were, in their plan of defence, more remarkable for a laudable excess than a culpable deficiency. Mr. Dundas justified himself from the charge of not sending transports to carry the troops to the West Indies, on the ground that we were under the necessity of sitting out a fleet for the channel, and another to the Mediterranean; and on the commencement of the war we had only 13,000 seamen on our establishment. He had therefore availed himself of the vessels belonging to Nova Scotia, and trading to the West Indies. Government, he said, had been condemned for not sending sufficient convoys into these seas, but not a single ship of the description alluded to had fallen into the hands of the enemy; a convoy having been sent with each of the embarkations. Mr. Dundas contended, that the reduction of the military establishment at Nova Scotia had been an act of public œconomy, and that from the troops, &c. left, and the spirit of the people, Halifax was as well prepared for defence as if the 1800 men alluded to had remained. He knew it was injurious to agriculture to institute a militia in an infant colony; but safety was paramount to all other considerations. Mr. Dundas said, he would pass over the multiplicity of correspondence which the hon. gentleman had boasted of. There was, however, some reason to suspect that certain gentlemen not only wrote to their constituents for instructions how to act, but gave them hints how they were to instruct their representatives; and he charged Mr. Grey with having thus acted. He professed himself ignorant of the proprietor or editor of the news-paper alluded to. He condemned the mode in which the hon. gentleman had questioned admiral Gardner in the house, as improper and unparliamentary. Considering the different fleets we were obliged to send out, it would, he contended, have been extremely difficult to have allotted one at the same time to the American station. He thought the production of the papers desired totally unnecessary, since no more information could be obtained by them than had already been announced.

The strictures on the conduct of Mr. Grey called up that gentleman, who related that a person of the name of Harrison had called upon him, and complained of having suffered much oppression from the magistrates of Birmingham, against whom he had brought an action and been non-suited. This man mentioned his acquaintance with many Sheffield manufacturers, who apprehended they should be ruined by the war, and wished to know, whether they could obtain any redress from parliament. To this Mr. Grey replied in the nega-

tive,

tive, but bought some of his goods, and conversed with him on the conduct of the people of Sheffield. He said, he had argued with him against the system of universal representation, which they sought for; but the authority of the duke of Richmond was continually opposed against all his arguments. They had then talked of the war, and the distress it occasioned in the manufacturing towns; and Mr. Harrison had mentioned their intention to present a petition, stating the consequences they felt:—Mr. Grey had said, that if petitions were general, he believed they would have a good effect. The man then asked, whether the petition should be presented to the king, or to the house of commons? Mr. Grey had replied, perhaps to both; but the best chance would be in the house of commons. After that he had franked, for this person, some blank covers, and among them one directed to a man of the name of Shipley. This letter had, however, been sent to another person of that name, who transmitted it to one of the members for Nottingham; whence, with all care and diligence, it was transmitted to the secretary of state's office; and was conceived in the following terms: "Citizen Shipley, having seen Mr. Grey, I find he thinks that a petition ought to be presented, and as many as possible. That the petition should not be to the king, but to parliament; for, he says, if we petition the king, it will be left at the secretary of state's office, and no notice will be taken of it." The letter proceeded to shew that 1500 people met at the Globe tavern, in the Strand, and had proved themselves friends of the people. It was signed John Harrison, a sans-culotte. Mr. Grey declared he shrunk not from this letter being made public, nor from the principles he had maintained. They were, indeed, such as had been held by men at present high in the confidence of their sovereign; men who now prosecuted with unfeeling severity other misled and poor people, for adopting their own opinions.

The main question in debate was again brought forward by major Maitland, who denied the necessity of ordering the troops from Halifax. Necessity might indeed be a plea in defensive operations; but it could not be through necessity or defence that we sent troops to St. Pierre, Miquelon, or Martinique. In fact, the disaster at the last place fell principally upon the regiments from Halifax. He blamed admiral Gardner, who, he said, had protected the homeward bound fleet, not out of duty, but choice, and when he must have known that the French had a considerable force on the coast of America. The conduct of governor Wentworth incurred also his censure. It had been said that gentleman was not to receive any pay as colonel; but as he had the appointment of his own officers, he possessed the most valuable part of such an appointment. The regiment was, however, so totally undisciplined as to be unfit for service. The militia counted upon by Mr. Dundas was equally unfit for duty. From a full consideration of our force in that quarter, he was persuaded that, had the enemy landed there, they might have destroyed the arsenal, and done whatever mischief they pleased.

Admiral Gardner entered into a justification of his conduct, but declined giving any information. He was followed by Mr. Sheridan, who doubted not that the hon. secretary

had received the information he spoke of, but thought that which had reached him was more authentic. He noticed the boast which had been thrown out, that 800 of the inhabitants of Halifax had desired to be employed in the militia, rather than exempted. This he considered as disclosing the fact, that in the hour of danger our colonies must depend upon themselves for protection; and if they were once confirmed in this belief, and trained to the use of arms, their affection to this country must proportionably diminish, and their allegiance become equivocal. As to the vigilance of government in providing for the defence of Halifax, that colony had been deprived of her strength early in the summer; yet no effective measures had been taken till September. If, therefore, the house would consent to the production of the papers, he would follow up the production by an inquiry; and was ready to confront major Hodgson (the source of information alluded to by Mr. Dundas) with a witness at the bar, whose talents as an engineer stood as high as those of any other gentleman in that line. He would not assert, that any imposition had been intended, either by the hon. secretary or the governor; but if no imposition was intended, a great mistake must exist somewhere. He had been told, and circumstances led him to credit the report, that the dispatches of the governor had been written with a design that they might fall into the hands of the French; and as every vessel was at that time captured, it would have been indiscreet to have run any risque of making the enemy acquainted with the wretched state of the place: but so true was this, and so great the alarm, that what had been represented as the effect of excessive loyalty, was the consequence of anxiety for their own safety. He ridiculed the idea of Halifax being as well defended without the regiments sent away. If however this was the case, if government had done its duty, where was the occasion for such excessive alarm as had existed? If there was a sufficient number of government forces, why call out the militia? These two statements of ministers contradicted each other, and exposed the fallacy of their assertions. But a proof still more convincing was, that many persons had removed their effects; and in London, the insurance upon property at Halifax was 12 and 15 per cent. and at length it could not be insured at all. He concluded by declaring his desire for the fullest investigation of this subject.

All the different motions of Mr. Sheridan were then carried, except that for copies of the letters relative to the protection of the trade of Halifax, which was objected to by Mr. Dundas, as the repetition of a motion made on a former day, and was withdrawn. After this, Mr. Sheridan moved for a copy of a memorial presented that day, by the merchants of London trading to Nova Scotia, with respect to the state of defence at Halifax. The inquiries of the merchants proved, he said, their dissatisfaction at the manner in which it had been hitherto defended. It was clearly the opinion of the merchants, that ministers had either been regardless of their defence, or too ignorant to know in what manner they ought to have been defended. The motion was warmly opposed by Mr. Dundas, as dangerous, since it was not known what intelligence it might contain; and improperly timed, as it had not yet been laid before

before the king. A warm altercation ensued between Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Pitt; and the motion was withdrawn.

A short time before the close of the sessions, Mr. Sheridan again attacked ministers on this subject, and stated, that he had received certain information from a numerous body of the inhabitants of Halifax, of the truth of what he had asserted respecting the unprotected state of Halifax; and that his representation of it had been received there with applauses and thanks, and the answer made by the secretary of state with surprise, not unmixed with indignation.

CHAP. IV.

Motion by the Minister for increasing the Internal Force of the Nation.—Debates on this Subject, and on voluntary Contributions for raising Troops.—Reflections on this Subject.—Resolution of the County of Surrey.—Debate on the Requisition for Subscriptions, &c.—Message from the King relative to an expected Invasion.—Further Debate on Requisitions and Benevolences.—Debate in the House of Lords on his Majesty's Message.—Debate in the same House on Lord Lauderdale's Motion concerning Benevolences.—Debate in the House of Commons on the Bill for enrolling Volunteers.—The same in the House of Peers.—A Bill for raising Corps of French Emigrants.—Debate on that Subject in the House of Commons.—The same in the Lords.

IT is a remarkable circumstance, that so confident had ministers been of the subjugation of the French, that in the course of the last session they had decidedly declared their expectations of an uninterrupted march to Paris. At the time of which we are now treating, the face of public affairs had undergone a melancholy change; and from their solicitude for the internal defence of the kingdom, it was evident that they were not without their apprehensions, that their too sanguine *predictions* might be completely reversed. In order to provide for the internal defence of the kingdom, Mr. Pitt, on the 6th of March, introduced to the house a motion for an augmentation of the militia. This measure, he said, had been successfully adopted during the last war; but he meant to propose that the militia should be increased by volunteers; whether as independent companies, or by additions of men to corps already formed, he had not yet determined. Some bodies of cavalry ought also to be formed; and as many who would probably belong to them might object to leaving their own county, the best plan would be to embody them on the principle of not being to be called upon except in cases of great emergency. However improbable it was that the enemy should attempt an invasion, it was our duty to make that which was improbable in the attempt difficult in the execution.

The former part of the minister's plan was thought by Mr. M. A. Taylor, if necessary, extremely

proper, but of the degree of necessity he was not quite clear. With respect however to the embodying cavalry throughout the country, and raising another military force, he should give it his negative. He did not see that our present situation justified this line of conduct. He had no apprehensions of invasion, though he considered the war sufficiently pregnant with calamity. It appeared to him extremely injurious to agriculture and trade, that so many of the most active class should be taken away, and unfitted for further labour.

Mr. Francis noticed the great inconsistency of ministers. At the commencement of the last session, we were told the French would be driven to extremity—now, after vaunting our successes on the first day of the session, we were represented in a state so alarming, that it was necessary to take extraordinary measures to guard us from that very enemy, of whose exertions we spoke with such contempt a few months back. Since however we were in danger, let us provide the best means for our defence; and that we were in danger, he inferred from the absence of the usual presumption on the other side of the house. He affirmed that the people in general were in a state of despair with respect to the fate of the present war—and to that he attributed the silence of those gentlemen, who, at the commencement of hostilities, received the minister's propositions with animated applause. This inference was denied by Mr. Bouverie, who said gentlemen on the other side of the house had risen so soon after the minister's speech, that none on that side the house could possibly speak. Though there was no probability of an invasion, yet he approved a state of preparation. And Mr. Drake returned thanks to the minister for his precautions, which were also approved by Mr. Burdon and other gentlemen.

Mr. Fox observed, that the house was now called upon to make exertions more extraordinary than during the most alarming period of the last war. With regard to the motion itself, he should make but one remark and that only for the purpose of introducing his observations on the remark made by Mr. Francis, that the exertions proposed were of greater extent than in the year 1779. We then stood alone against the united powers of Holland, France and Spain in Europe—we had been on the whole unsuccessful in our operations, and the fleet of France alone was very little inferior to our own, and then we were threatened with an invasion. Now it was triumphantly and truly said, we had the assistance of all Europe against the French. It had been asserted, and truly also, that our fleet was superior to that of the enemy. It had been held out that we were eminently *successful in the last campaign*. Did then our superior advantages demand superior exertions? Or was it the nature of success to render defence more necessary, or danger more imminent and alarming? It was not, he said, very flattering to the pride of England, that with all her boasted superiority the French were suffered to remain masters of the channel for several days since the commencement of the war. He did not think despising danger was any proof of wisdom, but that the exertions now made were greatly disproportionate to the comparative pressure of the occasion. In 1779 there was substantial ground to apprehend danger, and little or no ground

ground at present. He should however make no opposition to an augmentation of the militia.

The speech of Mr. Fox having been misconceived by Mr. Ryder, an altercation ensued. The latter gentleman spoke of the exertions of the French as extraordinary and astonishing, that in these momentary exertions they were capable of doing much mischief to their enemies, but that they must inevitably *very soon be subdued*. To this it was replied by Mr. Grey, that "ever since the commencement of the war gentlemen had been entertained with the same assertions of momentary exertions, but unfortunately these momentary exertions had continued during a whole campaign, and continued with such success, that ministers, if not in words, at least by their actions, seemed to declare we were in a *worse condition*, and had more to apprehend than at the commencement of the war." The motion was put and carried.

While this matter continued in agitation, a paper was issued from the treasury, in the form of a recommendation, or rather requisition, which had for its object the forming of volunteer companies both of infantry and cavalry, to assist in repelling invasion, suppressing riots, &c. Such a requisition was by many thought entirely unconstitutional, and its illegality was increased by the proposal of entering into voluntary subscriptions for carrying the measure into execution.

On the question for engrossing the bill for the augmentation of the militia on the 17th of March, it was objected to by Mr. Baker, as inadequate to the purpose for which it was designed. It was said to be a provision against a danger which threatened the country. If the danger was imminent, our force should be equal to it; but the bill did not seem to be of that nature. He mentioned that he had seen a paper, dated Whitehall, March 14th, 1794, which appeared to recommend a general subscription, for the purpose of carrying on measures, of which the bill then before the house was a part. He considered this measure as irregular without the previous consent of parliament, and a conversation ensued upon the subject. It was resumed by Mr. Sheridan on the 21st March. He noticed, that letters had been sent to the lords lieutenants of several counties by government, which letters had been laid before the grand juries. He wished therefore to ask the chancellor of the exchequer, if the measure which had been lately published relative to recommending the raising of troops by voluntary subscriptions, upon plans to be suggested by the lords lieutenants of different counties, came from the secretary of state; and if so, whether the right hon. gentleman had any objection to laying that communication before the house? This was indeed a point that did not require argument, since nothing could be more clear, than that a proposition from the executive power to any quarter whatever, on so public an object as the raising of troops, ought and must be laid before parliament. Nothing could be more decidedly unconstitutional, than that any measure for raising an army should be carried on without the immediate knowledge of the house of commons. If this communication was not to be laid before the house as a matter of course, he should move for it on the first open day.

It was replied by Mr. Pitt, that he

he had in a former conversation stated, that it was his intention to introduce the measure to parliament when it was sufficiently matured. The communication to which the hon. gentleman alluded was not a specific plan for raising troops, but a measure by which ministers might be enabled to digest a plan which should be laid before the house the first opportunity. Estimates were actually prepared, and would be ready in a few days. With regard to the communication to the lords lieutenants, he could not agree to the production. This refusal again called up Mr. Sheridan, who observed no reason had been assigned why the circular letter should not be produced, and he considered the attempt to levy money without the express consent of parliament as so improper, that he should on the 24th make a motion on the subject. Mr. Pitt accounted for the measure by stating that innumerable instances had occurred, in which money so raised had been applied to the payment of troops, which was all that was intended in the present instance.

In pursuance of the notice already given, Mr. Sheridan, on the day he had assigned, entered upon a discussion of the power of ministers to levy money without the consent of parliament. He understood, since the last conversation upon the subject, the chancellor of the exchequer was willing to produce the papers required, which in fact he could not withhold. As a point which arose out of this question, he said, that regardless of the imputations so liberally bestowed upon all who accused ministers of a wish to interfere improperly with the government, or endanger the safety of the kingdom, he trusted whenever an occasion should arise, which he most seriously deprecated, that they would be found as hearty in the support of the realm as any set of men whatever. He wished to see the kingdom put in a state of defence equal to its danger, and the more so, if the report was true that one of the most potent of the belligerent powers had withdrawn himself from the common cause against France. Ministers, he said, had been hitherto charged with a shameful neglect of the coast. He must further charge them with an act perfectly illegal and unconstitutional, in making an application for a voluntary subscription towards supporting a military power in this country. He stated, that persons were at this time deliberating on the best means of raising men, and of paying them without a parliamentary sanction; and this not as a voluntary act of their own, but on the express requisition of the secretary of state; and this had been followed by an advertisement in the public papers, so worded as to appear to indicate that those who did not join it had views hostile to the constitution. He doubted not he should be told that it was not the intention of ministers to put these troops under pay, till the plan of raising and the mode of paying them should have received the sanction of parliament. But why was parliament passed by in any stage of this important business? Why did ministers resort to lords lieutenants and grand juries instead of the house of commons, where alone they could constitutionally and legally apply on the subject? Mr. Sheridan concluded by moving for an address to his majesty for laying before the house a copy of the letter, dated Whitehall, and sent to the lords lieutenants of several counties, and the plans and proceedings proposed thereon.

The

The measure was severely condemned by Mr. Martin and Mr. Western. The latter gentleman observed, that if the executive government could raise supplies, under the name of benevolences for service, solicited or unsolicited supplies could easily raise armies, and before armies all our liberties must fall. He directed the attention of the house to the nature of parliament, which he defined to be founded on the power they possessed of concerting all measures for the safety of the country, to give the throne advice in such cases—to have exclusive dominion over the purse of the public, and to direct the means of raising money for the support of all public plans whatever. The present plan, if carried into execution, would make the whole of the internal defence of the country depend not on the great council of the nation, but on the executive authority supported by individuals. Thus the house of commons would be robbed of its authority; and if the executive government could raise supplies without an application to parliament, there was an end of all the object of a representation of the people. Mr. Western strongly argued the danger of such a measure to the liberties of the country.

The measures taken on this occasion were defended by the chancellor of the exchequer, who again asserted, that voluntary contributions of the subject for the purpose of assisting levies, those levies receiving the sanction of parliament, were perfectly legal, and consonant to precedent and practice. The measures already taken were only preliminaries to bringing the plan before parliament. He was surprised gentlemen should complain of want of information on this subject, as, when the militia bill was proposed, some had declared, that though they agreed to that augmentation, yet they should oppose the other plan which had been alluded to, namely, independent volunteer corps. He further informed the house, that a message would be delivered the next day from his majesty on the subject.

Mr. Fox confessed that he was present when the right hon. gentleman had made his speech, declaratory of the measures to be taken, but had not at all understood that any such were intended as were contrary to precedent and the practice of the house. He could not consider what had passed in 1778 as a precedent; those contributions were spontaneous, without a hint from the crown He had been of opinion that the right hon. gentleman had only meant to take the advice of the counties upon the measure, but it now appeared that there had been an official application from the secretary of state. Custom warranted him in considering a secretary of state in these circumstances as acting by authority from his majesty. He must therefore understand that the king had sent his mandate to different parts of the country to ask, without the consent of parliament, who would, and who would not, contribute what was necessary for the defence of the country? The proceeding, he said, was extremely unconstitutional; and he mentioned the advertisement for the Surry meeting, containing an insinuation or threat, that whoever refused to contribute would be considered as enemies to their country. The representatives of the people of England were now convened, and convened expresly to consider, whether they would or would not comply with the requests of his majesty;

ty; and yet his majesty, by his secretary of state, was levying money without the consent of parliament, though the constitution, by explicit statutes, had expressed that money shall not be given to the executive power, unless voted by parliament. Afterwards the house was to be called upon to pass an act of indemnity for measures which had never received their concurrence. Mr. Fox professed his readiness to meet this question in its fullest extent, and doubted not he should succeed, at least in part, though the fears entertained by gentlemen respecting the fate of the war might make them less alert in asserting their rights against the illegal practices of ministers.

Mr. Francis denied having, on a former occasion, heard any thing like an intention of applying to the bounty or loyalty of individuals to levy money privately for raising or paying the militia, or for any other purpose. He could see no possible occasion for the minister to resort to such irregular means. The house was as ready to grant as he was to ask. It was an affront to question its readiness to support government in whatever was necessary and proper. What useful purpose was it then to answer? It created a precedent against the house of commons, and that was something. The door was open, the right hon. gentleman had only to knock and be admitted—why then would he go in at the window? It did however more; it enabled the minister to draw a line of distinction, and to sow jealousies and animosities amongst his majesty's subjects.

The illegality of levying money in this mode upon the subject was admitted by Mr. serjeant Adair; but the conduct of ministers on this occasion was justified by its having been directed by the expediency of the moment, and not with any view to making dangerous encroachments. He thought the present an abstract subject, upon which it might be most advisable to avoid discussion.

Mr. Grey thought on the contrary there was the utmost necessity for the present discussion. He censured the conduct of ministers, and conceived that the only means of healing the wound received by the constitution, would be, by a resolution of that house, founded upon the order of council, expressive of the illegality and impropriety of the measure. After some further conversation, the question was put and carried.

On the following day a message from his majesty was delivered in both houses of parliament, purporting, that the avowed intentions of the enemy to invade this country made an increase of the land forces necessary, and that, trusting to the concurrence of parliament, he had given orders accordingly. On the message being taken into consideration in the house of commons, Mr. Dundas moved the address containing the concurrence of the house in repelling the attempt of an invasion, assuring him of their zealous concurrence in the present just and necessary war, and of every exertion which became a brave and loyal people.

Mr. Honeywood rejoiced that the address would enable him, on the following day, to attend a meeting of the gentlemen of the county of Kent in a constitutional manner. He mentioned the great loyalty of that county, in which the utmost pains had been taken by the magistrates to discover seditious or treasonable practices, who, under the authority of the secretary of state, had stopped and opened private

vate letters. Mr. Dundas justified his conduct by stating, that he had information of seditious practices in a person residing in that county.

The practice of opening private letters was severely reprobated by Mr. Fox, who stated the law which enacted, that any person opening a letter without the express order of the secretary of state, was liable to suffer punishment as a felon without benefit of clergy. This power, he knew, was given to the secretary of state; but it was so nice and delicate in its nature, that it ought never to be used but when required by the immediate safety of the state. To employ it for the purpose of discovering the political opinions of individuals, appeared to him so atrocious, that the imputation was too gross to be applied to any man without demonstrative proof. He thought it however the duty of the secretary of state to inquire into the practice.

With respect to the address, that he did not mean to oppose, but objected to it as too strongly worded, and pledging the house to grant extraordinary powers to the crown, before the emergency that could alone justify such a grant was clearly made out. He admitted, however, that great preparations for a descent had been made by the enemy, and the necessity of due means of defence. Important as this object was, he would not have it effected by voluntary subscriptions, which were illegal: but these he did not consider as at all the topic of debate on the present occasion, as there was no reference to them either in the message or address. As the house had expressed no opinion on the legality or illegality of these subscriptions, he did not see how the present debate could produce the satisfaction felt by an hon. gentleman (Mr. Honywood). There was an objection to the address which he wished to state, which was the insertion of the words "just and necessary war." On this subject his sentiments remained the same; but as the words did not pledge him to any specific condition, he should consider them rather as words of course than of meaning.

Mr. Sheridan said, there was nothing either in the message or address that had any reference to the papers he had called for, and which then lay on the table. He would abstain from making his motion, if he found that ministers had abandoned the plan of subscription, and had taken this public, fair, and constitutional mode of calling for the aid of the country to the executive power. If not, he should make it at a future time.

Mr. Pitt admitted that the subject of subscriptions had no reference either to the message or address. But it was not to be supposed, that though not mentioned in them, the measure was abandoned by ministers, as a step hastily adopted, and proper to be retracted. He wished not to introduce an unnecessary discussion, but felt himself obliged to say, that when the subscriptions came to be argued, he should produce such a combination of political authority of various descriptions, that he believed they would not be opposed by gentlemen on the opposite side of the house. He would, he said, distinctly state to the house the measures which he conceived it the duty of ministers to submit to parliament, in order that parliament, being possessed of their intentions, might judge them upon true grounds. They would recollect that, according

cording to the notice he had given, the estimates had been presented that day respecting the corps immediately to be embodied, the expence on which would be referred to a committee of supply. With respect to the other force, which might or might not be called into service, they could not yet be estimated; but the plan was similar in all respects to that adopted in the last war; and it was his intention to bring in a bill, providing, that if these troops are to be in actual service, and shall have occasion to march, they shall receive pay, and be subject to military discipline. The measure for the augmentation of the militia had passed the house. A number of fencibles were to be kept in towns and counties in readiness for any emergency. These two measures should be laid before parliament; and, by consenting to them, parliament would only follow precedents established on the most constitutional grounds If any subscription enabled his majesty to add to that force, he had no doubt the whole of it would be found constitutional. He said he was ready to argue the legality of these measures, and entered into a laboured defence of those words in the address to which Mr. Fox had objected, as peculiarly descriptive of the present war.

Mr. Fox observed, that the chancellor of the exchequer had argued upon the words as if they were introduced into the address for the purpose of affording an opportunity of accusing gentlemen who opposed the war of inconsistency, if they voted for the address. The war having been entered upon, and no alternative left but to expose the country to the enemy, or to defend it, he would support the war, that the country might suffer as little as possible. Was it just and honest, when the country was in danger, to prevent the minority, however small, from expressing their loyalty and zeal, by the introduction of topics that must create a difference of opinion? In defence of that consistency which the chancellor of the exchequer had thought fit to impeach, he felt himself under the necessity of moving as an amendment, that the words "just and necessary" should be omitted in the address.

A spirited altercation took place on this occasion between Mr. Dundas, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Grey. The latter, at the close of his speech, wished the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had descended from his high and haughty tone of prerogative, and informed the house of his real opinion respecting the legality of the measures pursued by his majesty's ministers, with respect to the circular letters to the lords lieutenants of counties, that gentlemen might not go home with any misconception on a point of such high constitutional importance. Mr. Pitt replied, that to propose a voluntary subscription for the purpose of levying a military force for the defence of the country, to be sanctioned by parliament, was in his opinion strictly legal. Mr. Francis noticed, with ability, the great quantity of extraneous matter introduced in the debate, and voted for the amendment. It was however negatived without a division, and the address was voted as originally moved.

On a close inspection of these debates, it will perhaps appear, that even the minority was disabled from opposing the ministerial plan of subscriptions on true constitutional principles, from having formerly given their countenance to measures

sures not quite so audacious, but still far from legal, of a similar nature. If, however, the appeal be made to those great and authoritative records, from which the whole system of the constitution is derived, it will be found that *no troops can be levied; no money raised for their support on any occasion or excuse, or in any circumstances, without the previous and express authority of parliament.* To raise them by the authority of the executive power, is directly contrary both to the letter and spirit of the bill of rights, &c. to raise them without any authority, is an act of rebellion and treason. A supreme authority must be vested somewhere: by the British constitution it is vested in the parliament, consisting of king, lords, and commons; and the doctrine maintained by ministers on this occasion is only calculated for the subversion of order and of government, for the promotion of faction and civil war, and is precisely the doctrine maintained by the most unfortunate ministers in the most unfortunate of times.—If the sanction of parliament is not *previously* obtained, the functions of the legislature, in this instance, are rendered nugatory; and it would not only be in vain, but even ridiculous, to say to an armed multitude, "We command you to disperse; we will not sanction your enrolment."—— That some precedents have occurred, where this general principle has been evaded, will be found from the succeeding debate; but these we do not hesitate to assert are *bad* precedents; and we trust the people of Great Britain will never submit to mould the general system of their policy and laws upon the fallacious doctrine which may result from a few bad and unconstitutional precedents. If there is any high misdemeanour against the constitution, and against the authority of parliament, for which a minister ought to be *impeached*, it is that of arming the people, and calling for money upon any pretence to support them, without the previous consent of parliament solicited and obtained.

This ministerial proceeding produced a spirited and constitutional opposition throughout the country.—Resolutions pointedly against the measure were carried in some counties; and that of Surry, on the 27th of March, in particular, deserves respectful mention, as peculiarly expressive of the constitutional doctrine on this subject. It was as follows:

Resolved, with only one dissenting voice, "That it is the opinion of this meeting, that it is their duty to refuse any countenance to private subscriptions, at the requisition of ministers, for public purposes; but that we are ready at all times to stand forward in any constitutional manner in support of our king and country, against all foreign and domestic enemies."

In conformity to the notice he had already given, Mr. Sheridan, on the 28th of March, introduced a motion on the above important topic. It was prefaced by a very able speech from that gentleman, in which he stated, that the minister had persisted in the measure he had adopted in such a way, as made it evident that he rather acted from the view of establishing the principle, than from any hope of immediate advantage to the state. He would, he said, have cheerfully put off the discussion, had any parliamentary sanction been applied for on this alarming measure. But it seemed to be the intention of the minister, to be his first desire in the ostentation of his power, to increase the prerogative of the crown, and,

in the choice of means; to give the preference to whatever contradicted some established usage, violated some fundamental principle, or demolished some constitutional fence. In proof of this, he instanced the introduction of foreign troops without parliamentary consent, and the proceedings on the present occasion. The question for the present consideration of the house was, he said, whether the people had a right to offer and to give, and the crown to receive a supply or subscription for public purposes, without the knowledge and consent of parliament. Mr. Sheridan divided his speech on this occasion into three propositions; the first of which was, that it was against the reason of things, and the principles of a mixed government and of a representative system, and consequently not reconcileable with the spirit or letter of our constitution, for the crown to possess such a power. There could, he said, be no security for public liberty, except on the ground that the crown cannot take or use property to any public purpose, without the consent of parliament; and it was our boast, that the people could not, by any indiscreet benevolence, present their money to the crown by any other means, than through the channel of parliament. Were it otherwise, parliament would be useless, and the king have the means of employing this money to purposes not previously explained. If grand juries and county meetings could not therefore, with safety to the constitution, grant such sums of their own motion, how much more alarming must it be, if the crown could at pleasure appeal to knots of selected individuals, and procure supplies for purposes unexplained to the legal representatives of the people? A moment of delusion might arise, when, by exerting all the influence of the crown, and adding to it the quackery of cant phrases, and inflammatory appeals to the passions, the people might be brought to grant supplies which the parliament had refused. Mr. Sheridan mentioned as a recent instance the case of 1784, when many were of opinion that the house should have refused the supplies, as the best means of resisting the unconstitutional attack made on its privileges. Had this been adopted, the people would probably have been seduced to grant a supply which would have made all the functions and purposes of parliament unnecessary to the crown, and useless to the people. He stated, that if the power of granting the public money were to be vested in the hands of individuals, the constitution must be overturned, the parliament a mere mockery, as the king would be independent of that body. The use of parliaments was, that the king might be under the necessity of governing by them, and might be indebted for his money to their grants. He considered in its fullest extent the principle, whether the crown could, for any public purpose, make use of money derived from private resources, and demonstrated, that there could be no security for English liberty, if the king could use resources of this or any other nature in such a way, as rendered him independent of parliament. He contended in the present instance, that few of the contributions were purely voluntary; they arose from the dependants of ministry, custom-house officers, excisemen, &c. and mentioned the proceedings at Berwick, which he considered as illegal, and aggravated by being founded on an application from the minister, and in which all who refused to subscribe were to be held out as disloyal

disloyal and disaffected. The plea urged in favour of the measure was, that parliament was to direct the application of the money. There was no law which enabled parliament so to act.

Mr. Sheridan then entered into a very able account of *benevolences*, from their earliest commencement, to prove the illegality of the present proceeding, and dared the minister to produce the authorities for it which he had insinuated he possessed. The cases in which it had been resorted to differed extremely from the present; and from a full review of them, he inferred the measure to be hostile to the constitution, and to all the sound usages of the country.

His third proposition was, that, were it constitutional and customary, it was unwise, futile, and unfit to be resorted to. The result of the present attempt would soon be seen, as there never was a moment so favourable for the experiment. The country had every motive for the display of benevolence. The expences of the present year would be at least 35,000,000l. for the payment of our hereditary debts, and for the maintenance of this most *glorious* war—a war for the salvation of the British constitution, and the safety of kings—for the preservation of the christian religion—for the sake of privileges and distinctions—for the restitution and establishment of public order—for securing the safety of this and other countries—a war in which all the emotions of the soul were to be roused, and in which, if ever it could be expected to draw a great sum from the source of benevolence, the exertion of the people was to demonstrate the extent of this species of resource. For were the people only to advance their money upon the inducements held out, and subscribe each one pound for kings—one pound for their country—one for the constitution—one pound for religion, &c. &c. what must not be expected from a generous and opulent people so moved? Certainly, that the whole debt must be wiped away.—He would, he said, however, be so bold as to foretel, that it would be treated with merited disdain, and be as unproductive as it was oppressive, litigious, and repugnant. Nothing could at the same time be more idle than to call it voluntary. Considering the enormous influence of the crown, and the long chain of dependence, men could not act from their own motion, or resist the torrent of this prevailing power. Nor could it be an equal mode, since some from ostentation, and more from the interested view of obtaining advantages, either for themselves or dependents, would be induced to subscribe, not as they could afford, but as the aggregate of pride and a mercenary spirit for a time, and which could not be often resorted to without fallacy and defeat. In every view he could take of the measure, he considered it as a manifest mimicry of the principles and practices of the Jacobins, and calculated not merely to delude the people at present, and to be vexatious and oppressive, but apparently adopted for no other purpose than to take advantage of the decay of the popular spirit to establish a principle ruinous to the liberties of this country. He therefore moved, "That it was dangerous and unconstitutional for the people of this country to make any loan, &c. to the crown, to be used for any public purpose, without the previous consent of parliament."

The motion was opposed by the attorney

attorney general, as an abstract question, not relevant to the subject which was the pretext of discussion. Upon deduction from all the historical precedents of the former speaker, he was decidedly of a contrary opinion; and vindicated the proceedings of ministers, and the legality of the measure, upon the ground of repeated precedents, and the sanction of the most indisputable authorities. He declared, that from every view he could take of the subject, the subscriptions were strictly legal, but thought it unwise to come to any resolution on the subject. He considered lord Shelburne's letter in 1782, to the lords lieutenants, &c. when Mr. Fox was in the cabinet, as precisely a case in point with the present, and wished to know why gentlemen on the other side had, on a previous occasion, suffered several of the nobility to raise companies, at their own expence; why the East India company had, in the American war, been allowed to subscribe three ships? He concluded by moving for the previous question.

Mr. Fox, in a long speech of great ability, defended himself from the imputation of inconsistency which had been urged against him by an hon. gentleman (Mr. Pitt) in a former debate. With much pointed humour, he stated the curiosity he had felt to know from what part of the house the charge was to be brought forward; and adverted to several inconsistencies in the conduct of gentlemen on the opposite side of the house. He declared that the letter of lord Shelburne contained no solicitation, nor even a hint for subscription—no money had been asked—none received; and, had such an idea been started, it would have been indignantly reprobated. Every authority adduced by the hon. gentleman had been, he said, ably argued by a late noble lord (Guildford), but he was still unconvinced of the legality of voluntary subscriptions; and on this opinion had opposed the ships, &c. formerly offered to government. He very ably examined those authorities, and, from a review of the whole, inferred the illegality of the present proceeding. He considered it, coming from a king to his people, as a command, not a request, incompatible with the dignity of a king, and with the situation of a subject. Mr. Fox asserted the readiness of the members of opposition to defend their country in any case of actual danger, but thought the measures under consideration calculated to awaken those animosities which were said to prevail from a dangerous democratic spirit predominant in the country. It had not only a tendency to discover what the political sentiments of men really were; but, if a man refused to subscribe, he would be marked as disaffected to the constitution. The inutility of the measure was such, that not more than 300,000l. could be raised by it, and for this was it worth while to excite a spirit of party? Parliament had already shewn the utmost readiness in voting supplies to the amount of thirty or forty millions a year. Why then harass individuals with such an application?

The proposition before the house was considered by Mr. Windham, as one of those *which could neither be universally affirmed, nor universally denied.* The hon. gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) had taken an extreme case, and supposed that because it would be fatal to supply the crown in such a manner as would place it above the controul of parliament,

iament, all grants to the crown were equally bad. This strict and universal argument, however well adapted for *legal* questions, was, he thought, ill adapted for *politics*. No man in his senses could express a fear that what was doing at present had any tendency to revive those compulsory benevolences, and forced loans, which had so long been reprobated, destroyed, and almost forgotten. As to there being no mention of subscription in the letter of 1782 to the counties, so much the worse. If there was not the word, there was the thing; for how were men to be armed without expence? It so clearly implied expence, that in a mercantile transaction, where the expence incurred was to be repaid, he believed it would have been held binding.—When a bill passed for raising so many troops, it was necessarily implied in it, that a competent sum should be provided to maintain them. With respect to the charges of political inconsistency brought against him, Mr. Windham professed, if he had been inconsistent he would not sacrifice truth to consistency; he would always act according to his last consideration of things, and *was not desirous to be consistent* by persevering in error. He had certainly opposed subscriptions in the American war, because he thought the war unjust. The arguments of the illegality, such as they were now used, were then pressed upon the public; and perhaps he might have taken them up, as he was right in making every objection, good or bad, to a measure he disapproved. He censured the conduct of gentlemen in opposition, as exposing the constitution to danger, while they affected to support it; and ridiculed the favourers of their party, as persons filled with wild and frantic ideas of democracy.—He ended by insinuating, that the conduct of the opposition leaders in the house was similar to that of those who had sat in it in 1745, who were secret friends to the pretender, who could see no danger, because they were interested in his success; expressing his abhorrence of abstract declarations, when there was no danger of an abuse of power.

Mr. Sheridan reminded the hon. gentleman (Mr. Windham) how very *lately* he had acted in apparent *union* and *perfect confidence* with the men he now so seriously impugned. If, however, *he knew and believed*, that such persons as he represented really existed amongst the members of opposition, he called upon him to come boldly forward, and *name them*. When the hon. gentleman sneered at the company in which opposition acted, he should have reflected upon the sort of company into which he had now got. He could not forget the triumph he used to feel in exposing the unconstitutional principles upon which the chancellor of the exchequer came into office, in uncasing his artifices, his subterfuges, and high prerogative principles; in representing him as an object of distrust and jealousy, and holding him up to the contempt and derision of his country, by stripping him of his assumed robe of purity, and shewing that all beneath was filthy dowlas. In that filthy dowlas he had suddenly discovered something extremely splendid and engaging; for, "although *the hon.* gentleman had changed, the minister had not." Mr. Sheridan proceeded to argue, in strong terms, against the apostacy of Mr. Windham, and asserted, that at the period when the latter had opposed the subscriptions, he had the strong-

eſt conviction of their illegality, and that their illegality and unconſtitutional tendency formed the baſis of thoſe arguments which *he uſed to the meeting which he attended at Norwich*. Whatever had been his opinion or his wiſhes reſpecting the war, he ought not to go into a popular meeting and miſlead it, by falſe law as well as falſe logic. In politics, as well as ſcience, the grand principles were, he ſaid, clear and abſolute—it was only the ſubordinate parts that were left to diſcretion. Did gentlemen ſuppoſe that a general principle was overturned by a ſet of petty deviations? Such deviations ought the more carefully to be guarded againſt, as they were too apt to be drawn into precedents. He allowed that an occaſional deviation from ſome maxims might be attended with no ſerious conſequences; but that there were ſome fundamental principles, an infraction of which ſometimes deſtroyed, and always debaſed their value. Of this deſcription was any pecuniary aid given to the crown through any other medium than that of parliament; for, whatever might be its avowed purpoſe, it was liable to be employed in corrupting the houſe, and overturning the liberties of the people. Miniſters, he ſaid, could have no other view in exciting this ſubſcription in a clandeſtine way, but to aſſert this high prerogative in the crown. The attorney general, not daring to meet the queſtion with a direct negative, which he knew would not accord with the ſenſe of the country in general, had taken refuge in moving the previous queſtion. The law authorities whom he had quoted as favourers of the doctrine in debate, did not actually hold the opinions imputed to them. The admiſſion of this new doctrine, connected with the doctrines avowed upon the landing of the Heſſian troops, would render a *new bill of rights* neceſſary. He concluded by declaring, however, that ſo far was he from wiſhing to impede any plan for the defence of the country, that, if great expectations were formed from theſe ſubſcriptions, he would agree to make them legal for the particular occaſion. On a diviſion, there appeared a majority of 170 in favour of the previous queſtion.

On the motion for an addreſs to his majeſty, in the houſe of lords, nearly ſimilar in import to that in the houſe of commons, lord Lauderdale pointedly objected to the uſe of the words "juſt and neceſſary war," which were contained in the addreſs, and were calculated for no purpoſe but to deſtroy unanimity. He never had, nor ever could conſider the preſent war in this light, but ſhould ſupport the addreſs, as he approved of the meſſage, by which he found miniſters had changed their opinions; and that his majeſty ſtated the ground of calling upon parliament for further ſupport, to be a profeſſion of the French to invade this kingdom.—However impugned, the party with whom he acted would, on ſuch an occaſion, when conſtitutionally called upon, be amongſt the firſt to give his majeſty their cordial ſupport. He had conceived the meſſage would have been to aſk their lordſhips' approbation to the plan of augmenting the land forces, in a manner equally new and unconſtitutional, and which he ſhould certainly have oppoſed; but as it was only ſtated to be in conſequence of an expected invaſion from the enemy, it was an aid that, under ſuch circumſtances, he was certain every man in the country would readily grant.

With.

With respect to the papers on the table, for which he had called (letters to the lords lieutenants, &c.) his lordship considered them as entirely unprecedented and illegal.—Had he, or any other of his friends, last year, predicted such an emergency as the present, they would have been accused of jacobin principles, and of talking about matters never likely to exist. At that time, after all the alarm they had been able to create, it had been said that two thousand men, sent over from this country, had secured Holland, destroyed the greater part of the miscreants who had over-run Flanders, and would soon annihilate the rest. Now, when all these chimerical fears were scouted, even by those who propagated them last year, ministers, while they boasted of success in the most lofty terms, called for the strongest support which the country could give.

Lord Sydney warmly vindicated the propriety of the epithets applied to the war; and, in the course of his speech, appeared to have misconceived the arguments of the preceding speaker, as an opposition to every measure of government.—The speech of lord Lauderdale was ably vindicated by the earl of Derby, and some altercation ensued, in which the offensive words in the address were attacked by the lords Lauderdale, Derby, and Guildford; and defended by lords Sydney, Townshend, and Grenville. The latter declared his readiness to meet the noble lord (Lauderdale) upon the assertion he had so particularly adverted to, that we were in a better situation than in all human probability we should have been, had not the war commenced. By sending the troops to Holland, we had rescued the United Provinces from threatened danger. Divine vengeance had overtaken some of the wretches who were the authors of the late calamities, and he doubted not but it would soon overtake more. The motion for the address was carried with only one dissentient voice, that of the earl of Stanhope.

The question respecting the legality of voluntary subscriptions for the use of government was again brought forward in the house of lords on the 28th of March by lord Lauderdale. The present attempt to extend the power of the crown was such, he said, as called for the reprobation of all who valued the constitution and liberties of the country. To levy money without the consent of parliament, was a novelty that could not be borne out by precedent. The circular letters were anomalous, and intended to keep up that alarm in the country which was so favourable to the views of administration. Whoever spoke the language of liberty, however acknowledged as friends to the constitution, were accused of maintaining French principles, while the most flattering approbation was poured upon those who favoured an extension of prerogative. He entreated the house, however, to remember that France, for her own internal protection, had raised troops in a manner similar to that now recommended; and what was the consequence? they were now obliged to have recourse to troops of the third requisition. By raising troops in this manner, parliament was deprived of an invaluable privilege. His lordship ridiculed the former fears of the minister, lest any alteration should take place in the constitution, and his present attempt, which he considered as endangering its existence. He declared himself

at a loſs to imagine why miniſters had not taken the opinion of the houſe before they reſolved on the meaſure. Was the exigency ſo great, or the parliament ſo conſtituted, that it could not be truſted? If the plan was even legalized, it was crude and indigeſted. The various plans exhibited no one regular ſyſtem of defence. A ſyſtem adopted according to the caprice of each individual, muſt riſque the uniformity of the whole. When he and his friends had propoſed a reformation in parliament, ſuch as originated with Mr. Pitt and the duke of Richmond, they were vilified as jacobins and levellers: they could now retort that language, and ſay, that the heterogeneous plans propoſed by miniſters appeared as if they had originated with Danton and his aſſociates; for they were novel in their nature, dangerous in their conſequences, and inadequate to any one good purpoſe. They partook of all that confuſion which characterized the requiſitions of France. In the laſt century, parliament had, he ſaid, evinced extreme jealouſy of any meaſure like the preſent.—Hiſtory could produce no ſimilar inſtance but in the very worſt of times, and precedents which ſhewed the extreme jealouſy of parliament were numerous. His lordſhip ſtated the 1ſt of Richard III. the 10th of Henry VII. and others, to ſhew that attempts of this ſort had been frequently made by the crown, and oppoſed by the people. He adduced ſeveral great law authorities againſt the legality of the meaſure. He inſiſted that this meaſure, and others lately attempted, tended to increaſe the influence of the crown, and to diminiſh the privileges of the parliament and people, an influence which had already grown to ſuch extent, that it had been agreed to by the houſe of commons, that the influence of the crown "had increaſed, was increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed." The natural tendency of war went, his lordſhip argued, to extend this influence in a very conſiderable degree, from the great patronage poſſeſſed by the crown. Who could aſſure the houſe that no inſtructions had been given to the lords lieutenants, &c. to induce perſons to ſubſcribe, by the hopes of future favours? The power of reward exiſted in all times of war. In the preſent war too it had been conſpicuouſly ſeen, that miniſters held an extraordinary power of puniſhment for all who diſapproved of their meaſures. News-papers, he aſſerted, were paid in an extraordinary manner, by government, to vilify and traduce thoſe who were in oppoſition; and ſome of them had even inſinuated that men of character and conſequence, in this country, were in the pay of France, becauſe they had contended in ſupport of the conſtitution. Reſpecting the precedents for this meaſure, he believed only four would at preſent be mentioned. Theſe were, that of 1746, when there was an actual rebellion in the country; the ſubſcription ſet on foot by the city of London in 1759; and thoſe of 1778 and 1782. In all theſe caſes the ſubſcriptions were ſet on foot voluntarily by the people themſelves, who ſolicited government to accept their aſſiſtance. His lordſhip contraſted the force to be called out by the preſent meaſure, with the militia, which could not be called out on any emergency, without convening parliament in fourteen days after; yet the preſent force might be called out at the will of a ſecretary of ſtate. He noticed the different

different opinions which had been started respecting the measure, in the different places where meetings had been held. His lordship, with great force, added many other arguments, which we have had occasion to notice in the debate in the other house. He considered the subscription as a *forced loan*, and recapitulated the magnitude of the question, which involved two most important points: first, the levying of money from the people; and secondly, the keeping of an armed force in the country without the consent of parliament. He concluded with moving, "That it is dangerous and unconstitutional for the people of this country to grant to the executive government any private aid, benevolence, &c. for public purposes, without the consent of parliament."

Lord Hawkesbury allowed, that to take money from the subject, by the prerogative of the crown only, was clearly illegal. But he called the attention of the house to the difference between forced contributions and voluntary gifts. The latter were perfectly legal; and he commended his majesty's ministers for their conduct on the present occasion, which was legal and constitutional, and useful in the present situation of the country. His lordship considered the subject under three heads—the legality of the practice—whether it was constitutional—and the precedents.—He stated the various statutes on the subject, from Richard III. to Charles II. and defined the statute of Richard III. to be an act against benevolences, which had been extorted from the subject in the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. These he agreed were illegal; but if the subject gave money without compulsion, it was not unconstitutional, nor did it require the approbation of parliament to legalize the measure. The question of levying money had been often argued; but these were questions which did not bear on the subject of debate.—His lordship in mentioning the precedents, observed, that in 1759 the subscription of the city of London had been highly approved by the late lord Chatham, and its legality never questioned. The same expedient was resorted to in 1778, and he averred, the letter of lord Shelburne in 1782 was a precedent directly in point. It had been argued, that if the subscriptions were legal, parliament was useless; because, if the executive power could, of its own authority, raise 500l. it might 500,000l. Extreme cases used as argument were absurd. Was it to be supposed, when the power of subscribing was in the people, they wold use it to their own prejudice? The plans had not been sufficiently matured to lay before parliament sooner; but his lordship asserted, that ministers had shewn anxiety to bring forward the present business. His lordship concluded by moving the previous question.

The original motion was supported by the earl of Derby with great acuteness. With respect to the distinction between voluntary subscription and compulsion, he observed, that there were other means of compulsion than prisons, fetters, chains, &c. There was the compulsion of apprehension felt by timid minds; and he knew, as a fact, that persons had subscribed who disapproved the measure, but feared the odium which might arise from their refusal. This *requisition*, for such it might be called, he considered as perfectly against the statutes that had

had been quoted. His lordship was followed by the marquis Townshend, who vindicated ministers, and averred that the people of the county of which he was lord lieutenant (Norfolk) were eager to offer their assistance, as they were alarmed for their king, country, constitution, religion, and property, by the proceedings of the democrats in Britain, who, in corresponding societies, were endeavouring to introduce the enormities of France.—The use of employing men who know the political prejudices of their neighbours was obvious; and he hoped a proper force would be established, to repel the machinations of designing men, whom he represented as numerous and well known; and he thought it expedient to embody a corps from the middle classes, who, in case of commotion, might at once six upon those most likely to promote it. This was an advantage which could not arise from regular troops. This expedient was condemned by the earl of Derby, who blamed government for not punishing, at once, those who corresponded with the French, if known to them; and reprobated the principle of arming one description of men against another, since private animosity might avail itself of that pretext to take vengeance on the king's best subjects.

The earl of Caernarvon followed the argument of lord Hawkesbury, in a speech of considerable length. He dwelt upon the negotiations between ministers and individuals to raise regiments, &c. which had so frequently taken place. He could not see the shadow of a difference between this and the present case, by which ministers discussed the subject of a levy, not with individuals, but with the gentlemen of every county. Both transactions had the same basis, the finding money voluntarily, without the interposition of parliament.—This measure, he thought, fully sanctioned by the letter of lord Shelburne in 1782, in which, though there was no requisition for money, there was for an armed force, and that without the consent of parliament. Such a proposition was still more illegal than a suggestion towards a contribution, as the only argument to prove a subscription illegal is, that such subscriptions might be used to raise troops. Could any man, said his lordship, seriously assert, that the calling upon the great towns, as in 1782, to "furnish one or two battalions each," and stating what part of the expence government would supply, was not as clearly proposing to the great towns to defray the remainder at their own expence? From every view he could take of this letter, it was in all respects analogous to the circular letters under consideration.

The conduct of the marquis of Lansdowne was strenuously vindicated by the earl of Stanhope. The letter of 1782 only requested the observations of the magistrates upon the practicability of the plan suggested. The present went much further. He charged the friends of ministry with admitting the substance of the question; but that, not daring to meet it fairly, it was got rid of by the previous question. He advised not arming the people partially, but, if necessary, to put arms into the hands of all. He admitted the position, that if the object were legal, there was no difference, whether men or money were subscribed, but he thought both illegal.

The lord chancellor condemned the

the question as abstract, and declined entering into a discussion of precedents which had already been argued so ably. He referred, however, to the case of 1745, when twelve noblemen had spiritedly come forward, and proposed to raise each a regiment at his own expence, which was accepted. When parliament afterwards met, administration were attacked upon this subject; yet the estimate for the subsistence of these troops was immediately voted when presented. On an examination of the letters which had been brought into comparison, his lordship thought that every advantage lay in the present instance. He guarded the house against abstract theories, and noticed the injury they had done in a neighbouring country. He conceived a censure on the papers in question to be premature, as they only contained the statement of a proposition, which was to be agitated and considered before it could be presented to parliament. If such proceedings were illegal, all bargains for loans and lotteries were illegal. He censured the haste with which this business had been taken up, and strongly disapproved the arming of the whole nation.

Lord Lauderdale declared that he could not discover, either in the acts of the commons or the precedents quoted, any authorities in support of the circular letters. From Richard the third to Charles the second, the practice of the legislature had been in direct opposition to such measures. His lordship quoted the act, which in the course of the debate had been explained in support of their different opinions by members on both sides the house; from the express words of which he asserted, that there was a specific proof that such measures were considered as unconstitutional. In the letter of 1782, no expression or word direct or implied could be construed to favour a practice so inimical to the British constitution; no pay was offered, no man was taken from his labour; it was only recommended that they should assemble for an hour in the evening, and habituate themselves to the use of arms; and it was expresly said, that, if they were called into actual service, it should be under the authority of parliament. On a division of the house, a majority of 76 appeared against the motion.

On the 1st of April, the chancellor of the exchequer, pursuant to the notice he had previously given, moved the house for a committee on the bill for the encouragement of such men as shall voluntarily enrol themselves for the general defence of the kingdom during the war.

Mr. Francis reverted to the subject so lately agitated, and inquired, whether, if the bill passed, it was understood that subscriptions for raising troops would be held to be sanctioned by parliament? He contended, that in the consideration of this subject, gentlemen had argued on improper grounds: they had taken that of precedent instead of principle. Great as was the power of parliament, it was not omnipotent, as it must be subject to the rules of general justice; but of still less importance were precedents drawn from the conduct of particular persons whilst in office. It was the duty of every member of that house to judge not what had been done, but what ought to be done for the prosperity and happiness of the nation; and, from the dangers resulting from such a practice, he deduced that it was illegal and pernicious.

Mr. Fox again entered into a defence of the letter of 1782, and vindicated the character of the marquis of Rockingham, who had joined him in that measure. He considered it as totally different from the present requisition, and adverted to the attorney general's having produced on a former debate six or seven answers from the sheriffs, &c. and his having urged them as authority for believing that the *general* sense of the country was, that a subscription was to be opened in consequence of it. This general sense was taken from six or seven letters, selected from a mass of *one hundred and forty*, which if produced would, he believed, lead to a different conclusion.

Mr. Burke observed, that long speeches without good materials were dangerous, and that he was desirous to profit by the advice—

"Solid men of Boston, banish strong potations;
"Solid men of Boston, make no long orations."

He contended that Mr. Fox had been too much occupied with his India bill, and other official business, to attend to that in debate.

He was followed by Mr. Sheridan, who said he conceived that the injunction against long orations was not the only moral precept in the system of ethics alluded to, which served to regulate the hon. gentleman. He would remind him of another passage in the same approved author:

"Now it hapt to the country he went for a blessing;
"And from his state daddy to get a new lesson:
"He went to daddy Jenky, by Trimmer Hal attended:
"In such company, good lack! how his morals must be mended!"

Mr. Fox, he said, had professed that the justification of the conduct of the marquis of Rockingham was one of his chief motives for entering into the explanation; but Mr. Burke had declared his ignorance of the proceeding, though then in office, and left the character of the marquis to be defended by others. Mr. Sheridan proceeded some time in this strain with his usual wit, and a spirited altercation took place between him and Mr. Burke.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed to the committee, that the most material difference between this bill and that of 1782 was, that it extended to cases of internal riot, as well as of imminent danger of invasion. He further mentioned the following modifications which he meant to bring forward, rather as amendments than clauses:

1. That no one, inrolling himself in any of these volunteer corps, should be compelled to serve in any other case, or on any other terms than those expressed in the conditions of the inrollment.

2. That all persons so inrolled should be exempt from any ballot for the militia during the time of such inrollment.

3. That the sergeants, corporals, and drummers should be liable to be billeted, as they are in the militia, though the corps is not called out.

4. That when his majesty shall require it, the arms, &c. shall be delivered up.

5. That all court martials, when they are called out, shall consist only of officers belonging to volunteer corps.

Mr. Sheridan strongly objected to the fashionable mode of calling in military power to aid the civil magistrate, as unconstitutional. It was, however, as strongly vindicated by Mr.

Mr. Pitt, who wished it to be generally known in the country, that the security and protection of the kingdom depended as much on the existence of such a force in large manufacturing towns, and the interior of the country, as on the sea coast.

On the third reading of this bill, it was opposed by Mr. Francis, as militating against the bill of rights, which stipulated, that no money should be levied by the king without the consent of parliament.

Earl Wycombe rose in justification of his noble relation (the marquis of Lansdowne) whose conduct he conceived had been commented upon by an hon. gentleman (the attorney general) in a very unfair and uncandid manner. He entered into a comparative statement of the two measures, to shew that they were in no respect similar. The object of the first was to arm the people, that of the latter to arm the crown; the former operating as an appeal to the sentiments and approbation of the people, the latter precluding such interference. In the former the officers were to be appointed by the lords lieutenants of counties; in the latter they were to be nominated by the crown. The first plan required officers to possess property in the part of the country in which they were to command; the appointed times for exercising were periods of leisure, and the corps were not to be called out but in actual danger. This contained no such regulations, and the men might be subjected to all the severities of martial law, upon what might be construed into the appearance of even a riot. Above all, the first went to raising no supplies whatever, and the latter was calculated to authorize the raising of supplies independent of that house, and in violation of its prerogative. His lordship was replied to by the attorney general, who professed himself unable to see any ground of difference in the principle of the two measures.

The chancellor of the exchequer professed himself willing to wave the force which the present measure derived from the authority of that in 1782, and contended, that it was warranted by the laws and constitution, handed down by precedents, and confirmed by the best authorities both legal and political. The distinctions of the noble lord (Wycombe) went to the mode of executing the measure, but not to the true constitutional point. As to the end to be obtained, that of raising an army, whatever could be said in justification of one measure justified the other. There was not, he said, in the history of this country one war to be found, in which the *privilege* of *subscribing* to the assistance of government had not been *enjoyed by the people* of this country. The circular letter of the earl of Shelburne was so far from excluding all idea of subscription, that the county of Sussex, which had by public subscription previously supported a large military force, had on the receipt of that letter, conceiving it to imply a desire of subscription, set on foot contributions, and raised three additional companies. Yet no resistance was then made to this measure. Voluntary subscriptions were, he contended, legal. In 1746 many great men had raised regiments at their own expence, and the legality of the measure was decided unequivocally by lord Hardwicke. Who would venture to say that great men might subscribe legally and with safety to the constitution, and that 3 or 400 yeomen should not? The only instance in which contributions

contributions which had been solicited met with opposition, was that in 1778, though in the whole of that war it was practised in various periods and at divers places. The opposition given by lord Camden, Mr. Burke, &c. on that occasion be attributed to their disapprobation of the American war. Had the opposition however then succeeded, it would not vitiate the present measure, to which it was not at all analogous. From the subsequent acquiescence of the house to similar measures, though there appeared on the records a motion of Mr. alderman Wilkes to prevent contributions, he inferred that parliament did not then behold, with so much terror as was now expressed, the idea of subscriptions. Gentlemen, he said, talked loudly of liberty; but in the present instance the first liberty of the subject, the right of disposing of his own property, was attempted to be torn from him, while the general good would be promoted by the exercise of that right. Every man, he said, had a right to apply any part of his property for any legal purpose, unless prohibited by statute, and the bill of rights had no more application to this subject than any other in the statute book. The statutes against benevolences were, he said, really statutes against exactions, and he stated the most beneficial effects as resulting from the measure; it would afford men an opportunity of shewing their opinions, and convince the enemy that the war was not undertaken and prosecuted by the English government, but by the English people.

This, Mr. Fox contended, was one of the most material objections to the measure. If the French judged that all were in their favour who refused to subscribe, the number of their enemies in this country would indeed appear very small. The measure would not even mark the distinction which ministers pretended to expect from it. Many persons zealously attached to the war might object to the subscription as unconstitutional. Those who thought the war impolitic would do so too, yet both would be as ready to oppose a foreign invasion as the minister himself. He noticed, that the right of the king to land foreign troops had been contended for; he might get money to pay those troops by voluntary subscription. When the troops were landed and so paid during any given time, he should be glad to know how long the subscription would be voluntary? That such power could not exist in a free constitution, it was easy to maintain in defiance of precedents.

The numerous references to the circular letter in 1782 occasioned an application from the marquis of Lansdowne for copies of the answers to that letter, which were refused. On the new militia bill being introduced into the house of lords, his lordship entered upon a spirited defence of his conduct at that time. That plan had at its commencement been sanctioned by the legal authority of lord Ashburton, and his lordship pointed out a variety of instances, in which it materially differed from the one then under consideration. There never, his lordship averred, had been entertained an idea of carrying the plan of 1782 without application to parliament.

Whilst the volunteers bill was still in agitation, Mr. Pitt, on the 7th of April, brought before the house a motion "to enable the subjects of France to enlist in his majesty's

majesty's service on the continent of Europe, and to receive officers in such regiments, as engineers, under certain restrictions," and thought many advantages might be derived from a force of this nature. A conversation took place in the house on this occasion, in which some gentlemen informed the minister that hand bills were already circulating about the country, and stuck up against the admiralty, offering considerable bounties for the enlisting of emigrants. This, if unknown to the officers of the crown, was thought by colonel M'Leod a culpable piece of negligence. Mr. Pitt however professed himself ignorant of the transaction. On the report being read, the attorney general moved an amendment, obliging those who enlisted under these circumstances to take the oath of allegiance; which was adopted. Mr. Sheridan proposed a further amendment, limiting the operation of the bill to one year. He observed, that under the mutiny bill his majesty was not empowered to continue the services of his own subjects longer. As the object of the war involved the destruction of the present government in France, and the establishment of order, morality, and religion in that country, we might not be able to effect an object of such magnitude with less than 500,000 men, and by this bill the number was indefinite. He would ask the house, whether it had ever passed a vote of credit to the crown equal to this? If gentlemen were asked by their constituents how the power of the purse in this country stood, they must confess that it was entirely given up to the executive power. Though the bill was silent as to the half-pay of those who acted under it, yet, like the American loyalists, they might have irresistible claims on our magnanimity, generosity and justice. Should we even succeed in establishing a government in France, the contest might be changed into a squabble for indemnification, and an attempt (as had been the case in Poland) to partition France, in which persons acting under this bill could not possibly assist. What then would be their situation? trepanned into fighting against their country, or exposed to *penury*, or the penalties of desertion? Mr. M. Robinson, Mr. Baker, Mr. Grey, Mr. Jekyll, and sir W. Milner approved the amendment, which was opposed by the earl of Inchiquin, Mr. Canning, and the solicitor general, and negatived by a majority of 97. Upon the proposition of Mr. Sheridan, the number of these troops, which should at any time remain within the kingdom, was confined to 5,000.

On the second reading of the bill, it was objected to by Mr. Baker as extraordinary in its nature, and as giving additional powers to the crown, since the numbers of men were unspecified, and they were permitted to land in this island for air, exercise, &c. It was defended by Mr. Pitt as highly politic at the present time, and approved by general Smith, Mr. Jenkinson, and Mr. Ryder. Mr. Fox thought, if the bill was now necessary, it must have been so at the commencement of the war. It was also condemned by Mr. Lambton. Mr. Sheridan declared his intention to oppose a measure so radically bad *in toto*. The circumstance mentioned by general Smith, that these new levies when they came into the field could expect nothing but an ignominious death, was as strong an objection as could be made. If such were the case, he asked whether we

we ſhould attempt to retaliate? and was anſwered by a "yes" from Mr. Burke. He then warmly attacked an expreſſion which, he ſaid, might be the herald of cool maſſacre to many of our troops, and hoped this country would ſpurn an execrable ſyſtem of warfare hitherto unknown in European hiſtory. He objected to the paltry ſaving of not allowing theſe troops half-pay at the concluſion of the war; but, from the example of the royaliſt corps in America, who, at the concluſion of the war, remained a heavy incumbrance on the gratitude of this country, he contended that the idea was deluſive. He thought the levying of 50 or 60,000 men, to whom the very name of liberty was exaſperating, and placing them under the direction of the crown, was the moſt dangerous meaſure that could be purſued; and ridiculed the idea that they might, if landed, be confined within a little diſtance from the coaſt.

Mr. Burke expreſſed his ſorrow that the word *yes* had occaſioned ſo much reſentment in the hon. gentleman. He entered, with his uſual vivacity, into an eulogium on the ancient government of France, and an invective againſt the preſent; after which he reverted to the ſubject in debate, and approved of the meaſure. He concluded by declaring, that if French property was not reſtored, property in England would not have ten years exiſtence. The meaſure was oppoſed by Mr. Francis and Mr. Grey, but defended by Mr. Pitt and Mr. ſerjeant Watſon. On a diviſion there was a majority of 185 in favour of the motion.

The commitment of the bill was oppoſed by colonel Tarleton, as fraught with various evils. He thought it connected with the recent alteration in the militia bill, and allied to the county ſubſcriptions and the landing of foreign troops; and all were tending to the eſtabliſhment of a military government. The dreadful ſituation of Europe was, he contended, the reſult of Engliſh intrigues and Engliſh money. He condemned the preamble of the bill as miſtating the fact, and wiſhed, if it was thought right to co-operate with the ſubjects of France, that it had not been deferred till they were become invincible. He thought the places of deſtination not accurately defined. He wiſhed to know if Portſmouth and Plymouth ſhould be entruſted to an army of foreigners; lamented the lot of theſe unhappy Frenchmen; and ſaid, that if the inhuman principle of retaliation mentioned on a former night was adopted, the wars of former years would be harmleſs innocent paſtime, to the dreadful carnage which muſt enſue.

Sir William Young thought little was to be apprehended from the doctrine of retaliation, as troops ſituated preciſely in the ſame way had been embodied without theſe dreadful conſequences.

Mr. Whitbread complained, that dangerous and important as this meaſure was, no reaſon had been given for its adoption. Fact and argument ought to be adduced to ſhew its neceſſity and expediency. He noticed in ſtrong terms the haraſſing ſituation of the objects of this bill. The alien bill empowered miniſters to ſend thoſe who refuſed to enliſt, into a ſituation equally dangerous as any they could be placed in by enliſting. How could they reſiſt any application of government to enliſt? He entered at length upon the dreadful ſubject of retaliation, and entreated the mi-

nister to disavow such a system. He mentioned the great expence attending this measure, and thought, considering the small progress we had hitherto made in the war, and the probability that we should be called upon for a supply of money by some of the allies, that economy was of the utmost importance. The measure was, he thought, on the whole entirely unconstitutional.

Lord Mulgrave contended for the necessity of retaliation on our part, if such a system was pursued by the enemy. Unless we proceeded on equal terms, it would be impossible to carry on the war to any effect. A number of our troops had, he stated, been taken, and on that occasion no quarter was given. Would it then be wise to be bullied by our enemies, and to shew them we were afraid of their inhumanity or their other qualities? The king, he contended, had no more power over these troops than over any other by the articles of war.

Major Maitland asked how we could expect that men would exert spirit and vigour in our cause, who had not exerted any in that of their sovereign and their own? He noticed the discordancy of their opinions, and the inconsistency of withholding the British soldiers and officers, by the mutiny bill, from all dependance on the crown with respect to money, while the present bill left that matter undefined. In contradiction to the mutiny bill too, that before the house left every thing relating to the discipline of the new corps to military discretion. Respecting retaliation, the major remarked, that if that system was pursued by us, those who were sacrificed by the French would not be Frenchmen in British pay, but British soldiers and officers, our fellow-subjects; and he called upon gentlemen to recollect whom they already had in their hands, and whom the fortune of war might put into their power. If, by employing Frenchmen to fight against France, we brought on this departure from the ordinary rules of war, to us, and not to the French, must be imputed all the horrors that ensue.

Mr. Montague thought, that in the present state of France, when all forgetting their former differences were discontented with the present rulers, more force might be obtained by employing the discontented French than the allies. The desperate circumstances in which they were placed would make them more than true to us. The intention of war was to kill; and if prisoners were spared, it was only on the supposition of mutual convenience. In various instances of civil wars, this idea had prevailed over the notion of right, and prisoners had been spared on both sides. Such might be the case at present.

After Mr. Dent had humanely remarked, that if the French emigrants refused to enlist after all the benefits they had received, they ought to be sent out of the country, the house divided, when there appeared a majority of 102 for committing the bill. An amendment was proposed by major Maitland, that the bill should be an annual one, which was rejected.

The bill was opposed on the third reading by Mr. Harrison, on the pleas previously urged. He thought too, that at the very time when we feared an invasion from France, it was neither wise nor prudent to employ an indefinite number of French emigrants, who, to make their own peace, might betray us. He disapproved the war, he said, and the principle

of

of it; and this bill, as tending to its prolongation, and leading to an indefinite expence, should have his negative. Mr. Fox thought the bill pregnant with calamity. From the time that it had been introduced to the house, he had waited in expectation of hearing some reasons urged in favour of the bill, but little as yet had occurred in favour of its principle. Almost all that had been said by one set of its defenders amounted only to this, what the men who enlisted under it would feel, that from success they might hope to be restored to their honours, their fortune, and their country; and defeat set before them either poverty or death. Another set of its defenders, particularly an hon. gentleman (Mr. Burke), said the bill was an auspicious beginning of a new system; that all the emigrants had lost must be restored to them before all that was valuable to us could be secure; that Great Britain, respecting its property and rights, should feel an identity of interest with the emigrants of France; and, except those properties and rights were restored to them, our own would comparatively be of little value. This position was, he said, perfectly novel, and would, in its nature and tendency, be dangerous to this country and to Europe, if adopted by government and sanctioned by parliament.

Mr. Fox called the attention of the house to the progress of the war, which he believed might have been avoided by negotiation; but had that even failed, there could then have been no doubt of the propriety of our having recourse to arms. He noticed the alteration which had arisen in the avowed object of the war since its first commencement. Had the object been then stated as an attempt to subvert the government of France, he believed it would not, either in that house or the country, have been supported. If a necessity now existed for entirely changing the object, he thought ministers should boldly come forward, and avow their former mistake, and their present system and object, leaving parliament to judge of the propriety of such alteration. The war he allowed to be just and necessary, if we could not obtain security by negotiation; but he could not agree that it was right to continue it in order to impose a government on France. Whatever might be the faults of their government, it was an infraction of the first principles of any independent state, and of the sovereignty of nations, to interfere with its formation.

These points, Mr. Fox thought, had been generally assented to last year. But we had now adopted a new system, and were to employ the French emigrants in support of it. The bill, he said, appeared to him to pledge the faith of this country to the emigrants, for the full restoration of all they had lost since the revolution, and to overturn the present government of France by force of arms. He spoke in the most humane terms of the sorrows and sufferings of the emigrants, but was not willing so far to pledge the faith of the nation, as it must expose this country to great and tremendous evils. The war, considering the present situation of France, was formidable to this country and its constitution, and only two objects were to be considered as desirable respecting it: the one, that it should be as short as possible; the other, that it should be as little sanguinary. The present bill he considered as militating against

against both these objects. If the object of the war still continued what it had been originally stated, he should have sanguine hopes of its termination, and whatever successes had attended our arms in the last campaign might induce the French to think of peace. Such events had in all former wars been steps towards peace. But this was not the case in the present, because its object and that of former wars were essentially different. If the object of the present bill was carried into effect, we must destroy the present government of France, and what would it avail us to capture their possessions or destroy their leaders? They would still say, we are not fighting for territory or for men, we are fighting for our own existence and that of our government. He argued with great ability against the probability that any successes we might have against them would ever produce a change in their sentiments of government, or induce them to submit to the yoke of a foreign power, because we had taken their East or West Indies. When the mind was irritated and goaded, when it was busied in viewing daily objects of terror at home, it was not likely to be affected by remote consequences. They were either disregarded, or, if regarded, compared with nearer evils, they were looked upon as nothing. If our cause therefore was against the government, not the possessions of France, there could be no possible advantage that could contribute to this end short of our taking Paris, or some other material part of France. Viewing therefore the present bill as a virtual engagement on the part of this country to restore the ancient government of France, and to replace the emigrants in the situations they had formerly enjoyed, peace appeared to him an object infinitely distant. An hon. gentleman (Mr. Jenkinson) had *wisely* observed on a former night, "that the best mode of conquering France was to take Paris, and the only means by which this could be effected, was by taking one town after another," on the northern frontier, as a protection to our troops. This was certainly very just reasoning; but the mode proposed for attaining this object convinced him of the difficulty and almost impossibility of effecting it. The task was of an herculean kind, required an herculean labour, length of time, and an uninterrupted series of success; and to this we should take into consideration the nature of the cause, and the disposition of the people with whom we had to contend. He warned the house of the danger resulting from considering the French as not formidable in the field; such a people, he said, fighting under such circumstances, must be formidable to the most powerful enemy that could oppose them; and judging of the future by the past, a complete conquest of the French, in war, could not reasonably be expected. If this pursuit was likely to be so hopeless, was it consistent with the dignity and honour of this country to employ these unfortunate people in such a visionary scheme? Mr. Fox, in the most energetic terms, then deplored the effect which the continuance of the war would have on the dispositions and general morality of Europe, and delivered an eulogy on the practice of humanity, which did honour to his own feelings. All Europe had suffered from the horrors of France; but with regard to their cause, the French appeared to have, in a great measure, been driven to these violent scenes of bloodshed

bloodshed and horror. Nations were like individuals. Place an individual in a situation in which he felt himself abandoned by the whole world, and found no one his friend, none interested in his welfare, but all mankind become by general consent his enemies, he must become a misanthrope or a savage, unless he possessed a mind more heroic and exalted than we had any right to expect. All Europe had attacked France, not from any of the usual motives for war, but to destroy her people, or compel them to accept a form of government which was to be imposed on them by force of arms, and a form too which they the most detested and abhorred. Could it then be wondered at that the French were savage and ferocious? Mr. Fox remarked the flattering picture which had been drawn of the French under the old monarchy, particularly by an hon. gentleman (Mr. Burke). He had, he said, himself been then in that country, and witnessed, that the situation of their peasants was so replete with misery, so abject, and so wretched, that they could not be objects of envy to the subjects of the most absolute despots on earth. Apprehending then that the object of the combined powers was to replace them in that bondage, was it surprising they should become furious?

Mr. Fox next proceeded to state the horrors which must attend emigrants if taken in arms against their country. He mentioned, with much feeling, the dreadful rancour which always prevailed in civil wars, and to the emigrants this must be a civil war. He then noticed the difference between modern and ancient wars; and contended, that the milder practices which now prevailed were not merely the effect of the benignant spirit of christianity, but that modern wars were wars generally for territory or for the loss of territory, and ancient wars, wars of extermination. As the measure tended to retard the blessing of peace, and to render the war more savage and ferocious, it should, he said, have his decided negative.

Mr. Dundas justified the war upon the reasons which have been so often detailed, and accused those gentlemen of inconsistency, who objected to it as not just nor necessary, because they had pledged themselves in its support, and added to this the further inconsistency of opposing every measure adopted by the executive government for its maintenance. With respect to the present measure, he left it to the wisdom and discernment of the house to decide, whether it was one which tended to facilitate the object of the war or not, and he would impartially abide by that decision. The present power of France was, he contended, held by the most precarious of all possible tenures; and he thought the great body of the people were far from attached to the present constitution; and in proof of this he mentioned the immense emigrations which had taken place, the massacres, and the insecurity of life and property. Nothing but protection and support was he thought wanting to induce the French to come forward, and raise their whole force against the convention. The usurpation of France was incompatible with the existence of other governments; and till we could overthrow their system of politics, we must not hope for peace or security. In this endeavour he thought it right to unite with us persons who had the same reasons with ourselves, and who called upon the British nation to give them arms.

arms. Whatever might be the advantages we derived from an insulated situation, we could not remain safe while such opinions were disseminated near us, and propagated by force of arms. The authority of books and the dictates of common sense established the maxim, that the government of one country might interfere with and subvert another under certain circumstances. This was a matter of speculative policy applicable to internal discords in time of peace; but in a state of warfare it would be ridiculous to say, we should not do every thing to distress and destroy the government with which we were at war. It was the part of ministers to consider the enemy as an enemy, and devise means to bring them either to reason or to ruin. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Fox) had, he said, dwelt with much plausibility upon the calamity of retaliation: this he said it had frequently been necessary to exercise, however painful the task. It lay with the emigrants to consider the probable effects of retaliation, and they had weighed it well and asked for arms. None could accuse government of compulsion in this instance: the emigrants had themselves adopted the measure, and none could deny the wisdom of their choice; no man of feeling or magnanimity could act otherwise. With respect to this measure having a tendency to prolong the war, Mr. Dundas allowed, that the conquests we had made in the East and West Indies had not the same effect as conquests in France might have had; yet still, by crippling in some degree the resources of the war, they must accelerate peace. We could not however, he contended, hope for peace and security, without a total change in the government of France. Government had, he said, been blamed the last session for not affording early assistance to the mal-contents and royalists in La Vendée. If it were expedient to risque our national safety and honour in the hands of an undisciplined scattered band, such as that in La Vendée, how much more so to take into our pay a strong concentrated body of men, disciplined, appointed, and commanded by men eminent for military honour and talents! Such an army was, he said, not only equal to prodigies in itself, but must acquire strength and numbers as it proceeded. An hon. gentleman had mentioned 500,000: he should rejoice to find so many; and though that gentleman had questioned the ability to find resources for such a number except from this country, he conceived that a much smaller number would in a short time render aid from this country totally unnecessary, by putting a prosperous period to the war, recovering their rights, and terminating the calamities of France.

Mr. Burke, with great wit, ridiculed the praises bestowed by an hon. gentleman on humanity, as uncalled for by any thing that had been said, and unnecessary, as every member of that house uniformly acted according to its dictates. He thought it might have been delivered with more effect in the clubs of jacobins or cordeliers. He seemed, however, to consider it but as a small proof of the humanity of Mr. Fox, that while he commiserated the sufferings of the emigrants, he should wish to withhold from them the means of extricating themselves. Humanity must, he contended, be supported by justice. All the atrocities

of the French had been introduced by the profession of humanity.—Humanity was founded on justice, and justice on the *lex talionis*.—Every man out of civil society had, he said, a right to avenge his own wrongs; and he thought it better the emigrants should have this opportunity afforded them of being restored to their property, country, &c. than to pine away life under their present circumstances. Mr. Burke indulged himself in one of his usual invectives against the French, and compared their late conduct with that of the other nations of Europe on former occasions, very justly to the advantage of the latter. Upon a review of the atrocities of the French, he asked what room was left for compassion. The union of all Europe against such wretches was just and politic. All Europe had united against Louis XIV. Had that driven him to murder, &c.? On the contrary, he had relaxed the reins of government. He called upon any man to shew him an instance when all mankind had united against the struggles of liberty: but all Europe saw that the object of the French was power. Mr. Burke commented at large upon the happiness enjoyed by the subjects of France under the old monarchy. This was not, he said, a war for the Scheldt, it was a war for every thing valuable to us. The French attempted to over-run Europe—they attempted to penetrate into Holland, the country of our ally. "Speaking politically, upon the salvation of Holland depended the salvation of this country—our honour and dignity, as a nation, went with that salvation."

Mr. Sheridan, after a full admission and as full a condemnation of the enormities of the French, thought it might be worth while to inquire how far they were to be attributed to the people themselves, and how far to the ancient government. If they were atheists at present, it was because they were accustomed to see the clergy and the higher orders of society live in open contempt of religion. Had they less respect for property, they had been used to see property yield to power, and had been educated under a despotism, where every thing depended upon the will of the prince, and laws submitted to the corrupt perversion of the magistrate. Were they treacherous, and eager to spill human blood, they had been used to see the life of man made light of, and the human form disrespected and disregarded. The flagrant vices which had appeared in the French, upon the subversion of the old government, Mr. Sheridan contended, plainly shewed that the government which could produce such monsters must have been essentially bad; and he should therefore disapprove of its restitution. He very justly condemned the absurdity of supposing that the utmost happiness could be enjoyed by the subjects of a country, whose property and life depended upon the capricious will of the prince; and pointedly exposed the vices of the higher orders in France. The hon. gentleman had said, that the subjects of that country were wild beasts before we had attacked them. Were they so, he asked, previous to the attack from Austria and Prussia? If so, why did not we then attack them? Instead of that, we had endeavoured to conciliate them so far as to preserve peace with them, at least; we now pretended we did so. Notwithstanding the sanguine hope of the secretary of state, that the army under consideration would

maintain

maintain itself, and force its own way, Mr. Sheridan contended that it was only calculated to raise the people in a more formidable mass to oppose those invaders; and he confirmed this by stating the transactions in La Vendée, where, though the number of men in actual rebellion amounted to 200,000, the convention had overpowered them. The events at Toulon, he said, also favoured his opinion. Mr. Burke had, he observed, brought many instances to prove that emigrants taken in arms had not been put to death, but not one of his instances applied to the present case. The hon. gentleman had, he said, treated with much levity the professions of humanity made by his friend, but had totally mistaken the application of its principle to these unfortunate men; which was, that we ought not to hold out to them the promise of a protection which we might not be able to afford.—He noticed the failure of our promise to the insurgents in La Vendée, and to the inhabitants of Toulon. He also reminded the hon. gentleman of having written and spoken with great ability against the principle of our having held out protection to the American loyalists, as a pernicious measure. The bill would, he said, if passed, surrender that powerful check upon the crown, the annual opportunity of disbanding the army, and the guardianship of the public purse. He ended a very able speech, by desiring to have a clause inserted in the bill, limiting its duration to one year; but he was informed by the speaker, it could not be done in this stage of the business; upon which Mr. Sheridan hoped, that a short bill to this effect might be brought into the house. Lord Mulgrave, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. W. Smith, spoke also on this occasion; after which the bill was read a third time and passed.

When the bill was brought into a committee in the house of lords, it was opposed by the earl of Albemarle as unconstitutional, inhuman, and impolitic. That it was unconstitutional to keep foreigners in British pay, and to permit them to reside in the body of the country, could not be denied. The bill indeed provided that these troops should not proceed above five miles from the sea-coast; but such a provision, if they were so inclined, could not prevent it; and as to the possibility of its effect, it required no argument. The inhumanity of it was palpable from the declaration of their countrymen, not to give quarter to any Frenchmen they should take in arms against them. It was in fact a measure tending to encourage the most cruel retaliation and barbarous vengeance.—His lordship argued upon the impolicy, from the different opinions which must operate in the minds of persons who had emigrated at such different periods of the French revolution, and who consequently could not act with cordiality. His lordship further asked, whether we were to make the cause of the emigrants a common cause, and continue the war till they should obtain the restoration of their property?

As only 5000 of these troops were according to the bill to be in this country at the same time, and those only to be landed in cases of necessity, lord Hawkesbury argued against the possibility of any danger resulting from the measure. If landed too, they were not to be permitted to proceed more than five miles up the country. As the emigrants owed no allegiance to the present French government, he saw

no reason for apprehending the horrid consequences attending their being taken in arms against their countrymen. The war, so far from being prolonged by this measure, must, he said, be expedited by it, for it would certainly cease as soon as the present system of government in France was destroyed; at the same time his lordship stated, that the establishment of any specific government was a subject for future consideration.

The bill was opposed by the earl of Thanet, who observed, that as the agents of despotism were selected by it to restore the old monarchy of France, these men would be additionally abhorrent in the eyes of their countrymen, and excite the ferocity so much deprecated. The permission to march five miles into the country, afforded them a sanction to take possession of our fleet, of Portsmouth, and of all our military depôts on the sea-coast.

His lordship was followed by the earl of Lauderdale, who condemned ministers for justifying the bill on the ground of charity, and noticed their conduct in having at length avowed their intention to overturn the existing government of France, without having fixed upon giving her any other in return. His lordship said this was the most extraordinary mode of producing order he had ever heard of. He thought however it would have been better to have applied to the continent for troops, as these must excite animosity, and prolong the war, even if the French were disposed for peace. Many of the emigrants, he observed, could not take the oath prescribed, as they had already taken that administered by the constituent assembly. He urged, that the situation of those who remained in France was more prosperous than before the revolution, and that they must regard with a jealous eye the emigrants, of whose lands they were in possession. He thought too, that the despotic opinions entertained by these men unfitted them in a great degree from coalescing with the troops of this country.

As the views of this country and those of the emigrants were in many respects similar, lord Auckland justified the propriety of the measure. It would, he said, be thought good policy to employ individuals of other nations, who would serve for moderate pay, and preserve our own population; and how was the case varied by their being natives of France, who were already disciplined, and equally interested with ourselves in the cause for which they fight? Whatever might be their individual difference of sentiment, they would all concur in demolishing the jacobin tyranny. He admitted that many of them might be murdered by their countrymen in the service, but the service was voluntary. His lordship ingeniously urged, that we were not seeking to annihilate the existing government in France, because there was no such thing as a government there; we were only destroying a band of robbers, &c. and did not pledge ourselves to establish the ancient monarchy of France.

The duke of Bedford, in a speech replete with ability, condemned the measure. He urged in pointed terms the unhappy situation of the emigrants, exposed to all the horrors of retaliation from their countrymen, and driven into the measure, which, if they did not adopt, would render them the scorn of society. He wished this country had provided

provided for them in any other way than by the bill in question. His grace complimented the noble lords (Hawkesbury and Auckland) on their ingenuity, but said the difference between interfering and annihilating was a distinction too nice for his perception to observe. To contend that the attempt to annihilate was not to interfere was, he said, a pitiful quibble. From what he had heard in that house, he conceived it a fair conclusion to draw, that this small island was to exterminate 24 millions of people, or overturn their government; for a government he must pronounce it, since it had been accepted as such by the majority of the people, and he thought no man or body of men had a right to dictate to a nation the sort of government they thought proper. He contradicted the idea that the government of France would change by the fall of Robespierre; and entertained, he said, too good an opinion of mankind, to imagine that one man was so superior to the rest, as to be allowed to dictate to millions that which they did not approve, and in which they were all so much concerned and interested. From the conduct of the emigrants who had deserted their king and country in the hour of danger, he saw no great reason to trust them at present. His grace adverted to the conduct of the enemies of the French, which he said goaded them to desperation. He was sorry to say that he had heard speeches fully as ferocious and sanguinary as any said to have been uttered in the convention.

The marquis of Lansdowne maintained, that the impolicy of the measure was obvious, and its inhumanity without precedent or example. Ministers, affected to say, that if any of these emigrants were taken and executed, we should retaliate; he strongly urged the danger of such a doctrine. Such a practice had been talked of in the American war, and the effect of that was sufficient to enable us to see the danger of attempting to adopt a system so barbarous. If there was any fundamental security for the liberties and constitution of this country, it was in the jealousy which existed respecting *standing armies*. The marquis shewed the peculiar reason there was to be jealous of one composed of Frenchmen, of papists, of men so different in both their religious and political faith. He asked what king William, or the parliament of that time, would have thought of the minister who suggested such an idea? Then, and indeed before and after, every means was used by this country to curb the ambitious spirit of the house of Bourbon; now we were become Quixottes in the restoration of a branch of that family we had so much dreaded and execrated. His lordship thought many of the emigrants averse to the measure, though some favoured it in the hope that on their return they would find followers among their former dependants; but he asked, was it likely that men who had suffered and been oppressed so much, would in an instant forget what they had been fighting for, and fly with rapture to entreat for the restoration of the feudal system? His lordship argued ably and much at length against the measure, but feared all parties had too much made up their minds to be swayed by any facts or arguments. Time must prove whose principles were best calculated to benefit their country—those who wished for peace, or those who supported the war. From their numbers, however, it ought

to be remembered, that the French would not be conquered by one or two defeats; but if the allies were once beaten, he knew not how they could rally again.

The earl of Caernarvon observed, that, had the war changed its object, circumstances might have made such a change wise, politic, and inevitable; but in fact the object of the war was still the same, namely peace, and security for peace, which must be attained by whatever means appeared the most likely to ensure it. His lordship detailed with ability the usual arguments for the war, and concluded by saying, that his hopes of peace depended on the destruction of the present tyranny of France.

He was followed by earl Stanhope, who spoke in pointed terms of the shifting object of the war. He quoted the king's speech in 1792, which was long after jacobinism was triumphant in France; yet that stated us to have such an assurance of tranquillity, that it was not advisable to increase our naval and military establishment. Ministers did not then see any danger from the jacobin system. A noble lord (Caernarvon) had abused the rights of man; where those rights were allowed to be ridiculed and disregarded, there liberty must cease to exist. His lordship urged the happiness of the present subjects of France, their cordiality in support of the government and the war. As an instance of their attachment, he mentioned that between 12 and 15,000 had lately been taken prisoners, and were marching through Vienna to their place of destination. In the course of their march they saw a boy playing with a red cap upon a stick; which reminding them of the tree of liberty, they all with the same accord, as if struck with an electric shock, shouted out "Long live the republic one and indivisible, long live the French republic!" When such were the feelings of the French, what probability was there of success to a plan for restoring aristocrats to their possessions?

The miseries of the people of France were on the contrary strongly depicted by lord Grenville. As usual, he vindicated the war and the conduct of administration. The bill in question had his most decided support, and, so far from compelling the emigrants to bear arms, only acceded to their most ardent wishes. The barbarities of the present governing faction had united them in their wishes for the rescue of their country. The happiness enjoyed by the meanest of our soldiers under the British government was such, that they could not be tempted to swerve from their duty, or to wish to change the constitution. His lordship ridiculed the idea that 5000 Frenchmen in arms could occasion any danger to the liberties and constitution of this country. King William had employed French protestants against the usurpations of Louis XIV; yet no idea had been entertained of the measure as unconstitutional. With respect to what had been said of retaliation should the French put to death any persons in the service of this country, we should be excusable in taking such measures as might most effectually prevent such conduct in future. His lordship justified the interference with the internal concerns of another country, by our interference in the affairs of Holland. He would not declare that we ought not to treat with such a form of republican government as afforded us full security, but

but he thought a monarchical form better. The termination of the war could not however take place till the present system was totally destroyed.

The marquis of Lansdowne again gave his opinion against the introduction of a standing army, how small soever it might be in point of numbers, or however subject to particular regulations. He noticed the introduction of barracks, and other objects of a similar nature. His lordship conceived that ministers had studied a certain author (Machiavel) oftener than they had quoted him, and adopted the maxim, "that when a prince wishes to introduce any measure obnoxious to the temper of the people, or dangerous to their liberties, he should arm himself with power beforehand, to compel the consent of his subjects, if likely to be denied." As to the state of the people of France, he had lately conversed with well informed and impartial men, who had nearly traversed the country, and who represented the people as being happier, and the country better cultivated than six years ago under the old government. He fully allowed that there were several hardships to be borne by them at present, but they were cheerfully submitted to for a future good. His lordship humanely urged the impropriety of forcing the emigrants into a measure which, if not thus urged, they might anxiously wish to avoid, and the personal danger they incurred, as, in the cartels which had passed between the French and Austria and Prussia, the proposition to exchange them had been treated with scorn. On a division of the house the contents were 54, non-contents 7.

Agreeably to the notice given by lord Stanhope, that he would oppose the bill in every stage of its progress, his lordship on the third reading, amongst other observations, noticed, that according to the laws of nations the practice of destroying subjects found in arms against their own government must be expected. By our statutes it was treason for any man to enter into the pay of other nations, yet we encouraged this treason in the emigrants. His lordship enlarged upon the dreadful system of retaliation, which was calculated to extend the calamities of war to a degree unknown in the annals of the world, and moved an amendment, specifying, that no soldier should be taken out of this country against his will; which was perfectly consistent with a clause in the mutiny act, and the opinion of judge Blackstone. It was however rejected.

CHAPTER V.

Debate on foreign Treaties in the House of Commons.—On the same Subject in the Lords.—General Fitzpatrick's Motion on the Imprisonment of La Fayette.—Debate on that Subject.—Lord Stanhope's Motion on the Interference of Great Britain in the internal Affairs of France.—Discussion on the Privileges of the House of Peers.—Lord Hawkesbury's Motions concerning Trade and Commerce.—Debate in the Commons on the Conduct of the preceding Campaign.—India Budget.—Motion in the Commons concerning Sinecure Places and Pensions.—Debates on the Prussian Subsidy —In the Commons—In the Lords.

A DISCUSSION respecting the treaties entered into by his majesty with foreign powers was introduced into the

house of commons on the 6th of March by Mr. Whitbread jun. who prefaced a motion upon the subject by a very able speech. He would, he said, on the present occasion avoid inquiring into the grounds of the present war, and the topics which were so artfully held out to inflame the public mind and incite them to animosity against the French; but would barely remind the house, that the same virulent invectives had on former occasions been bestowed upon some of the best and greatest men who had ever engaged in the glorious struggle for liberty. He instanced the proclamation of Philip the second against the prince of Orange, and the opprobrious epithets thrown upon the Americans during the American war. When these epithets were employed indiscriminately against the French, he must think them grossly calumniated; and for what? To prove what no rational set of beings ever doubted, the existence of a God. Mr. Whitbread contended, however, that religion was made a cloak of by those who hated every thing like liberty, and that such had the words christian religion continually in their mouths, though their actions violated its fundamental principles.

Whatever had been the ground of war on our part, it could not, Mr. Whitbread said, be urged on the part of Austria and Prussia, that the war was an aggression on the part of France. The treaty of Pilnitz was a proof of this; yet we had confederated with the framers of that treaty, and bound ourselves to go what length they pleased. The motives of Austria and Prussia were inordinate ambition, cruelty, and rapacity. He noticed the sanguinary principles maintained by these German despots; the horrid manifesto of the duke of Brunswick, and the infamous division of Poland; and though we affected to lament the partition of Poland, and various other instances of inordinate ambition in these courts, we had yet entered into an alliance with those very powers. We had, he said, another ally of equal honour, the empress of Russia, whose only view was to keep the south of Europe in confusion. He asked whether any of the combined powers had defined their object in the war, or whether they had not uniformly contradicted each other? He placed in a strong point of view the contradictory motives upon which they must act. If we would not treat with France as a republic, when were we likely to treat? If, on the contrary, we were willing to treat with them as a republic, provided the present system and rulers were destroyed, did we conceive that Prussia and Austria, who had made a common cause of crushing the government of France in 1789, would agree to that form of government? Yet, how could we oppose such a form? For we had already declared our partiality for it, as was evident from the declaration at Toulon. Austria however, it was evident, would not assent to the constitution of 1789, as was plain from the manifestoes of general Wurmser and the prince of Saxe Cobourg. The hon. gentleman declared there was "no reliance to be placed on any of these royal dealers in human flesh;" and it was his opinion, that if the views of this detestable combination had succeeded in the first campaign against the French, the liberties of Europe would have been destroyed. With such powers were we leagued in a cause which was said to be for justice, humanity, law, order, and the

the christian religion, whereas it was in fact against them all. The treaty with the king of Sardinia bound us not to lay down our arms before the restitution of Savoy, yet the irruption into Savoy was made long before we engaged in the war. The Sardinian ambassador applied to the Genoese for assistance on that occasion, but the British envoy desired the Genoese to preserve a strict neutrality. So far from the war being carried on for the preservation of civil society, we had in many instances acted in such a way as tended to break the bonds of society asunder. With the combination of such a number of formidable powers, each one individually was in a worse relative state with regard to France than at the commencement of the war. We were called upon to make a more extraordinary provision for our internal safety; and Austria and Prussia were still more exhausted. What did this prove, but that a war with an *armed nation* no combination upon earth could render successful? Mr. Whitbread argued, that had success attended the arms of the combined powers against France, we should by this time have had a quarrel with them. From their principles of despotism they would, after they had imposed a tyranny on the French, have been disposed to make an attack upon our constitution. Had we interfered properly in the affairs of France, the lives of the king and queen might, he believed, have been spared, and Europe have been at peace. In the danger arising from the combination in which we were engaged, he wished the house to solicit his majesty to extricate himself as soon as possible. There were, he said, precedents for the measure; few of the allied powers could have any cause to complain, and least of all the empress of Russia, who had not fulfilled any of her engagements. The hackneyed question, with whom were we to treat, he answered by saying, with those who had the power to negotiate. He concluded by moving for an address to his majesty, expressive of the concern of that house, that he should have entered into engagements incompatible with the declarations repeatedly made relative to the object of the war—lamenting that he should have been advised to make a common cause with powers whose objects are undefined, but who, there is much ground to fear, prosecute the war for the purpose of dictating in the internal affairs of other countries—views which had been solemnly disavowed by his majesty and his ministers, and abhorrent to the principles of a free nation—that were it a war of aggression on the part of France, the assistance of the king of Prussia was by treaty previously ensured to this country—that it does not appear the succours stipulated by the defensive treaty of 1788 had been called for, but that a convention had been entered into, involving us in schemes foreign to our true interest, and imposing a restraint upon his majesty in relieving his subjects from the present burdensome and calamitous war—that the restoration of Savoy was not of sufficient importance to be made the condition of peace—that these engagements might prove fatal to the liberties of Europe—and requesting his majesty to extricate himself from them, as they prevented his concluding a separate peace.

Mr. Jenkinson justified the conduct

duct of the combined powers respecting the treaty of Pilnitz, which had no views of ambition whatever*. Its object was to free the late unfortunate king; but when he had accepted the constitution of 1789, and notified his acceptance of it, the court of Vienna shewed every disposition to retreat from the stipulations at Pilnitz; which, he said, was evident from a number of circumstances which he adduced. The case of Prussia was precisely the same. Before he argued the propriety of the treaties, he would state, that whenever a country was involved in war, it was necessary to form as many alliances as possible. The two principal articles contained in the treaties, he said, were an agreement to make our cause the same with that of the court of Berlin, and not to lay down our arms till France had restored to the allies all she had wrested or might wrest from them. The first presented the most efficacious means of prosecuting the contest, and securing to us indemnity and safety—the second was, from various considerations, highly beneficial to this country. The expenditure of 200,000l. a year was a wise and politic measure on our part respecting Savoy. Were the French to offer to the king of Sardinia still more advantageous terms, it would be our interest to increase the sum, in order that the arms of the French might have a diversion on that side of France. It had always been thought politic to prevent France from extending her territory, and it was certainly doubly so at present. As to the partition of Poland, he did not see that the justice or necessity of the war was affected by that transaction.

The motion was supported by Mr. M. A. Taylor, and opposed by sir G. P. Turner, who amused the house, in his usual way, in a very considerable degree, and modestly wondered what could so much entertain gentlemen, as he did not pretend to humour.

Mr. Fox, in a very luminous speech, asserted, that it was impossible by any sophistry to deny that Austria and Prussia fomented this contest by the treaty of Pilnitz, and every principle of religion and morality called upon us to balance the advantage we might reap from this alliance, with the shame and disgrace attendant upon any engagement with those with whom we had connected ourselves. According to the treaties subsisting between this country and Prussia, we were only to assist her in a defensive war. This had been eluded by a subsequent treaty between the king of Prussia and the emperor, in which they engaged in the provocation of France, and then our assistance was claimed for Prussia against the enemy she had raised. Where, he asked, was the instance in the French convention or the jacobin club that could match the perfidy of the king of Prussia towards Poland? He not only encouraged the Poles in modelling their constitution, but publicly congratulated them on having made their monarchy hereditary in the family of his relation the elector of Saxony; and in twelve months after he audaciously abandoned every principle he had sworn to maintain, opposed the claim of Saxony, declared that the revolution in Poland

* Yet the existence of this treaty has been denied by certain hireling but ignorant writers.

had

had given just cause of offence to the empress, and secretly and perfidiously co-operated with Russia for a share in the plunder of Poland. From the different language held in speaking of the French and of the allies, Mr. Fox inferred, that to the vices of those who lived in courts, and filled or rather dishonoured thrones, we were to be totally blind, while the wickedness of the anarchists was to provoke us to hostility. He spoke in pointed terms of the atrocity of the king of Prussia respecting the imprisonment and treatment of M. de la Fayette. We had publicly approved of the constitution of 1789, yet suffered one of its most illustrious founders and supporters to languish in a dungeon, without a crime imputed to him. At the very time we were acting on the principles of the constituent assembly, the Austrians in Alsace pursued a totally different system. This proved that the views of the emperor were different from ours. He noticed also the contradiction between the two manifestoes of the prince of Saxe-Cobourg; the first issued when the defection of Dumouriez was believed to include that of the army, and declaring him a wise and virtuous citizen, resolved to give peace to his country, and to assist with his army in restoring, not the old monarchy, but the constitution of 1789. This proclamation was not however issued because the prince meant to adhere to it. As soon as Dumouriez's defection was found to be only that of a general and a few of his followers, all his virtue and wisdom vanished with his power; and within four or five days the prince of Cobourg, with audacity and effrontery unparalleled in history, issued a second proclamation, retracting every word of the first. What sincerity was there then in the professions of the emperor? Mr. Fox next noticed the treatment received by general Dumouriez in this country; indeed he had wandered from country to country, in a condition not to be envied by any general of the republic who was not under the immediate fear of execution. What lesson did this hold out to Frenchmen? That it was better to run the hazard of the guillotine in France, than to take the certainty of misery and contempt among the allies. Had the king of Prussia, he asked, promised to restore to France the constitution of 1789? or, if he had, was it in stronger terms than he had used in approving the efforts for freedom made by the Poles? Had the empress of Russia made similar professions? or were we to look for her observance of them in her exemplary conduct towards the Poles? Was it in the mad and foolish manifestoes of the duke of Brunswick that we were to find the good faith of Austria, and the conformity of her views with ours? We talked of indemnity, he said, yet called upon Frenchmen to join us in expelling their present rulers. We might ourselves possibly procure an indemnity by the surrender of some of the French West India islands, but what indemnity would suffice for our numerous allies? Except ourselves and Holland, no state had joined the confederacy but those under the dominion of absolute monarchs, and Holland would rejoice in an opportunity of getting out of it with safety. As the French must see that nothing short of the partition of their country would satisfy the contending powers, they had every motive for continuing the war; since, were the result ever so wanting in success, they could lose nothing by the

the contest. Perhaps too, if the improbable event of the conquest of France should be attained, the whole kingdom might not be sufficient to indemnify all the powers at war; and we must then have to fight for a division of spoil, without that delusive calm, which was said to be all we could obtain by a peace with France. Mr. Fox noticed the mutual animosities and jealousies entertained by the allied powers, in proof, that if an indemnity was obtained, there would be no further effects than a temporary repose. He had, he said, been informed that the king of Prussia had declared his inability to carry on the war without a subsidy of 700,000l. If such was the fact, he considered it as a fortunate circumstance, as it opened a door for extricating ourselves, and accomplishing not a *separate*, but a *general* peace. At the commencement of the last campaign, we had been told the enemy were reduced to one desperate effort. For that effort he would use an old-fashioned word called *perseverance*. If by this effort they could so far recover themselves as to instil intimidation, how could the next campaign, however brilliant in its commencement, be finally ensured to prove propitious? With respect to Savoy, he would state what had been formerly agitated upon the passive negligence of this country at the time hostilities commenced between the French and Sardinians. War was declared with Sardinia on the 16th of September, yet the parliament was prorogued from time to time. The battle of Jemappe happened between the order of the council and the affixing the great seal to the prorogation, so that it was before it was announced in the Gazette. Mr. Fox recapitulated what he and his friends had done in the last session to prevent the war, and noticed the accomplishment of the events they had predicted. He then exhorted the house to attend to the oppressed and burdened state of the poor of this country.

Mr. Pitt once more urged the well known arguments for the justice and expediency of the war, and the impossibility of our making peace. Fortunately, he said, we were so happy as to find other powers whose interests led them to make it common cause with us against the common invader of the rights of all mankind. The motion only tended to disunite and separate these allies for the general defence. Till gentlemen could say, that, situated as England was at the commencement of the war, those alliances were impolitic, they could not expect the house to agree to a measure which involved the principles, the security, and the independence of the British constitution, as well as the general tranquillity of Europe. That part of the conduct of our allies, which seemed to provoke the most censure, had nothing to do with the present war, and we ought to draw every possible assistance from them in the present emergency. Though gentlemen had argued so strenuously for peace, they had not stated how it was to be obtained. They had said, only dissolve the confederacy, and every obstacle to peace will vanish. This was consistent with all their opinions, and the real meaning of the present motion, which was in fact a motion for an immediate peace at any rate. To promote this, much was urged of the miseries felt by the country. No war could, he said, be prosecuted without injury to commerce; but in such a war as the present, gentlemen

gentlemen ought not to think any thing of such a trifling deprivation of commerce; it must be much more endangered if the power of France was not opposed. He was ready to confess, in reply to what had been urged, that, considered in a commercial view, the prosperity of the country last year had not been equal to that of former years; but this pressure arose from the continental war, which would have existed whether we had entered into it or not. But this check was, he contended, merely temporary, and the nation had recovered from it; and the readiness with which it had recovered, afforded joyful hopes of ultimate success in the war. The greatest possible success was, he said, to be expected in the war; and as to the assertion that, were it ended, we should afterwards have to fight with the allies, that might as well be said in any war in which we had alliances. The success of the war was not, he said, uniform; but, comparing our present situation with that at its commencement, it was highly flattering. The French, Mr. Pitt stated, in all their military proceedings, did every thing by coercion and terror, and exhibited no resource but extortion keeping pace with prodigality. Comparing their costs and resources with those of the allies, any one must be led to think that France would much sooner sink under the pressure of the war. He participated, he said, in the general concern for Poland, and denied that it was the intention of the emperor or the allies to impose or revive the antient despotism in France. As for the argument of dividing France, it made against all wars in which confederates were engaged. Nor did he see how it followed, that because the confederates were not attached to each other, we, who had cemented the union, should be the first to dissolve it. He again vindicated the war, and said, that instead of its being an object of censure, it ought rather to be considered as matter of congratulation, that we had been able to unite in our cause so many powerful states. He must therefore reprobate a motion which had a tendency to shake and loosen it.

Mr. Whitbread, in reply, asked what man was so weak as to doubt the resources of France, when they contemplated the efforts made by America? The efforts of disciplined armies, however numerous, were impotent against enthusiasts in the cause of liberty. He adverted to Mr. Pitt's evading an answer to the question respecting the Prussian subsidy. Were the allies to divide France, they would probably find some jacobin principles in our constitution, which required their assistance to exterminate. *Jacobinism* was not, he said, the *alarm word* of the day, and was used now as the term *heretic* was formerly. He thought nothing tended more to the destruction of liberty, than applying the epithet of jacobin to every man who was a friend to a mild government, and an advocate for reform. On a division of the house, 28 appeared in favour of the motion, against it 138.

On the 18th of March this subject was brought forward in the house of lords by the earl of Guildford. He conceived, he said, that there was no prerogative of the crown to which that house was more bound to attend, than that respecting the right to make peace or war. With this view he had called the attention of the house to the different treaties, conceiving the house had a right to advise his majesty not to enter

the contest. Perhaps too, if the improbable event of the conquest of France should be attained, whole kingdom might not b cient to indemnify all the p war; and we must the fight for a division of out that delusive calm faid to be all we co peace with Franc ticed the mutu jealousies enter powers, in p nity was o no furthe repose. former decla the

they were different both in complection and object, though believed each of those courts h new and distinct object. He objected strongly to these treaties as binding us under every circumstance from making a peace inconsistent with their ambitious views. The treaty with the king of Sardinia was arraigned by his lordship in pointed terms. He stated, that we had stipulated to pay him 200,000l. per ann. for keeping 50,000 men to defend his own dominions; had agreed to furnish him with a fleet, and not to make peace with France till he was restored to his own possessions. It was notorious, that Savoy and Nice had been captured before we took part in the contest; and was it to be supposed that the king of Sardinia, from motives of self-defence, would not be prompt and eager to protect himself? We engaged for every thing, and received nothing in exchange. His lordship urged our impolicy in fettering ourselves with these treaties, treaties which were not more censurable for their contents than their omissions, particularly with regard to the security of Holland. He maintained the inutility of the treaties in every point of view, repeating, that the objects of the allies were distinctly different; and ended by moving, "that it was the opinion of the house, that his majesty has entered into engagements tending to promote the interests of other nations, in which this country had no concern, and the motives of which have been repeatedly disavowed by his ministers."

The competency of the house to decide upon treaties was fully admitted by lord Hawkesbury. With respect, however, to those to which the noble lord had objected, the necessity and policy of the measure were

ipon principles repeatedly dis- His lordship stated, that they had been thought by the best policy we and as such it had but all at once we deeply involved in acting as principals in which we have no con- So little had it been thought necessary for us to intermeddle, that the failures which took place after the duke of Brunswick's first manifesto, the French getting Savoy, and the capture of Menin, had been considered by ministers with perfect indifference. The change which had since taken place must arise from a total change of system and views.

His lordship referred to several precedents, to justify the interference of parliament respecting treaties. He afterwards took a view of the different treaties on the table, dividing them into three classes; as subsidiary, those of a more general and fœderal nature; and lastly, that anomalous one with the king of Sardinia. To the first he confessed he had the least objection, as they might by saving our own people, and preventing the necessity of a standing army in the country, be essentially serviceable both in war and peace. The treaties with Prussia, Austria, Russia, and Spain, he placed in the second

as certain they
For himself,
ere more,
e was not
Europe. In
els of France,
had indeed remained
when the Low Countries
vaded, when Holland was
eminent danger, it became necessary to consider how nearly the danger was brought to her own door, especially as, in the seizure of Nice and Savoy, it was seen what was to be expected from the success of the French in the field.—His lordship then noticed the subsequent steps of the French, which have so generally been pleaded in justification of the war. In such a situation of affairs, he thought ministers had acted in a manner highly meritorious in negotiating the treaties. He justified the policy of a treaty with Sardinia, which was the key of Italy, and the propriety of guaranteeing that monarch in the security of his whole dominions.—He declared himself a friend to the restoration of the family compact; and ended by saying, that we had the deepest interest in the war with any of the European powers concerned in it, and that the treaties were in no respect contradictory to the declarations of his majesty's ministers delivered in parliament.

The earl of Caernarvon attributed the opposition made by lord Guildford to the treaties, to his dislike of the war, and conceived that he had failed in proving any of his positions. He justified all the treaties on the ground of the necessity of the war. In respect to that of Sardinia, he observed, that whenever it was the interest of a great nation to protect a weaker from oppression, it is its own interest, and not that of the weaker nation, which is the object. A treaty, therefore, between an oppressed and protecting nation might be prudent and politic on both sides; and yet all the stipulations might, and indeed from their nature must, be to the apparent benefit of the protected nation, which derived its advantages from the consequences flowing from the benefit it confers, not from the stipulated provisions of the treaty. On this ground the present treaty was to be considered. He stated the importance of the king of Sardinia to France, from the situation of his dominions; and that all treaties formed with that country equally prove, that Sardinia was unequal to her own defence—equally prove her value as an ally—and equally acknowledge the necessity of furnishing her with means of defence. Such was the importance of Savoy, that by the treaty, his lordship said, we only bound ourselves to do what our honour and interest compelled us to without such an engagement. So far from the treaties tending to involve the nation in a war on the principles, whatever they might be, of the allies, the object of all of them was stated to be a war of defence; and there was no one stipulation which pledged Great Britain to any of the views, avowed or secret, which may urge the other contracting parties to pursue the war beyond the preservation of their dominions, and maintaining the general tranquillity of Europe.

Lord Lauderdale observed, that neither of the noble lords had taken into consideration, that the several powers with whom we had entered into treaty were previously engaged in the war; that it required no very great diplomatic talents to persuade one to accept of a subsidy,

ſidy, and another of our exertions by ſea and land, without any expreſs ſtipulations on our part. To elucidate this part of his argument, his lordſhip took a review of the different nature of the engagements into which we had entered with different powers, and maintained; that they were ſuch as could not be carried into effect, and were totally repugnant to each other in many eſſential parts. He noticed the difference between the intereſt of the king of Pruſſia and that of this country; and condemned a ſyſtem of alliance tending to diſtract our commercial intereſt, and leſſen the produce of our manufactures, by diminiſhing the number of markets, which without ſuch a combination would be open to our commerce in the uſual way of trade. To prove the injury done to commerce in the war, his lordſhip obſerved, that notwithſtanding the injury to trade in the American war, yet long as that war had continued, application had not been made to government for that aſſiſtance which in the preſent had been found requiſite in the firſt campaign. He ſpoke in ſtrong terms of the danger of treaties which bound us to each power in a different manner; and mentioned, that if all the allies were to withdraw from the combination, we muſt continue the war ſingly for the reſtoration of Savoy, or forfeit the national faith. His lordſhip noticed the diſcordancy between the different objects and opinions of the confederated powers. But ſuppoſing one common intereſt againſt France; ſuppoſing the allies to act in ſtrict conformity, and only require indemnity for their loſſes; and ſuppoſe, ſtill further, they ſhould ſubjugate France; the conſequence muſt be, that this indemnification muſt end in the diviſion of France, which would be a ruinous event to this country. Reverting, however, to what would more probably be for ſome time the object of diſpute, the giving a government to France, his lordſhip noticed the diſcrepancy of ſentiment which muſt ariſe on this ſubject between the different powers. He blamed, as diſreſpectful to the commiſſioners at Toulon, the aſſertion of a noble lord (Hawkeſbury), that there was no treaty by which this country was bound to the reeſtabliſhment of the conſtitution of 1789, and that it was held out for the purpoſe of raiſing a body of French to act againſt the country. His lordſhip ridiculed the idea of there not being a power in France with whom we could make peace. He ſaw no chance by which this country might be benefited in the progreſs of the war, but many by which it might be ſeverely injured, particularly one; that many of the powers engaged might demand ſubſidies, and perhaps ſuddenly quit the combination if it ſuited their partial intereſt, ſo that we might be left to ſtand the preſſure of the conteſt.

The policy of alliances, particularly in the preſent inſtance, was ſtrongly contended for by the earl of Mansfield. He greatly pitied the king of Poland, but thought the alliance with Ruſſia of ſuch importance, that he ſhould be heartily glad to hear of a large ſubſidy being granted to Ruſſia to ſecure the alliance. He thought the preſent motion tended to a momentary ſecurity and a deluſive repoſe. He thought there was in France a prevalent though ſilent wiſh for monarchy; and that if ſupport was given to thoſe who wiſhed to live under a regular form of government, a civil contention would take place, which would tend more effectually to the

the restoration of order than any foreign force. The destruction of the present system in France, and the annihilation of the jacobin faction, must be accomplished before any order could be restored, or any security for Europe obtained.

The marquis of Lansdowne censured the present profusion of ministers, at a time when economy was never more necessary. He placed the treaties in two classes, political and subsidiary; condemned the latter as profuse and shameful; and said, that nothing but the torpor of the nation could have enabled ministers to place those who were free, and had none of the inconveniencies to which many of the allies were subject, upon a footing with them, nay to subsidize and pay taxes for those whose blood was sold, and let out to hire. He thought the increasing taxes would however rouse the people from their lethargy, and that the merchants of London would not bear the conduct of ministers much longer. His lordship stated, that the king of Prussia had applied to the circles to give a certain supply for the maintenance of his troops. The diet of Ratisbon preferred defending themselves, and offered to rise in a mass: this was objected to by his majesty as injurious to agriculture, and dangerous on account of the peasants, who, when once armed, might possibly imbibe new principles. These apprehensions might arise in the minds of our allies, whose subjects were ripe for revolt, but could not be brought to bear upon England, whose subjects venerated her constitution. The minister from Berlin, however, finding the circles firm, at length informed them, that his master was negotiating with one of the principal powers in the war, by which he should be enabled to release them from a great part of what he had required. What was this but saying, that the men of Suabia shall be saved, and Englishmen are to be burdened and oppressed beyond bearing? What apology could be made for lavishing the treasures of England in subsidizing Sardinia and Prussia to protect their own possessions? The noble lord had said, we were not fighting for the constitution of 1789, but had not told us for what the blood and treasure of this country were to be exhausted. The marquis said, we had somehow become a principal in the war. He noticed, that a whimsical sort of contradiction was obvious in the conduct of ministers. By their language, we were to regard each other in this country with distrust and jealousy, for the country was ready to burst into insurrection.—By their conduct it would appear that we were perfectly safe, since they were daily sending to other countries the whole wealth and strength of the nation, not only for fighting our battles abroad, but all our own troops, leaving the kingdom to defend itself in case of attack by foreign force, which had more than once been talked of as a matter to be expected. The marquis thought the motion wisely calculated to check those improper practices, and that it contained the most important truths in every sentence.

All the treaties except that with Russia were approved by the duke of Leeds: all our stipulations in that treaty were, he observed, complied with, while hers were entirely unfulfilled. On a division of the house, there appeared for the motion 9, against it 96.

The melancholy situation of M. de la Fayette, which has long excited the commiseration of

every friend to humanity and freedom, was introduced to the notice of the house of commons by general Fitzpatrick, March 17th.—The general observed, that the disapprobation shewn by the minister on a former night, when it had been mentioned in the house that the king of Prussia refused to liberate monf. de la Fayette and three other state prisoners on the ground that they were the prisoners of the allied powers, was sufficient to exempt the character of the British nation from the odium of having any share in so execrable a transaction. He thought, however, that humanity, justice, and policy required an interference from this country in behalf of this unfortunate man. The general entered into a very able review of the whole conduct of monf. de la Fayette, the greater part of which has been detailed in our volumes for 1791 and 1792—his firm attachment to the constitution of 1789, which had been approved by this country—his loyalty, which was proved by the most signal services to the royal family—and his refusal to join the republican party, though allured by every honour which could flatter his ambition. On this party obtaining the ascendency, what was his conduct? He resolved no longer to head the army, though he would not lead it against his country, but posted them so advantageously that general Clairfait was deterred from attacking it. When commissioners came to remove him from the command of the army, still faithful to the constitution and monarchy he had sworn to defend, he consigned them to the civil power. He soon afterwards passed the frontier, with a determination not to join the enemies of his country, and this was the cause of his dungeon and his sufferings. Had he, the general said, deserted his country as a traitor, and delivered the commissioners to the enemies of his country, he would now have been at liberty, and his virtues extolled. Had he carried away the military chest, he would have received rewards. On neutral ground (the bishopric of Liege) he was taken prisoner. He was invited by the promises of officers who were in the service of Austria, who assured him of a safe passage. With them he was taken prisoner, and transferred to a fortress belonging to the king of Prussia, where he was offered his liberty, on condition of joining the army of the French princes. This he refused; and then the officers of the king of Prussia claimed him as a prisoner of their master, not as a prisoner of war. Whatever might be the law of nations, the general said he thought it extremely hard to confine a man in one nation for a crime committed against another nation. La Fayette and three other gentlemen who had been members of the constituent assembly were now confined in filthy and unwholesome dungeons, without the liberty of breathing the fresh air more than one hour in a day, and debarred from all communication with each other. The general humanely urged the obligation which this country lay under to protect monf. la Fayette, according to the proclamation of the 29th October, which promised protection to all who should throw off anarchy and declare for monarchy. If we refused to interfere, what dependance could the royalists place upon our promises? He noticed the gross impolicy shewn in our conduct towards those who had deserted the republic, and warned the house against the propagation of an opinion, that this country was not sincere

sincere in the proclamation of October 29th; which must inevitably be the case, if we did not mark our disapprobation of the imprisonment of M. la Fayette and his companions, who were the defenders of the constitution of 1789. A favourable moment for negotiating upon this subject might certainly be found; as for instance, when solicitations were made to his Prussian majesty to accept a sum of 7, or 800,000l. from this country. He urged, that the conduct of mons. la Fayette in America ought to be no bar to such an interposition, as we should have been happy to have saved, by such a step, the life of Louis the sixteenth, whose conduct in the American war would never have been thought of as an obstacle. The general continued to urge the policy and humanity of this interference, and mentioned the intention of the president of the United States to make an application in favour of the unhappy prisoner. He concluded by moving for an address to his majesty, stating, that the detention of mons. de la Fayette and his three friends in prison, by order of the king of Prussia, was injurious to his majesty and the cause of his allies, and beseeching him to intercede for their deliverance in such a way as he in his wisdom shall judge proper.

This motion was seconded by colonel Tarleton, who gallantly expatiated upon the merits of a general who had once been his adversary, and, to prove the attachment of M. la Fayette to monarchy, read an extract of a letter from him, written in the camp at Maubeuge. This letter, he stated, had, on its arrival in Paris, excited against him the rancour of the jacobin faction. It produced an accusation against him before the assembly, which on his arrival pronounced an unanimous acquittal and approbation. In his absence jacobin emissaries corrupted his army, and he resolved to flee from a country which he was then prevented from serving.

The chancellor of the exchequer denied that the four persons mentioned in the motion ever were the real friends of liberty, and thought their detention no infraction of the law of nations. The question, he said, was, whether this country was implicated to interfere from motives of justice, honour, and policy? The interference required would be setting ourselves up as guardians of the consciences of foreign states. This country had, he said, no participation in the matter, since mons. la Fayette had been taken prisoner before we were a party in the war. With respect to the gentlemen being entitled to the protection of this country on account of the proclamation at Toulon, that declaration was addressed only to such as were willing to come as friends and supporters of the genuine cause of liberty. This was not the case with M. la Fayette and his friends. He should, he said, oppose the motion as equally improper and unnecessary.

Mr. Fox thought it was difficult to say which was the more extraordinary, that this country should hesitate to interfere, or that the court of Berlin should exercise such abominable tyranny. On the pretext alleged for continuing the treatment received by M. de la Fayette, that he was the prisoner of the allied powers, not to interfere was to be implicated in the odium, and to be handed down to posterity as accomplices in the diabolical cruelty of the Prussian cabinet.

binet. Mr. Fox ſtated that theſe unfortunate priſoners were confined in ſeparate apartments, ſuffered only to breathe the freſh air one hour in a day, confined in ſubterraneous caverns; in which the only light came from a confined and dreary court, where the execution of malefactors was the only ſpectacle. In this dreary ſituation they had ſtill one comfort, that of thinking themſelves confined under the ſame roof; but this conſolation was put an end to by the removal of two of them to another priſon; and the requeſt of M. la Fayette to the king of Pruſſia, that M. Latour Maubourg might remain in the ſame priſon with him, was denied. As a proof that we might interfere in ſuch a caſe, Mr. Fox cited the inſtance of an application made from this country to the court of France in the caſe of capt. Aſgill. He did not however conceive that any authority was requiſite on the preſent occaſion. He mentioned that M. la Fayette was neither treated as a priſoner of war nor as a priſoner of ſtate. The king of Pruſſia had repeatedly declared him and his friends priſoners to the allied powers, and that he could not be releaſed but by their conſent; there was no way for thoſe powers to clear themſelves from ſuch an imputation, but by declaring their diſavowal of the whole proceeding. National honour and policy required this. M. la Fayette, he contended, ſtood exactly in the ſame predicament with thoſe to whom protection had been offered by this country. Had he ſtaid in France and come forward on the proclamation at Toulon, could we then have refuſed him protection? Mr. Fox mentioned that the treatment experienced by monſ. la Fayette and his friends had prevented many perſons in France from joining the ſtandard of royalty. Frenchmen muſt ſuppoſe, from our conduct, either that our declarations were as faithleſs as thoſe of the king of Pruſſia and the prince of Saxe Cobourg, or that our allies thought differently from us; that all the ſupporters of limited monarchy were to be proſcribed, and the advocates of unlimited monarchy only protected. He ſhewed the unpopularity of the old government of France—ſo much ſo, that after Louis the ſeventeenth was proclaimed, the partiſans of royalty were with much difficulty prevailed upon to lay aſide the national cockade, and ſubſtitute the white for the tri-coloured flag. Mr. Fox mentioned, in pointed terms, the abominable treachery by which La Fayette had been captured. Of his company, conſiſting of forty perſons, all but himſelf and three others, who had been members of the conſtituent aſſembly, were releaſed. No man could, he ſaid, point out that part of the law of nations, by which the ſubjects of one independent nation could be made priſoners of ſtate by the ſovereign of another, for offences committed, or ſuppoſed to be committed, in their own country; it could only be done by the law of tyrants, which condemns all principles human and divine. Mr. Fox ſpoke in the higheſt terms of M. la Fayette and his fellow priſoners, and vindicated the general from the charge which had been urged againſt him, that of inſtigating the flight of the royal family, and afterwards betraying them, from the teſtimony of the unfortunate queen on her trial.

Mr. Burke ſtrongly oppoſed the motion, on the ground that no precedent exiſted of ſuch an interference, and that it was improper, as

as we had forborne to interfere in preventing the numerous massacres, &c. in France. Of these calamities he considered M. la Fayette as the origin, and the author of all the miseries that had befallen France. He ridiculed all interference on this occasion, and arraigned in his usual unqualified terms the whole conduct of the unhappy sufferers.

Mr. Grey strongly contended in favour of the motion, which was further supported by Mr. Thornton, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Martin, Mr. Courtenay, and Mr. Whitbread junior; and opposed by Mr. Ryder, the solicitor general, Mr. Cocks, and Mr. Addington. On a division of the house, the ayes were 46, noes 153.

A motion from lord Stanhope against interfering in the internal affairs of France, was announced by him to the house of lords March 25th. The observation made by a noble lord (Mansfield) on a former night, "that if it were possible to engage any number of Frenchmen to excite an insurrection in France against the convention, no expence ought to be spared by this country, and that it was a measure which ought to be adopted," was considered by his lordship as abhorrent to policy, religion, and humanity. He considered this sentiment as so contrary to the principles of civilized war, and so outrageous to all the feelings that ought to govern the conduct of a people, that in order to vindicate the honour of the nation it ought to be disclaimed by a solemn parliamentary act. His lordship urged that such a sentiment was repugnant to religion, and to the law of nations; and in support of the latter assertion he quoted a passage from judge Blackstone, and thought his opinions on the subject confirmed by those of lord Hawkesbury in a publication on a *national force*. He charged his lordship however with inconsistency, in having said that "the misery of France" under its former government "was so complete, that he did not think that country worth preserving;" yet, when she had thrown off this yoke, he detested her for that conduct which his former sentiment went immediately to promote. His lordship expatiated on the horrors of exciting civil commotions, and tearing asunder every bond by which society is held together, and on the impropriety and presumption of dictating a government to France, and obtruding upon them a king. Much had been urged, his lordship said, with respect to religion; but he would read to the house what religion said on the subject of kings. His lordship then read, 1 Samuel, ch. viii. 11, &c. He said the present war was a system of delusion, and in confirmation of this opinion read a passage from his majesty's speech, which boasted our superiority at sea, and the protection of our commerce. In opposition to this he stated, that from the 1st Feb. 1793, to 1st Feb. 1794, the loss of our ships was 410; that of the French 326. From the latter period to the end of March, he said, this country had lost 53 ships, and the enemy 29. Another instance of delusion existed, he inferred, in another passage in his majesty's speech, in which the necessary supplies for the present exigency were spoken of as to be provided for in such a way as to avoid any pressure which would be severely felt by the people. The taxes for that year could not, his lordship thought, answer such a description. After a variety of other matter in favour of a termination to the war, and depicting the probable

bable injury attending its continuance, his lordship brought forward a resolution on the subject under consideration, which, if adopted, he meant to follow up with a bill to regulate the conduct of ministry.

The earl of Mansfield contended strongly in favour of the words which had given rise to the debate, and of the exertions of ministers to restore a just and permanent government to France; and ridiculed the speech of the noble lord. He was followed by lord Grenville, who, in order to prevent the resolution from appearing on the journals of the house, declared his intention to follow up the negativing of the resolution, of which he professed he entertained no doubt, by a motion for expunging it from the journals. The lord chancellor then left the woolsack, and entreated the house to spare him the pain of reading the preamble to the resolution; after which he read from the wool-sack the resolution only. This measure was thought irregular by earl Stanhope. The resolution was however negatived, and the motion of lord Grenville put and carried.

The proceedings on this occasion produced, a few days afterwards, a discussion on the privileges of the house of peers, which was introduced by the earl of Lauderdale. His lordship argued at large upon the propriety and necessity of adhering strictly to parliamentary forms; and contended that the speaker in either house had no right to alter or mutilate any motion. Were the contrary to be admitted, freedom of debate, and all the most essential privileges of the house, might be said by degrees be annihilated. He severely censured the informality which had taken place on a preceding evening; and cited several instances from the journals of parliament to prove that the speaker had incurred the censure of the house by taking improper liberties. His lordship, with much humour, ridiculed the idea held out upon the present occasion, that the sense of the house had been taken by its looks; and ended a very able speech, by moving, "that any motion proposed by any lord of parliament, and given to the speaker, ought to be put in the given words, and the question of *content* or *not content* decided upon in that form."

The proceedings on the former evening were strenuously vindicated by lord Thurlow as perfectly in order, and adopted only to avoid a harsher method of getting rid of the offensive part of the noble earl's motion. They were further vindicated by the earl of Caernarvon, who contended for the discretionary power of the house. A long debate ensued; after which the question for an adjournment, which had been moved by lord Thurlow, was put and carried.

On the 3d April, lord Hawkesbury called the attention of the house to the naval trade and commerce of this kingdom, and the different laws and regulations by which it was governed. From the peculiarly politic regulations in this respect, his lordship very ably stated, that our trade was not only extended, but that we also provided such a number of sailors in time of war, as could not otherwise be collected. There were, however, some defects, for which he was desirous to propose a remedy; but this was not to take place till the conclusion of the war, when 60 or 70,000 men must be discharged from his majesty's navy, for whom he meant to make a provision.

vision. The chief clause of the bill would be to compel all British merchant ships not to employ above one fourth of foreign sailors; for the existing laws, in this case, had been liable to great infringements, a particular case of which was adduced by his lordship. Another clause would regard the coasting trade, which in time of peace he wished to be confined to British mariners only, who might more easily be obtained; and foreigners not so easily be made acquainted with the ports of this country. Another clause of great importance related, his lordship said, to the out-going ships with the freedom of British ports. By this we were enabled to know the number and measurement of the ships belonging to this country, and every circumstance relating to them; but the law at present was defective in being liable to evasion, as in the instance of a ship that was sold at Savannah, and had traded to different countries, under the privilege of a British vessel, without these forms; but being at length observed was stopped in the West Indies; and the judges had decided, that as it was sold out of England, it could not make the proper entry in the register. When the matter was brought before the privy council, lord Camden had given it as his opinion, that the intention of the laws in that case was, that every ship, having freedom of the British ports, if sold abroad, should return to England to be enregistered. —This he meant to establish, to prevent ships no longer belonging to this country enjoying the privilege of our free ports.—His lordship next gave an account of the actual state of the shipping of Great Britain, by which it appeared that there were 16,079 ships, measuring more than one million of tons, and employing above 118,000 sailors, belonging to Great Britain, of which 12,000 ships employed 107,000 mariners belonging to England alone. Liverpool alone had, he said, in the last war fitted out privateers, of which the tonnage and sailors exceeded the force sent out by queen Elizabeth against the Spanish armada. He stated the annual cargoes which had been sent out at different epochs *; and ended his speech by moving for the first reading

		Tons of English Shipping.
* The Restoration	1663-69	95,266
The Revolution	1688	190,533
The peace of Ryswick	1697	144,264
The last years of William III.	1700-1-2	273,693
The wars of Queen Anne	1709-12	285,156
The first of George I.	1713-14-15	421,431
The first of George II.	1726-27-28	432,832
The peaceful years	1736-37-38	476,941
The war of	1739-40-41	384,191
The peaceful years	1749-50-51	609,798
The war of	1755-56-57	451,254
The first of George III. war	1760	471,241
	1761	508,220
The peaceful years	1764-5-6	639,872
Ditto	1772-3-4	795,945

reading of the bill, which passed the house.

Papers relative to the last campaign having been previously moved for by Mr. Grey and major Maitland, and refused by the chancellor of the exchequer, the major, on the 10th of April, entered upon a review of the last campaign. The measures, he said, to which he should principally direct the attention of the house were the affair of Dunkirk, the capture and subsequent proceedings at Toulon, and the expedition under the earl of Moira. There was now, he contended, more difficulty in procuring the blessings of peace than at the commencement of the campaign; and to form an opinion upon this point, we need only look at the change wrought in the minds of our enemies and our allies. Contrary to what had then been the case, the French were constantly the first to attack; they no longer regarded the allies as invincible, and the allies no longer thought them an enemy to be despised. The last campaign had, he said, been favourable to the French; they had indeed lost Belgium, but suppressing the rebellion of La Vendée was of much more importance to them, as all their dangers arose from internal disturbance. The major took a view of the situation of the allies, to prove that their strength was on the decline, and, from the taking of Valenciennes, no one success had attended their arms. He entered into a review of the conduct of the allies. The empress had remained inactive. The king of Prussia, though the first to enter upon the war, and that upon the plea of punishing the impious assailants of the rights of kings, was the first to recede from it, which pretty unequivocally expressed his feelings upon the success of the campaign. Those of the emperor might be inferred from his seeing the necessity of his subjects rising in a mass, and that not with a view to offensive operations against France, but to protect themselves from an enemy they had before despised. What, he asked, were the feelings of people here? They talked of an invasion, and found it necessary to have an army of Frenchmen in British pay. In whatever was urged on occasion of the present war, the major drew a strong parallel between that and the arguments used in the war with America.

While the plan was observed for keeping the army united, which was adopted by the allied powers, their arms were, he said, crowned with success. After the reduction of Valenciennes this plan had been laid aside, as he conceived, principally from the directions of the British cabinet, as that alone was to be benefited by the capture of Dunkirk. The sole hope of success from a detached force must, he said, arise from the promptitude of execution and the ability to act: but neither of these attended

		Tons of English Shipping.
The American war	1775-6-7	760,798
The French war	1778	657,283
The Spanish war	1779	590,911
The Dutch war	1781	547,953
The peaceful years	1784-5-6	926,780
Ditto	1790-1-2	1,329,979

the

the attack upon Dunkirk; four weeks elapsed from the taking of Valenciennes to the attack upon Dunkirk; the duke of York was not supplied at the proper time with a single gun for the attack, or a single gun-boat to cover it. To the master general of the ordnance and to ministry the failure of that enterprise must be attributed. In the capture and evacuation of Toulon, the major asserted there had been a degree of folly, imbecility, and treachery, unexampled in the British nation. Our obtaining it had, he said, been variously represented, according as it suited the present purposes of ministers; we had however obtained it neither from the confidence of the inhabitants in the faith of this country, nor from the blockade by lord Hood, but by treaty, when the fall of the Girondists had spread disaffection and revolt throughout the republic; and he contended that government had no idea of taking possession of Toulon when lord Hood was first sent into the Mediterranean. The inhabitants of Toulon, he said, stipulated with lord Hood for the constitution of 1789, which, as soon as he obtained the power, he refused to fulfil. The declaration made by lord Hood was more injurious to the cause than the retreat from Dunkirk, or the overthrow of Wurmser. There never could have been any reasonable hopes that Toulon was tenable by the army we had there. Why were not other troops sent to preserve the conquest of Toulon? or why, when it was found untenable, was not an evacuation at once determined upon, and the fleet sent away to save the unhappy inhabitants from the fury of those whom they had mortally offended? With respect to the expedition under the earl of Moira, the major quoted the words of the earl in the other house, to prove that this was a project to amuse the country, without a hope of success from it. He took a view of the manner in which the campaign was commenced, argued the little probability of success, and ended by moving for "a committee of the house to inquire into the causes which led to the failure of the army under the duke of York at Dunkirk; and to inquire into the causes which led to the evacuation of Toulon under general Dundas and lord Hood."

Mr. Jenkinson strongly vindicated the conduct of ministers, and spoke in high terms of the unusual exertions made by them in the present war. He took a view of the different military transactions in the campaign, to prove the credit that was due to the valour of the British troops, and the wisdom of British counsels. The hon. gentleman justified the measure of endeavouring to take Dunkirk, as a place of great importance to us, and ascribed the failure of the expedition solely to the extraordinary efforts of the French. Mr. Jenkinson stated a variety of facts to prove that there was no ground for an imputation of a breach of faith on the part of the British nation, with respect to the acceptance of any particular constitution; or that the people of Toulon, in mentioning the constitution of 1789, could have in view that accepted in 1791. He denied that the object of the present war was to establish any particular government in France; it was to put a period to that despotism which menaced Europe. Not a single person was, he said, left in Toulon who chose to come away, and the means of escape were furnished to all. With respect

respect to the earl of Moira and the insurgents in La Vendée, it was not in the power of this government to assist them, till, by their coming down to the sea-coast, they afforded an opportunity of effecting a junction with them. After discussing the circumstances of the campaign, Mr. Jenkinson proceeded to consider the circumstances upon which it was founded, and laid it down as a principle, that no security could be obtained for this country without the destruction of the jacobin club. A very general spirit of insurrection prevailed, he said, in France; and if the jacobin system was destroyed in Paris, the system of anarchy would be at an end in that country. The best means of destroying the system of jacobinism was, he said, to force our way to Paris, and he thought marching there was attainable and practicable. He was pleased even to recommend the route, which was through the Low Countries, by which we could gain strong holds, &c. &c. &c. During the present system in France, the enemy had only one advantage of us, the power of bringing a superior force to any one place; but, on the contrary, we excelled them not only in military discipline, but in the superior force of our cavalry. In the latter part of the last campaign the combined powers were so situated that their cavalry was of little advantage; but, from having obtained such strong holds, we should now derive the fullest benefit from our cavalry. From the events of the last campaign, he augured the most signal success in that to come.

Lord Mulgrave strongly vindicated those proceedings at Toulon of which he was a witness.

He was followed by sir James Murray, who represented the immense force of the French as the sole cause of the loss of Dunkirk, and vindicated the board of ordnance from the charge of neglect. Nothing was, he said, lost on this occasion but a few cannon and stores, and the retreat was orderly, and afforded to part of Flanders relief from their uneasiness and dismay. The number of cannon lost he stated to be 38. The alacrity with which the military stores had been sent out was attested by Mr. Sargent.

Mr. Jekyll said, he did not consider the motion as relating to any particular person, as appeared to have been thought by a noble lord and an hon. baronet; it was only an inquiry which he must frankly confess would, he believed, criminate ministers. A long debate took place on this occasion, in which the motion was supported by col. Macleod and Mr. Courtenay, and opposed by Mr. Canning and sir William Young, and in the course of which much extraneous matter was admitted.

Mr. Fox said, that the evacuation of Toulon was acknowledged as a misfortune, which was of itself a sufficient ground of inquiry, but had never been urged as a ground of censure, unless inquiry should prove there had been misconduct. It had been said too that the misfortune might have been avoided if the allies had furnished the expected aid, or if the succours ordered by ministers had arrived. This rendered inquiry proper. Rumours had been circulated as to the negligence or misconduct of the allies while we had possession of Toulon, which was another reason for inquiry. If this were the case, national honour demanded that we should shew the world that we had not failed from our

ir own fault. It was also material to know whether the emperor, n whom so much depended in the ar, had failed in his engagements? dverting to what had been said of he mode of conquering France, Mr. Fox thought a more melancholy prospect could not well be presented; and gentlemen, who at resent believed that Paris must be aken before we looked for peace, would go home with less sanguine hopes of a speedy conclusion to the war than they had hitherto entertained.

From the tardiness with which the present discussion had been introduced, the chancellor of the exchequer inferred that ministers had little to apprehend from the motion. The inconveniencies of inquiry during war were, he said, so great, that they ought never to be hazarded, except when the failures were of such magnitude as to argue incapacity on the part of ministers, or to occasion such distrust of ultimate success as to produce a change of system. The failures at Toulon and Dunkirk were far from amounting to this. He stated the exertions which had been made to save both these places, and spoke of the inhabitants of Toulon who had suffered on our evacuation of that place, as persons who chose to stay, and who vainly hoped to preserve their lives by a pretended attachment to the existing government of France. Those who impugned us, he said, for leaving that place, should at least recollect that we had given such an effectual blow to the French navy, that ages would elapse before they would be able to recover their losses as a maritime power. On a view of the events of the campaign, he contended for the glory due to the British councils and British arms. Whoever, he said, imagined that the allies did not co-operate against Dunkirk were misinformed, and nothing could be so unwise as to institute an inquiry into their conduct at a time when so much depended upon their cordiality and good will.

Major Maitland ascribed the delay of his motion to particular and urgent business. Not to dispute the boasted successes, he desired gentlemen to look at the situation of the allies; the king of Prussia's secession, the duke of Brunswick's resignation, general Wurmser's retirement, prince Cobourg superseded, the emperor in self-armed preparation, and the officers at variance. On a division of the house 35 were for the motion, against it 168.

On the 4th of April Mr. Dundas brought forward his statement of the finances of India; previous to the opening of which, in reply to the queries of general Smith, he assured the house that regulations would soon be adopted for relieving the officers on the Bengal establishment. Mr. Dundas said it was his intention at present to pursue the same mode, respecting the statement of the affairs in India, that he pursued last year, but without dwelling so minutely on each particular article. He admitted that the amount of the sales in a year of war were not equal to those in a year of peace; but said, that the resources of the company were fully adequate to all the demands which he had calculated they would answer. Mr. Dundas then stated the estimate taken on averages of the three years previous to the war in India, and of the last three years, of which the following is the general view:

GENERAL

GENERAL VIEW.

		£. Sterl.	
Actual revenues of 1792-3 at Bengal, per No. 3, curr. rupees	5,52,69,339	5,526,934	
Madras, per No. 6, pag.	61,90,775	2,476,310	
Bombay, per estimate, No. 7, rs.	21,53,922	242,316	
			8,245,560
Charges at Bengal ct. rs.	2,95,60,684	£. 2,956,068	
Madras, pag.	49,09,163	1,963,665	
Bombay, estimated rs.	60,58,395	681,569	
			5,601,302
			2,644,258
Supplies from Bengal to Bencoolen, Pinang, Andaman Islands, and St. Helena - -	7,41,844		74,184
The interest upon the debts at Bengal, per No. 18, paid in the year ct. rup.	44,85,590	£. 448,559	2,570,074
At Madras, No. 19, pag.	2,06,434	82,573	
At Bombay, as stated in the account laid before the house last year, no actual statement having been received	9,88,863	111,244	
Total interest to be deducted			642,376
			1,927,698
To this adding the amount received from the sale of import goods and per certificate, per No. 15, ct. rs.		48,98,387	489,839
The total sum applicable to the purchase of investment, payment of commercial charges, &c. is			2,417,537

DEBTS.

The debts in India by last year's statements, amounted to c. rs.		9,08,45,508	9,084,550
By account, No. 16, the amount is		7,85,74,049	7,857,404
Decrease of debts in India		1,22,71,459	1,227,146
Remitted home by account No. 17 - -	34,58,831		
Bills drawn since dates of accounts, by No. 16 -	31,36,646		
			65,95,477

Deduct

Deduct	65,95,477	659,548
Debts actually paid in India, besides what transferred home, c. rs.	56,75,982	567,598
Debts bearing interest by last year's statement - - -	6,93,39,432	6,933,943
By present account, No. 16 - -	6,32,23,287	6,322,329
Decrease of debt bearing interest	61,16,145	611,614
Annual amount of interest by last year's account - -	59,22,097	592,210
By present account, No. 16 - -	51,78,256	517,826
Decrease of annual interest	7,43,841	74,384

ASSETS.

Value of cash, bills, goods, and debts owing to the company, stated last year at	7,61,67,983	7,616,798
Ditto, ditto, by No. 21 - -	8,73,37,911	8,733,791
Increased value of assets	1,11,69,928	1,116,993
The decrease of debts there, as before stated - - -	1,22,71,459	1,227,146
Adding decrease of debts in increase of assets, the affairs in India appear better by	2,34,41,387	2,344,139

CHINA and ST. HELENA.

Balance in favour of the company last year - - -		805,955
Ditto this year, No. 24 - -		1,080,881
Better in China and St. Helena		274,926

AT HOME.

In an average estimate laid before the house last year, the amount of sales of goods was taken at - -		£. Sterl. 4,988,300
Actual sale amount - -		4,887,127
Less than estimated		101,173
Charges and profit on private trade estimated - - - -	70,000	
Actual amount - - -	95,840	
More than estimated		25,840
Difference between estimate and actual		75,333

Actual

Actual amount received for goods in the year	4,389,458
The company having been obliged to give more credit than usual by 497,669 over the 1st of March	
India debt paid off in the year	1,008,637
Bond debt ditto	1,028,475
Debts paid off	2,037,112
Amount to be received for goods sold in present year estimated at	5,426,358
India debt estimated to be paid in this year	972,126
Total of India debt paid, and to be paid in two years	1,980,763
Last year's act directs only 500,000l. a year to be paid.	
More India debt paid than ordered by the act	980,763
More goods sold not paid for than expected	497,669
More paid and less received	1,478,432
Debts at home, including transferred debt according to last year's account, exclusive of capital stock	7,604,629
Amount of ditto at present	7,006,500
Decrease of debts	598,129
After paying 250,000l. to government, and including 250,000l. among the debts.	

ASSETS AT HOME.

The assets at home making the account exactly similar to the second part of No. 23, amounted last year to	9,229,173
By No. 23 the amount is	9,888,836
Increased value of effects at home	659,663
Add decrease of debts to increase of assets —the affairs at home appear better by	1,257,792

GENERAL COMPARATIVE VIEW.

Debts less, and assets more in India than in last year's accounts	2,344,139

Debts

Brought forward		2,344,139
Debts in China and St. Helena, per No. 24		274,926
Ditto at home - - - - -		1,257,792
		3,876,857
But towards this there was raised by new capital - - - - -	2,000,000	
And cargoes arrived from India since, making their stock accounts - -	207,108	
		2,207,108
Net improvement in the company's affairs by reduction of debts and increase of assets - - -		1,669,749

The reason why the average produce of the revenue of Bengal was less during the three last years, was owing to a reduction of the duty on salt. The revenues of Madras would, he said, in future be equal to its expenditure; those of Bombay, from the inaccuracy of the company's servants there, he was unable to state, but had estimated the revenue for 1794, 100,000l. less than he was sure it would produce. He did not, he said, mean to state the balance as likely to be permanent; but he could say, with confidence, that there would be a permanent balance of more than two millions, applicable to the purchase of investment and the liquidation of debt. He stated the prosperous situation in which our East Indian possessions were; we had annihilated the only European power on the continent of India that could rival us, we had humbled the only native power that could distress us. He mentioned the confidence of the native powers as a source of security, and the advantages arising in India from a permanent security for the possession of land on a certain tenure. The quantity of circulating specie had, he said, also been increased in different ways. The regulation of the courts of justice by lord Cornwallis was a great addition to the happiness, and consequently to the population of the country. The reduction of interest, and the acquisition of territory on the Malabar coast, were the means and the proofs of prosperity.

The estimates abroad, Mr. Dundas said, had been exceeded by the actual produce, and the sales at home had failed to the amount of 878,873l. owing to the state of commercial credit, and the quantity of goods for sale being less than expected; but the distress of commercial credit being removed, an additional quantity of goods would be called for to make up the deficiency of last year. With all the additional charges from the war, and the deficit of sales, the company had been able to pay off more than 500,000l. of their debt at home. Mr. Dundas augured very confidently upon the increasing prosperity of the company. He said it might be asked, why then apply to the public for relief? Why borrow money? This, he said, the company did not ask; they only asked leave to increase their own capital, an indulgence to which they were fully entitled. In order to this he moved for leave to bring in a bill, enabling the company to continue their bonded debt at two millions, and to issue new bonds for one million more;

more; which was agreed to without a division.

On the 8th of April Mr. Harrison brought forward a motion respecting sinecure places and pensions. He did not, he said, desire to deprive gentlemen of the rewards due to their present or former services, but thought those who had neither of these claims ought, in the present exigencies of this country, to contribute largely. Sinecure places and pensions were, he thought, fair objects of resource, at a time when every resource which the country could procure appeared necessary. He thought at such a time there was a peculiar propriety in the servants of the crown, who enjoyed large emoluments, giving an example of promptitude to serve the state. It would make the poor more cheerfully bear their burden; it would shew them they were in earnest when they talked of the calamity of the war, and be a sure proof of their willingness to put an end to it. It would be a means of shortening the present calamitous war, and enable government to make more strenuous efforts in the contest. This bill was, he said, not intended to touch any pension below 200l. per annum. Out of the net produce of an efficient place amounting to 400l. a year, he proposed one-fourth should be appropriated to the public service. Out of sinecure places and pensions of 400l. a year and upwards, he proposed to appropriate to the public one-half, and the whole of any sinecure place held by a person who had another, and an efficient place under government. Of these, however, he excepted the judges, the speakers of both houses of parliament, ambassadors, and officers of the army and navy. He quoted as a precedent the motion of admiral Russel in 1691, for relinquishing a part of every salary, in which the house had then been willing to concur. He was averse, he said, to mention any thing relative to another kingdom; but he desired gentlemen to recollect, that it was the luxury, and resistance to reform in the higher orders, which produced all the miseries of France. He concluded by moving for a bill to appropriate certain parts of salaries, &c. to the use of the public during the continuance of the war, and also to appropriate part of the emoluments of efficient places, so that they shall not amount to more than a specific sum.

A debate ensued, in which the favourers of the motion mentioned, as an inducement for its adoption, the great distress of the poor, particularly in the city of Norwich, where the poor rates, which before the war were 9000l. a year, were now increased to 21,000l. The call which had lately been made for voluntary subscriptions, and the propriety of the minister surrendering his sinecure, were also hinted at. To this it was replied, that the Norwich manufactures had suffered from an edict of the empress of Russia, forbidding the manufactures of Norwich, and not from the war; that the minister fully deserved all he had got; that the motion was useless, and contrary to the wishes of a great majority of the people; and that it was calculated to confirm the seditious opinion, that a greater sum was paid by the people for the government than it was worth.

Mr. Burke treated the motion as a jest, and considered the proposition as a flagrant invasion of the rights and properties of individuals, rights which were as sacred as that of any landed property. He compared the present measure to those

those which had occasioned the ruin of France. He considered the emoluments of office as absolutely necessary for the support of its dignity, and thought the salaries of the servants of the crown were far from adequate to their services. As a measure of resource it was, he said, trifling and inadequate; as a matter of policy, mistaken. If the poor were only to be relieved in this way, then let them submit to the will of God. He noticed the impropriety of considering the accidental and fluctuating circumstances of manufactures and commerce as a ground of imputation on the executive government. Money, he said, was not the means whereby distressed manufacturers were to be relieved; to give them money would be to make them idle; if they chanced by misfortune to fall into poverty or distress, their sole relief must be from heaven. In answer to a sarcasm which had been made in the course of debate on the means by which the minister had come into power, he thought that had nothing to do with the subject; that it was the peculiar province of the crown to measure and distribute the portion of rewards to the merit of its servants, and he was astonished the house should be called upon to interfere in a matter not within the scope of their ordinary functions.

Mr. Sheridan professed the utmost astonishment at the sentiments just delivered, and adverted to Mr. Burke's having himself branded the mode in which the minister had attained his present power, and to his celebrated bill which limited the civil list, and restricted the amount of salaries, &c. The minister had, he said, limited the salaries of the first lord of the treasury, &c. and thus trenched upon the asserted right of the crown. He asked whether the hon. gentleman meant to assert that the crown possessed the sole right of judging what rewards were to be bestowed upon the public servants? If he did, he would ask who was obliged to pay those rewards? The money belonged to the public; they were the servants of the public; and even parliament were the servants of the people. To say that the salaries of ministers, &c. were only limitable by his majesty, was an unconstitutional and dangerous declaration. The hon. gentleman had asserted the proposition would embarrass government and the country; but in the American war he had stated sinecures, &c. as the origin of all the calamities of the country. The leading feature of his bill was to shew the evils attendant upon enormous places, and to induce a reform. He contended that the savings would be much greater under the present bill than under that of Mr. Burke. Observing a member writing (Mr. Rose), he claimed his assistance in calculating the amount. He reprobated the custom of affecting to contemn every attempt at amendment. If every thing we held dear was really at stake, it was not surely preposterous to call upon those who gained the most by the present system, to give up a part for the preservation of the remainder. The French, instead of conceiving our resources exhausted by this measure, would only see greater cause to dread us when they saw corruption cutting up by the roots. If it was necessary to our existence to conquer the French, we must beat them at their own weapons. It had been stated in a former debate, that property in France to the amount of 400l. a year was effective only to 120l. and he wished ministers, &c. holding places to adopt

this proportion, which at four years purchase would produce no inconsiderable income. Mr. Sheridan mentioned, that if the teller of the exchequer (marquis of Buckingham) were to give up 8000l. a year, it would make up the sum of 32,000l. The ranger of the park (lord Grenville) might also apply 4000l. the amount of his place, which he affected not to make use of, but which was in fact no saving to the public. The other secretary of state, out of his multiplied places, might give up at least one of his places to some patriotic purpose. A part of the profits of an hon. gentleman (Mr. Rose) expert at calculation, might also be added, of whose places he had just had a list put into his hand; which being desired to read, he enumerated clerk of the parliament, master of the pleas, surveyor of the green wax, secretary to the treasury, &c. &c.

The house had, he said, been accustomed to hear of the reduction of the national debt, but it was a dream which never could be realized. For, were peace established immediately, our naval, military, and civil establishments would be higher than ever. Nothing was, he said, to be looked to, but that the plea of necessity would be brought in from time to time to justify the repetition of new loans. What prospect was there of the reduction of our debt, when, in a ten years peace, the minister had not been able to arrive at the peace establishment which had been settled by a committee of the house? Those gentlemen who were alarmed with the novelty of the present motion, he begged to remember, that in February 1783 the present chancellor of the exchequer moved for leave to bring in a bill, which was in fact only a continuation of Mr. Burke's.

Mr. Rose called the attention of the house to Mr. Burke's bill, which expresly required compensation for those who were aggrieved by it. He never had, he said, questioned the discretionary power of the house to direct the management of the sums voted to the king for the support of his ministers. He stated the savings that had already taken place. Under the notion of an economical reform in 1782, and a subsequent inquiry by the treasury, 278 offices had been abolished; and the expences reduced from 171,000l. to 60,000l. The salaries of the exchequer office had been reduced from 45,000l. to 17,800l. The offices of the auditors of the impress were brought down from 44,000l. to 7000l. The pension list, since 1783, was reduced above 48,000l. Sinecures in the customs to the amount of 130, and the expence of which was 10,680l. had been suppressed during the same period. In the excise there was a saving of 12,000l. Contracts, commissions, loans, and lotteries, were now, he said, put under such regulations as prevented any possible corruption.

Mr. Fox said he differed from the hon. mover respecting sinecure places for lives. If a place was once bestowed, it should be held sacred. If the giver possessed a legal right to bestow, the property should be held as immoveable as any other. He vindicated the propriety of the bill, on the ground that ministers having gone out of the legal road in order to support the war, and justified their doing so on the principle that it animated the people, it was highly expedient to call upon those for aid whose business it peculiarly was to manifest

fest zeal. Justice demanded that money should be levied in proportion to the means and to the extraordinary advantage derived from office. As to the boasted reformation in the treasury, the advantages to be hoped from such a reform were founded on principles not so much of economy as of influence. He desired the house to compare however the influence then and the influence now, particularly in Ireland and India. The flourishing state of the country was not, he thought, much shewn by the additional taxes this year to the amount of 900,000l. Commerce was diminished, manufactures decayed, the poor's rate increased, and the land fallen in value: in this situation of affairs he thought every thing should be done to remove the burden from the people.

The chancellor of the exchequer ridiculed the idea contained in the preceding speech, which, he said, amounted to this, that he would balance the impropriety of voluntary contributions in the first instance by compelling contributions in the second. He charged the gentlemen on the other side of the house with the inconsistency of reprobating voluntary subscriptions as illegal and compulsory, and then proposing this bill in aid of that measure. If the aim of the present motion was a diminution of the influence of the crown, it must fall short of that end; to effect which, the matter should be systematic and permanent, and should not profess reform, when it meant only a temporary supply. It held out, he said, false principles, and went to mark out with an exclusive tax a body of men who merited a very different distinction. Was the country, instead of a flourishing, in a desperate situation, the house would not, he thought, recur to a measure like the present, which could neither heal breaches nor afford consolation. From a review of the state of the country, he contended that the nation had the fullest cause for exultation. On a division there appeared for the motion 50, against it 119.

In the course of this debate, Mr. Rose stated, that measures were in agitation for letting the crown lands at a value greatly increased. A bill for this purpose was accordingly brought into the house, and passed.

On Monday the 28th of April Mr. Dundas delivered a message from his majesty, importing that he had ordered to be laid before the house a copy of a treaty with the states general and the king of Prussia, and a convention between them and the states general, for the purpose of carrying on the war, relying on the support of his faithful commons for the vigorous prosecution of the war, &c. Mr. Dundas finished by moving that the message should be taken into consideration on the following Wednesday.

Mr. Pitt, on being much pressed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, &c. respecting the terms of the treaty, stated, that his Prussian majesty had agreed to furnish 62,000 troops, which was 30,000 beyond his contingent; for which his Britannic majesty had agreed to pay him 50,000l. a month, 100,000l. a month for forage, 400,000l. to put the army in motion, and 100,000l. on their return; in all, for the remaining nine months of the present year, thirteen hundred and fifty thousand pounds: the whole year would amount to 1,800,000l. out of which the states general were to pay 400,000l.

The ensuing day Mr. Curwen introduced

troduced a discussion on the Prussian subsidy. He denied the necessity of the war, and charged the minister with having endeavoured to prevent the people from forming just opinions on the subject by holding out false alarms. He noticed the shifting object of the war, the enormous terms of the subsidy, and the probability that the house would be called upon for a further vote of credit. These were points of such importance, that he thought ample time should be given for the people to consider before they pledged themselves for a prosecution of the war. He therefore moved the delay of a fortnight in the prosecution of this business.

Mr. Whitbread strongly objected to the precipitancy evinced by ministers in carrying on this measure. It was impossible for him and his colleagues to withstand the torrent which he feared threatened the ruin of the country, and he earnestly wished for a delay in the present business. Many arguments in favour of the motion were advanced by Mr. Taylor, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Harrison. The minister, however, though urged, declined saying any thing, and the motion was negatived by a majority of 79.

On the following day the house entered into the consideration of his majesty's message. The chancellor of the exchequer directed the attention of gentlemen to the two objects of his majesty's message, the treaty, and the provision to be made for it. It would, he said, have been much more satisfactory to him if the king of Prussia had continued to act from his own resources, and it might be a matter of question, whether the court of Berlin ought not to have continued its exertions, even under the most severe pressure, rather than solicit assistance. But Prussia, it must be allowed, had not the same resources for carrying on the war as the other powers, and particularly not in so transcendant a degree as this country. How much soever the secession of the king of Prussia might be disapproved of, if his efforts could be at all effectual to the purpose of the war, it is still desirable to secure the use of them. It remained then, he said, only to be considered what proportion the force secured for the service bore to the stipulated expence.

Mr. Pitt recapitulated the terms he had stated on a former night, and said two questions presented themselves on this topic. Whether, engaged as we were in the war, it was material to us to have the co-operation of such a force, and whether we could have it to the same extent from any other quarter from which it might have been more desirable? The first of these he determined in the affirmative; the second in the negative. A third consideration, he said, only remained, which was respecting the reasonableness of the terms. They amounted to 13l. per man, including levy money, equipment, &c. At home, independent of arms, clothing, &c. the levy money amounted to 15l. The levy money in Hanover to 13l. The prince of Hesse and others in our pay received indeed for their men only 8l. each, but then we paid them large subsidies. We should, he said, pay the king of Prussia a much less sum than for British troops, or indeed for Hanoverians or Hessians. He thought it highly unreasonable if any should expect to secure the co-operation of such a power as Prussia, without giving some scope to the military spirit of the troops, and the thirst of military

tary glory in the monarch. We did not therefore, he said, acquire the exclusive direction of the troops; but they were to be employed in concert with British arms and for British purposes. Mr. Pitt entered into an account of former subsidiary treaties with the great continental powers, to prove that the terms of those exceeded the present treaty. He eloquently expatiated upon the joy and satisfaction in the country, having the good fortune to secure the effectual co-operation of the king of Prussia. He then proposed a vote of credit to enable his majesty to fulfil his engagements, and ended by moving, "that it was the opinion of the committee, that a sum not exceeding two millions five hundred thousand pounds be granted to his majesty for the service of the year 1794, to enable his majesty to make good his engagement with the king of Prussia, to be raised by way of loan on exchequer bills, &c."

From the tenor of the preceding speech, Mr. Fox contended that the minister had represented the king of Prussia as so ill-advised, that he had taken the weak, the wicked, the shameful, the scandalous alternative of abandoning the war, his own honour, and the interest of his own subjects; and that this being the case, Great Britain was to come forward and press the king of Prussia to proceed against this advice; and that this country will bear his expences. He wished to ask whether the whole of the argument was not applicable to all the combined powers now at war with France? They had all the same difficulty with regard to their wealth and commerce, and all except the Dutch the defect with respect to their constitution, as Prussia. What was to be expected from this, but that eventually the whole expence might fall upon us? When this was coupled to the avowed object of the war, the total destruction of the French government, the situation of this country was dreadful. From our conduct it should seem that we had been originally attacked in it, and Prussia not at all: the fact, however, we well knew, was, that Prussia originally began it; and possibly it was that very beginning of his which brought on the aggression made by the French upon Holland, and involved us in the contest. It was hardly possible, he said, for the mind of man to conceive a pretence more odious, and liable to suspicion of every kind, than this conduct of the king of Prussia. It contained such a mixture of perfidy, fraud and meanness, as was unparalleled in all modern political history. Having involved us, he now shifted the burden from himself. His conduct was so bad, that it was impossible for any man of the least prudence to trust that court in any thing; yet this was the court to which the people of this country were then to pay 1,350,000l. for carrying on a war which its king had himself commenced. He argued to shew the probability that further assistance would probably be required from us from the same quarter, and that possibly from the success of the present application. He strongly ridiculed the phrase that it was a day of joy and satisfaction to England, and compared it to the joy which might be expected from a patient who was told that he would soon die of a mortification if his limb were not amputated. He accused the minister of a quibble respecting the treaty with Prussia against the house of Austria, of which he had taken a

view. He did not, he said, expect to hear that it was a matter of joy and satisfaction to the people of this country, that when their money was voted for the maintenance of an army, some authority of their own was not to have command and controul over them. It was not very prudent to entrust the command to a prince, who, by his own declaration, had been too improvident of his own to carry on the war he had commenced. He wished to know what security we had for the Dutch payments. At any rate they had agreed only for a year, we to the end of the war. Mr. Fox condemned the conduct of this country towards the Dutch, in holding out that it was an object of the war to obtain for them the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt, an object which had since been contemned in indecent terms by an hon. gentleman (Mr. Burke). In fact, he said, he never had believed that this was an object. Mr. Fox proceeded to shew the improbability of subsidizing the king of Prussia being effectual, as the other combined powers were in distressed circumstances. If report spoke truth, he said, the king of Prussia had made this application to other powers before it came to us; others had had an opportunity of sharing in the glories of this day, but it had been reserved exclusively for Great Britain. They had been totally unable; and if so, we were to be the only power who were able to advance any more wealth, and it became us to look our situation manfully in the face, and to see what the probability was of our being able to bear it. He thought then our resources very great, but they were not infinite. He called the attention of the house to the probable effect upon the people of such accumulated expence, and that for an unattainable object; and concluded by moving an amendment, that instead 2,500,000l. the sum should be 1,500,000l.

Mr. Windham reiterated the arguments of the chancellor of the exchequer, and added, that whatever had been the conduct of Prussia, when such assistance was necessary, who was there that would not give the terms proposed by the treaty? On a division there appeared in favour of the amendment 33, against it 134.

On the report of the committee another debate took place, in which Mr. Sheridan stated his opinion, that instead of granting to the king of Prussia the subsidy demanded, it would be much more advantageous, in the present circumstances of the enemy, to call upon him for the performance of the treaty of 1788, by which we should have 32,000 troops a year for the sum of 600,000l. of which the Dutch would have to defray 200,000l. and employ the remainder of the sum granted for the subsidy in a way more advantageous to the public. He censured the present subsidy as extravagant in a high degree. He asked whether the 62,000 troops agreed for by the king of Prussia were or were not in readiness. If we were to wait for them, the stipulation was a gross imposition, that we might advance our money for nothing; if on the other hand they were ready, it was a gross imposition to call upon us by way of subsidy to produce an army which he could produce without our assistance. From the conduct of his Prussian majesty, he argued to prove the impolicy of trusting to his fulfilling his agreement after he received the stipulated sum, which was to be paid before

before he moved a single soldier. Some disturbances might arise in his newly acquired territory in Poland, and afford a plea for breaking the treaty. He moved an amendment, that all that part of the resolution of the committee which relates to the king of Prussia shall be omitted, so that the resolution would stand only as a vote of credit for two millions and a half.

Mr. Martin and Mr. Fox supported the amendment. The latter wished to know in what situation the king of Prussia stood, whether as a principal in the war, or a prince who hired out troops? If his majesty was a mere hirer of troops, he thought it very extraordinary that the command should not be in the person who hired the troops.—The price to be paid for them was greater than for any troops over which we had the command; and having no command over them, it was enormous indeed. He compared the present treaty with that to Sardinia, and the treaty of 1756 with Frederick king of Prussia, and contended that the present, compared with that, was in the proportion of fourteen to one against us. He spoke of the behaviour of the king in the present instance as tricking and shuffling; as saying, when the question related to expence, that he was not equally interested in the war, and therefore we must bear the whole; but when it was a question who should command the troops, he was then a principal. In his usual forcible manner Mr. Fox called upon the house to consider how they could answer it to their constituents, to vote away such a prodigious sum, and that with so much precipitation, as did not admit of receiving any instructions upon the subject.

Mr. Pitt said, that on the face of the treaty, the king of Prussia was certainly a principal in the war, but unable to carry it on without pecuniary assistance; and his force for which we engaged to pay, was to be employed for our advantage, and the conquests to be made in the name of the maritime powers. He entered into a vindication of the treaty, which, he observed, differed greatly from that with the late king of Prussia, whose troops were to be employed solely for his own defence; Sardinia was subsidized for the same object. It would, he said, be unreasonable to suppose, that the king of Prussia would now lend us such a body of troops upon the same terms for which he agreed to furnish them in consequence of a defensive war, and for which he was to look for an equivalent assistance from his maritime allies, in case he should be attacked.

A message from his majesty on the same occasion was at the same time delivered in the house of lords. On taking it into consideration, lord Grenville stated, that the practice of this country in former wars with France, had always been either to form continental alliances, or to subsidize such powers as were inclined to lend us their assistance. This had been done, not from our inability to raise land troops, but from economy, and to prevent any injury to husbandry, &c. By a violence altogether the reverse of this, the French were able to bring into short-lived action an unheard of force: but so far were we from taking such violent steps, that he would take upon him to assert, that there never was a time when the pressure of war was so little felt by the interior of the country. The exertions of France, however, rendered exertions on our part additionally necessary. The

object of the war being such as it was, no expence ought to be spared in accomplishing it. On this opinion, ministers finding Prussia no longer able to incur the expence of supporting her armies, had concluded the present treaty. His lordship's statement of the expence coincided with that of Mr. Pitt in the house of commons. The army engaged was, he said, numerous, disciplined, ready and efficient; add to this, we engaged one of the first powers on the continent on our side, who would otherwise have withdrawn himself. He ended with moving for the thanks of the house to his majesty, assuring him of the readiness of the house to concur in enabling him to fulfil his part of the treaty.

The marquis of Lansdowne censured the precipitation with which the house was called upon to examine a question of such magnitude and importance. The present treaty gave perfectly a new aspect to the war, in which we set out with Austria and Prussia for leaders; and Prussia, not only the most eager, but in fact so much the author, that the late unfortunate queen of France always dreaded the eagerness of Prussia, as likely to involve her brother. It had then never entered into the head of his Prussian majesty, that we, far removed not only from all danger, but from all interest in the war, could be so absurd and stupid to take a part. He was even surprised and concerned to hear that we had involved ourselves in the war; yet this very principal had now withdrawn himself, but left us the least and last concerned to become the head, and to sustain the whole burden of the war. It surely, he said, became us to reflect before we engaged to pay a subsidy unprecedented for enormity in all the last wars in which we had ever been engaged; and what war had ever received any other epithet after the passion of the day had subsided? The subsidy of 1756 had been instanced as a precedent; there had never been two opinions on the folly, extravagance, and absurdity of that act, which had been confessed to be an unadvised and impolitic measure, even by the minister who brought it in. As to our securing by it a great leading power in Europe, the marquis thought the same number of troops from inferior powers would have been preferable, since they had no interests which could interfere with ours, or at least no capacity to thwart our views. Here we confounded two characters which ought ever to be kept distinct, that of a principal and servant. A great potentate who had sacred duties to fulfil towards his own dominions, which our views might cross, we expected to bind to the performance of a light pecuniary engagement against the permanent hereditary duties of his sovereignty. He pointed out the different interests of Austria and Prussia; as to ourselves, he knew of no interest on earth that we had in view. His lordship mentioned the probability that the king of Prussia might, from Poland and the north, find he had other occasions for his troops. It would not, he said, be the first instance where a subsidized power had broken a treaty: as an instance his lordship mentioned Hesse Cassel. Suppose Austria were to have success in the present war of partition, that Prussia must regard as ominous to himself. He would not assuredly act upon this treaty to his ruin. In such a case he would act like his uncle; he would laugh at us, he would

would call us a trafficking commercial nation, who thought, by a quantity of guineas, to engage him to overlook the true interests of his people; and he would spurn the bribe. In the renewal of this bloody lease, he thought it might be wise to look back to the last campaign, and see the cause why our efforts had been ineffectual. One obvious cause was the hatred between Prussia and Austria. Did this treaty do any thing to reconcile them? Prussia in his memorable declaration says, that he brought 70,000 of his choicest troops into the field; but he met such unceasing multitudes, that all his efforts were vain. There was evidently then a want of troops, but did we get more now? No, only 62,000, and those not the choicest troops. He stated, that in three years an army was worn out, and two years of the present harassing war must be equal to three of any other war; and shewed the difference that must be expected from the exertions of troops which considered themselves as principals, and a hired force. From the situation of the combined; and the dispositions of the neutral powers, his lordship thought there was nothing that indicated any hopes of success from the present campaign. In addition to all that was wanting to us was, he said, the want of a just cause, and a fair and intelligent object. The best writers on this side of the question, from Mallet du Pan downwards, had owned, that what the most tended to prevent our success was, that a substantial object had not been held up to mankind, and particularly to the people of France. How much more truly might such a change now be adduced! for this treaty confounded all rational hopes; Prussia was to make conquests for the maritime powers. He ridiculed the arrogance of two nations assuming the title of maritime powers. If Prussia had a mind to secede after receiving the stipulated sums, he asked in what court we were to sue such a debtor? Whatever might be the character of the king of Prussia as a gentleman and a man of honour, it was well known that sovereigns held their consciences absolved from common ties. His lordship spoke of our successes in the West Indies, and intimated his wish that ministers should give up all their other pretentions in the war, on the ground of securing these conquests. None of our allies, he contended, retained the appearance of feeling a common cause with us; and from that, and on every other account, his lordship argued against the probability of success from the treaty, and deprecated the measure as pregnant with the most fatal consequences.

The wisdom of the measure was supported by the earl of Mansfield, who said, that if no precedent existed for so large a subsidy, there was no example of so important an occasion. He vindicated the treaty of 1756, which assuredly, he said, was not forced on England. His lordship ridiculed the idea that a more effectual assistance might be obtained from the inferior powers; thought engaging the king of Prussia, who would otherwise have withdrawn himself, was a mighty object, and that he would hold himself bound, not merely from the natural sentiments of his own dignified mind, but from considering that the solid interests of sovereigns, like those of individuals, could only be secured by the sacred maintenance of good faith. To compromise all our expectations and hopes in the war for our possessions in the West

West Indies, would be fatal to the true honour and interests of England. He would himself sooner have his head severed from his body. The earl depicted the present state of France, and said, that the war must be persevered in till such a government was established in France as could give security to the other states.

This declaration was considered by the earl of Lauderdale, as the first open avowal that we were fighting for a certain kind of internal government in France. In the correspondence with M. Chauvelin; in the king's speech on the commencement of hostilities, in the declaration of the Hague, &c. it had been studiously declared that it was not our wish to interfere with the internal government of France.—He asked whether we could confide in the king of Prussia, who had already broken the treaty of 1792, by which he was bound not to relinquish the alliance, nor withdraw from the war, but with mutual consent. It could not be a greater treachery to break the present treaty than to break that; he contended, that the expence to this country, respecting these troops, was stated below its real amount. After wishing the troops of Prussia might find full employment from the gallant and ill-treated Poles, his lordship said, we had no common feelings in this war with Prussia. We thought it so essential as to risque upon it even our existence as a nation—Prussia thought it so little interesting as to require a subsidy of 1,750,000l. a year for continuing the war. The Dutch had no common feeling with us, for they had determined to try the war for this year, and no further. Austria alone appeared to have a common feeling; but, his lordship said, if he might be allowed papers, for which he should move, he would be bound to prove that they had not a common feeling with us. Admitting, however, that they had, he did not conceive Austria could long continue to co-operate, since she was now reduced to the jacobinical arts of finance, pillaging churches, &c. making what she called loans in every country, and now trying one here; and thus the whole war was to be maintained by British capital. From the quelling of the insurrections in La Vendée, &c. his lordship thought the object to be attained by the war was ten times more difficult than ever. Much as he detested the atrocities of Robespierre, equal horrors were daily perpetrated by Russia, which were only tolerated because they were permanent. Who could say that we were to fight against Robespierre because his tenets disturbed the tranquillity of his neighbours, and yet be reconciled to Russia and Prussia? But it was said that 30,000 men could not otherwise have been obtained for the war in Europe. If this were true, how hopeless was our state! The campaign would exhaust double the number at least, and we had no further resource. As these troops were said to be cheaper than our other mercenaries, and we had 40,000 more foreign troops, his lordship observed, that we must pay at least three millions a year to foreign powers for men only, in addition to our own expences, and this to establish Louis XVII. It was said that France was using up its capital; and were not we doing the same? Every shilling of money funded was a part of our capital lavished and lost for ever. With respect to the country having never felt so little from the pressure of war, his lordship said he would leave

leave the attention to the feelings of the country, and to the knowledge of the manufacturing towns; but never in the *second* year of a war had such an impression been made on the country. In one manufacturing town, one justice of the peace had attested 23,000 soldiers taken from manufactures; in another a magistrate had attested 12,000.

Lord Hawkesbury denied that the object of the war was changed, and spoke as usual of *indemnity* and security, the latter of which could not be obtained from the present government of France. His lordship contended, that living as they were on their capital, and wasting the whole, it must end—when he could not predict—but it would be a sudden explosion, and break up at once. It would then not be for us to dictate to them a form of government; but it was obvious that there must be erected in France a strong executive government. It was urged in addition to this by lord Auckland, that he had always thought this a war which was to be waged *usque ad internecionem*. On a division of the house, the contents were 99, noncontents 6.

CHAPTER VI.

Conspiracy against the King and Constitution.—The Secretaries and other Members of the Constitutional and Corresponding Societies arrested and imprisoned.—Message from his Majesty relative to the supposed Conspiracy.—Motion for a Secret *Committee.—Report of the Secret Committee.—Debates on the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in the House of Commons.—Secret Committee appointed by the Lords.—Their Report.—Debate in the House of Lords on that Subject.—On the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.—Second Report of the Secret Committee in the House of Lords—in the Commons.—Debates on the Address to his Majesty on the Royal Message.—Marquis of Lansdowne's Motion respecting America.—Mr. Sheridan's Motion on the same Subject.—Mr. Sheridan's Motion for a New Military Test.—Duke of Bedford's Motion for Peace.—Mr. Fox's Motion on the same Subject.—Thanks voted to Lord Howe, Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis by both Houses.—Debates on a Vote of Thanks to Lord Hood.—City Militia Bill.—Debate concerning the Money issued to the King of Prussia.—Parliament prorogued.—Dispute with America.—Changes in Administration.—New Peers.—Corsica annexed to the British Crown.—Chinese Embassy.—Riots at Crimping Houses.—State Trials.*

THE alarms which had arisen in the latter end of the year 1792, concerning the dangerous conspiracies of the democratic party in England, had been suffered to subside, and no prosecution had been instituted, nor any measures taken to bring to light the supposed traitors, till the parliamentary session of 1794 had been far advanced.—On a subject of so much delicacy we would wish to divest ourselves of every prejudice, and to view the facts, if possible, in the same light in which they will be contemplated by distant posterity. That there have existed disaffected persons in every society, since the first institution of civil government, no man conversant in history will deny; that England for a century past has contained a number of speculative republicans is almost equally evident. While we admit this, we must

must also admit, that many persons who have been strenuous advocates for a parliamentary reform have been not less determined friends to monarchy than the most bigoted tory; indeed the contrary supposition would involve in the charge of republicanism the present chancellor of the exchequer, and some of the most distinguished characters in administration; and so far was Mr. Pitt himself from supposing that the desire of reforming parliament implied a conspiracy to establish a republic on the ruins of the monarchy; that even in 1792 he did not attempt to implicate the subjects; and though certain societies had long existed for the express promotion of the former object, no prosecution or even accusation had been commenced against them.

The first rumour of a conspiracy in 1792, when the chancellor of the exchequer pledged himself "that such a conspiracy did actually exist," seems to have applied only to the practices of certain undiscovered foreign agents, dispersed throughout England; for upon that plea, and upon that only, the alien bill was passed. Our readers will remember that the suspicion of treason was afterwards attempted to be indirectly attached to certain persons in opposition; but those insinuations were completely quashed by the very manly and spirited motion of Mr. Sheridan in 1793. Though, however, Mr. chancellor Pitt had solemnly pledged his veracity to the existence of the conspiracy (and of his honour and integrity it would be a crime to express or intimate a doubt), yet he does not seem to have made a full discovery of the actual conspirators till the month of May 1794; and this discovery appears, by the most authentic documents, by the reports of the secret committee afterwards instituted, and by the indictment since filed at the Old Bailey, to have entirely resulted from the *subsequent* acts of these conspirators.

Unintimidated, it appears, by the royal proclamation, and by the loyal associations in the beginning of 1793, the society for constitutional information, and another society called the corresponding society, which was still more extensive, and which, dividing into branches or districts, included an immense number of members of the middle and lower classes of society in London, had issued several advertisements and publications offensive to administration, the avowed object of which however was the promotion of a reform in the representation of the people. They had also held some public meetings, and particularly one at Chalk Farm in the vicinity of Hampstead, where it was said some intemperate speeches had been pronounced, and some toasts bordering upon sedition had been given. They also had held communication with certain other societies at Sheffield, &c. and had deputed delegates to the celebrated Scottish convention, which they speedily proposed to replace by another of a similar description. Whether therefore these men were the authors or not of the conspiracy which ministers affirmed to exist in the year 1792, or whether that was a different conspiracy, the authors of which have not yet been discovered, ministers conceived it their duty to lose no time in proceeding against the principal members of these societies.

In pursuance of this determination, therefore, on Monday the 12th of May, 1794, Mr Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker, in Piccadilly, who had acted as secretary to the London

London corresponding society, and Mr. Daniel Adams, the secretary to the society for constitutional information, were apprehended by a warrant from Mr. Dundas, for treasonable practices, and their books and papers seized. Mr. Horne Tooke, Mr. Jeremiah Joyce, preceptor to lord Mahon, and Mr. John Thelwall, who had for some time entertained the town in the character of a political lecturer, were afterwards, in the course of the week, arrested and committed to the Tower, on a charge of high treason.

On the same day (May 12) Mr. Dundas brought down to the house a message from the king, importing, that seditious practices had been carried on by certain societies in London, in correspondence with other societies; that they had lately been pursued with increasing activity and boldness, and been avowedly directed to the assembling of a pretended general convention of the people, in contempt and defiance of the authority of parliament, on principles subversive of the existing law and constitution, and tending to introduce that system of anarchy prevailing in France. That his majesty had given orders for seizing the books and papers of these societies, which were to be laid before the house. That it was recommended to the house to consider them, and to pursue such measures as were necessary, in order to prevent their pernicious tendency.

These voluminous papers were the following day brought down sealed to the house of commons by Mr. Dundas, and the address was moved for by the chancellor of the exchequer, who mentioned his intention of afterwards proposing that they should be referred to a committee of secrecy, that the whole of the transactions might not be prematurely laid before the public, so as to render future necessary measures abortive. The address passed without a dissentient voice. But a committee of *secrecy* was opposed by Mr. Fox, who called upon the minister either to cite a precedent for the measure, or to shew sufficient grounds for deviating from all rule. Mr. Pitt cited several precedents, in particular Layer's plot in 1722, and justified the expediency of the measure. The object before the house, he said, touched nothing less than the very existence of parliament. The precedent of Layer was opposed by Mr. Fox as irrelevant, since the house had been in possession of the business previous to its reference to a secret committee. He wished to be informed in what mode the papers had been obtained; whether the seizure had been made on the grounds of seditious practices, or an allegation that the persons implicated had been guilty of an overt act of treason. From the resolution on the journals of the house (in Mr. Wilkes's case), seizing papers for seditious practices, or any thing short of treason, was illegal. Mr. Dundas declared the warrants to be grounded on allegations for treasonable practices, and the affair was referred to a secret committee of 21 members chosen by ballot.

* It is absolutely necessary to insert the following note from Mr. Plowden's History, as it involves a matter of fact: how far his information was authentic, it is impossible for us to decide.

"The balloting for this committee may possibly have been influenced by the notes which were said on this occasion to have been sent from the treasury to their friends, entreating their attendance, and enclosing a list of the committee that was actually *selected*." Plowden's Short History, 1794, p. 128.

On

On the 16th of May the first report of the committee was brought up by Mr. Pitt, and read by the clerk. It contained an account of the proceedings of the society for constitutional information, and of the London corresponding societies, together with their communications with other societies within the realm from the year 1792, the greater part of which had been published as advertisements in the public papers. Mr. Pitt stated, that it had appeared to the committee that a plan had been digested and acted upon, and was then in forwardness for its execution, the object of which was to assemble a pretended convention of the people, for the purpose of assuming the character of a general representation of the nation, superseding the representative capacity of the house, and arrogating the legislative power of the country at large. It would be for the house, he said, to consider whether they were impressed with similar opinions. If they were, he could not entertain a doubt of their concluding, that not *one moment* was to be lost in arming the executive power with such additional means as should effectually prevent the execution of such a plan. It was, he said, necessary for the house in considering the report to recollect that much of it was merely introductory; but it was necessary to revert to a date antecedent to the time when the societies had assumed the serious aspect of practical treason, to shew that from the first their views were the same, and that a parliamentary reform was far from being the true object of their intentions. It would appear from the report, that the papers found in that part of the conspiracy, which implicated the two societies, contained two years correspondence with other societies in this and a neighbouring country; and from these, coupled with more *recent* proceedings, it was evident that the plan of a convention had been contemplated from the very outset, and the practice was only reserved till a seasonable occasion should occur. The whole system of insurrection was laid in the monstrous doctrine of the rights of man, which seduced the weak and ignorant to overturn government, law, property, security, and whatever was valuable, which had destroyed whatever was valuable in France, and endangered the safety, if not the existence, of every nation in Europe. The proceedings of all these jacobin societies would appear from the papers to be only comments on that text—a text for the inculcation of which these societies were the disciples here, as their corresponding French brethren were the instruments for disseminating it in France, and extending it by carnage to all other parts of Europe. He stated from the report, that *prior to the enormities of France* a correspondence had been carried on between these societies and the jacobin club, delegates had been sent by them to the national convention, and formally received; and at the time when the jacobin faction which usurped the government had commenced hostilities against Great Britain, these societies had, as far they could, pursued the same conduct, expressed the same attachment to their cause, adopted their appellations, and formed the design of disseminating the same principles. The report would shew that a statement of the manufacturing towns was marked out, as most likely, from the vast concourse of profligate and ignorant men in these places, to adopt their

their plans, and societies had been established there to keep up the chain of seditious intercourse. Sometimes the societies had acted in undisguised and audacious hostility, sometimes wore the appearance of attachment to the state and country. In their letter to the society at Norwich would be seen, a plain avowal of their object, an *apology for designing to apply to parliament*, and a candid confession that they were to look for reform only to the convention they were about to establish. They afterwards advised perseverance in petitioning for reform, as a mask to be thrown off when convenient. Happily that mask had been thrown off when the bulk of the nation were uniting firmly with government in vigilance and zeal for its protection. The convention at Edinburgh, which still retained some slimsy remains of that hypocritical disguise, they styled the representatives of the people, invested with all the rights to reform, and sent delegates to it, asserting the innocence of those members of it who fell under the sentence of the law, and pronouncing them objects of panegyric and envy. In conformity to their prior declarations, they made the legal condemnation of those persons the signal, as they styled it, of *coming to issue upon the point*, "whether the law should frighten them into compliance, or they oppose it with its own weapons, force and power." That was, he said, to say distinctly, "whether they should obey the laws of their country, or oppose them by insurrection*." This was a case as strong as the mind of man could well imagine, but was in fact only introductory to stronger facts. He should call the attention of the house to a society, which, though composed of the meanest and most despicable of the people, who acted upon the worst jacobin principles, had within it the means of the most unbounded extension and rapid increase. It had already risen to thirty divisions in London, some containing six hundred persons, and was connected by a systematical chain of correspondence with other societies scattered through all the manufacturing towns. That society had arrived at such enormous boldness, as to declare itself a power to watch over the progress of parliament, to scan its proceedings, and prescribe limits for its actions, beyond which if it presumed to advance, an end was to be put to the existence of parliament itself. Such language, from people so *contemptible*, might seem the effect of insanity, and therefore deserving only of compassion; but it had been the result of deep design, moulded into shape, and fit for mischievous effects when opportunity should occur. About *six weeks ago* a new æra had, he said, arisen in the history of insurrection. At that period the corresponding society had, in due form, laid before the constitutional society a deliberate and deep-concerted plan for assembling a convention for all England! and evidently to exercise legislative and judicial capacities, to overturn the established system of government, and wrest from the parliament the power lodged in their hands. Within a few weeks the plan was

* One of the reports stated, that in the possession of the different members of these societies (which were estimated at not fewer than 20,000 persons) there were found not less than *eighteen* muskets. They had also a fund for supporting this insurrection, which contained upwards of *nine* pounds sterling.

to be carried into execution; and in their circular letter they emphatically stated, that *no time was to be lost*; and lest their ruinous intentions should be misunderstood, the letter was addressed equally to all parts of the island, and circulated with a share of vigour and address truly astonishing. It declared that a central spot was fixed upon, which they would not venture to name till they had assurances of the fidelity of those to whom they were to disclose it. This central spot was, they said, chosen for the purpose of facilitating the assembling of the delegates from the whole island, and a request was sent to each society to give in an account of their numbers, that their force might be estimated. Of this they informed the society for constitutional information in a letter accompanied by a set of resolutions. All this, Mr. Pitt contended, proceeded from the adoption of jacobinical principles, by wretches who aspired to elevation by the same means. These men had, he said, continued to act upon their *horrible* plan. They had on the 14th of April held a meeting, in which resolutions had been passed, arraigning every branch of the government, threatening the sovereign, insulting the house of peers, and accusing the commons of insufficiency. Notice had been taken of those measures of parliament, which had previously been made the signal of insurrection; and declarations, that if certain measures were pursued, whether with or without the consent of parliament, they should be rescinded, and that the constitution was utterly destroyed. The proof of these allegations was drawn from their own records. If the house was of opinion that this deeply affected the safety of parliament itself, and struck at the root of government and the constitution, so as to demand interference, there was still more to increase the impatience of the house to baffle the views of these conspirators, and destroy their projects. He professed his full belief, that even upon the supposition of a neglect of duty in the executive power in watching over the safety of the British constitution, and the supineness of parliament under these manifestations of sedition, its enemies would still have failed of success. But it was right to prevent, by timely interference, the misery of even a short struggle. The report stated, *that arms had been actually procured and distributed by these societies*; and that so far from breaking up this jacobin army, they had shewn themselves immoveably bent on their pursuit, and displayed preparations of defiance and resistance to government. It remained for the house to consider what was to be done; in doing which they ought not to refer to the quality of the persons, but to the nature and magnitude of the objects they had in view. It would appear that a *conspiracy so formidable had never yet existed**, though the committee had yet far from completed their inquiry. It had, he said, been usual in time of danger to enact a temporary suspension of the *habeas corpus* law. The temporary sacrifice of that law might be, on certain occasions, as necessary to the support of the constitution, as the maintenance of its principles was at others. It had been suspended when the constitution and liberty of the country were most guarded and re-

* Compare this with the verdicts of several honest juries upon *evidence*.

spected,

spected; and such a suspension was more particularly called for at this crisis, when attempts were made to disseminate principles dangerous to that constitution, for the preservation of which the law had been made. Mr. Pitt concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill, "empowering his majesty to secure and detain all persons suspected of designs against his crown and government, &c."

Mr. Fox observed, that after having listened with the utmost attention to the report, and, *in vain*, expecting something which might call for the attention of the house, he had never been more surprised, than to hear that the *worthy* framers of the report should recommend so sudden, so violent, so alarming a remedy as that now proposed—a proposal grounded upon facts notorious for years. He was astonished that the committee should so solemnly call the attention of the house to facts published in every newspaper, and notorious to every one—and, after a long history of these proceedings, call upon the house for its immediate consideration of the probable effects of such events, and of the necessity of putting an end by the most violent means to what had so long been suffered to pass in silence. The report was not, however, confined to a detail of these *stale*, *ridiculous*, and *contemptible* facts; it stated an inference from them. He could not arrive so readily as either the committee or the minister at a conclusion upon these points, taking them even as they were related. Nor would the inference, if fair, justify the measure proposed. He should not consider, then, whether these persons had acted consistently or not. Through the whole course of the business they had wished for a parliamentary reform. The convention at Edinburgh, which had been noticed, in all its proceedings published in the newspapers, had uniformly stated their design to be not to oppose the power of government, but to seek redress of grievances. Was the minister prepared to say such conventions were seditious? He did not know that the minister was ever a member of one, but for his own part he certainly was in the year 1780; and if that was illegal, they carried on their proceedings with great imprudence; they held a public correspondence with societies in Yorkshire and other places; they presented the result of their labours to the house, which refused to recognize them as delegates, but allowed their right to petition as individuals, and received their petition. Such a convention had never till lately been thought either against the letter or spirit of the constitution. If it had been illegal, the minister and many others had been scandalously negligent. A scandalous negligence must have attended the obtaining a free constitution for Ireland. By a convention the Irish catholics had obtained their late privileges. On their first application to parliament, there were only about twenty-five in its favour: but how differently were they received the next year, when they appointed a convention of delegates! In saying this, he did not mean to allege that the proposed convention, in the present case, would be meritorious, but only that it would be dangerous for that house to declare its illegality. There was no charge against these persons, but that they might, of their own authority, attempt to alter the form of parliament; but was any gentleman prepared to say that this very convention

tion would not apply to parliament for a parliamentary reform? The number of persons he conceived not to be very considerable. The misfortunes of the war were likely to excite discontent and resentment, and the late trials in Scotland were likely to alarm every man in England who had the least regard for the principles of liberty. Such a convention as that stated by the minister was, he said, perfectly *ridiculous*; the idea of those persons assuming the authority of government was so *contemptible*, that Bedlam was the only proper receptacle for them. "To pretend alarm on that account must, he said, be *gross affectation*," We can hundred of these persons to issue the orders of government, would they find an hundred to obey them? Supposing, however, this convention assembled by Mr. Hardy and Mr. Adams, and that they had the views ascribed to them, he would then say the measure now proposed was a greater evil than the one it proposed to remedy. Let the house consider the extent of the measure, which was no less than giving to the executive authority absolute power over the personal liberty of every individual in the kingdom." Every man who talked freely, every man, "who like him, from his heart, detested the war," would be in the hands and at the mercy of ministers. We were going to give up the very best part of our constitution, and, considering the restraints which it was calculated to impose, it might be said there was an end to the constitution of England. Mr. Fox contended that the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act under king William, and in the years 1715 and 1745, formed no precedent for the present measure. In those times there was an army in the kingdom in favour of a popish prince claiming a right to the throne, and at a time when the people were divided in opinion as to the right of the house of Hanover. Was there any such prince now? were there any such circumstances now? Nothing like it. Here we saw a number of individuals, *without arms* or means, talking of a reform in parliament. Such being the case, the house would betray its duty to its constituents by supporting the present measure. If however the business was to be persevered in, there ought to be a call of the house, that every member might render himself responsible by his vote: the danger, if any, was nothing when put in competition with the mighty sacrifice proposed. For his own part, he thought the bill would surrender the personal freedom of every man to the caprice of the minister.

The bill was further opposed by Mr. M. Robinson, Mr. Martin, Mr. Lambton, and Mr. Harrison, who proposed that during the suspension of the act the house should continue to sit, and that an account should be rendered by the executive government to that house of all persons apprehended and confined by the bill. With regard to the report, Mr. Harrison noticed, that no circumstance which was not of notorious publicity had been contained in it, except that those people who had been forming a convention had been providing arms, and were ready to use them for illegal purposes. If this were true, of which however there was no proof, it was of itself an overt act of treason, and there were existing laws in the country to find a suitable punishment for such a heinous offence.

Mr. Grey contended that the report

report was so incomplete as not to justify any proceeding upon it. He joined his hon. friend in proposing a call of the house, and wished the report to be printed. He depreciated all the intelligence contained in the report as trumpery, and observed, that almost all the matter contained in it had been published last year, and if worthy of notice, ought to have been attended to when at a meeting of parliament there seemed to some gentlemen to be so much cause for alarm.

The bill was supported by Mr. Burdon and Mr. Wigley, and opposed by Mr. Jekyll on the grounds already stated. He thought the committee had proceeded more upon panic than from any other cause. Had the minister been paid by the enemies of the country, he could not have he'd out better hopes to them than his conduct that night would do. In addition to the defeat of Clairfait, the account of which they would receive about this time, they would have the pleasure of hearing that the people of England were dissatisfied with the government, and suspected so far, that it was necessary to follow up the French practice, and institute a committee of secrecy, of public safety, or whatever else they chose to term it. The conduct of administration had, he said, for some time past tended to put an end to all public or private confidence, and to destroy that happiness and harmony in society, which used to be the characteristic of British subjects.

The bill was ably opposed also by Mr. Sheridan, who said he had waited with much attention to hear some argument used in favour of the measure. He censured, as highly indecent, the impatience shewn by the minister and his friends for the question. The minister's attack upon the people of Great Britain, by telling France that they were so much disaffected and suspected as to make the most harsh measures necessary, was, he said, unfounded, unjust, and impolitic in the highest degree. After all the great exertions and talents of this committee of public safety, instigated as they were by the most tremendous alarms that had ever frightened any country, what had they to shew to the country as a vindication of their conduct, and the fruits of their alarms? What was to be found in this famous report of the *British Barrere*? Shortly this: a number of copies of idle papers that had been printed, published, and circulated in the course of the last two years, and before the commencement of the last sessions of parliament. Why had they not been prosecuted at the time when they appeared? Why did not the attorney general proceed upon the paper signed by Martin, which contained the most criminal matter? Mr. Sheridan declared his belief, not only that no treasonable practices existed in the country, and that *ministers and their friends knew this to be the case*; but that it was necessary *for their views* to keep up, or rather create some new cause of panic, to gain a continuation of power over the people. He firmly believed that they had a full conviction, that no practices existed in the country which could justify the proposal for putting the liberty and property of the people of Great Britain at the discretion of the executive government; a power which never had been, nor ought to be, given but in times of actual rebellion, or imminent and manifest danger, which none could contend was at present

the case. Of all the great men who composed the committee, none had come forward in defence of the measure, or to state grounds for it, but the minister. The principal argument he had used went to prove the illegality of conventions. There had been many conventions in these kingdoms, but none had been thought illegal. He belonged to one society, he believed the hon. gentleman had been also a member, and was certain the duke of Richmond had; and though they joined in the meeting with a view to parliamentary reform, they held their conventions at the Guildhall of London, and thence they published their proceedings and resolutions. It had been said, that the power which was entrusted to the executive government by the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act would not be abused. This he thought he had a right to deny; because, having that day seen the frivolous pretexts upon which this bold and dangerous measure was founded, there was good reason to suppose, that if they had the power to detain persons suspected, they would be very apt to proceed upon suspicions equally frivolous. No man could be safe if they were inclined to misrepresent or distress him. He thought it would be better to make the bill affect every person that belonged to any society for carrying through any political purpose, than to subject every man in Britain to the despotic power of ministers. He further observed, that no limited time was fixed for the duration of the suspension; and said it was impossible, if this bill passed, to satisfy the people that many of those who brought out these seditious publications were not suborned, and employed for the very purpose of exciting and carrying on the system of alarm.

Mr. Burke denied that the Irish catholics had assumed the name of a convention, but only that of a meeting of delegates. Their object, he stated, was special and avowed. That of this convention was an intention to erect itself into a power paramount to that of parliament. It would also appear, that their projects were now in a state of maturity, and they were *furnishing themselves with arms* to enable them to follow the example of France. Even in the extreme case of the measure being abused, he contended it could not have any thing like the bad consequences that would result from suffering this convention to proceed undisturbed. The suspensions of the *habeas corpus* act, by which the chiefs of several disaffected families had been safely locked up in the Tower, had preserved them from ruin, and possibly the present measure might effect similar benefits.

The attorney general justified himself for not having prosecuted those persons who had published the resolutions signed by Mr. Martin, from his inability to trace the combination; and vindicated as necessary the prosecution which had taken place in Scotland, where the proceedings had been more open and undisguised.

Mr. Fox, in reply, mentioned several prosecutions which he thought contrary to law; particularly those of Mr. Walker of Manchester, Mr. Philips at Leicester, and of Mr. Winterbotham; and very handsomely, on this occasion, noticed that of Mr. Frost, for whom he could not be conceived to have any partiality.

The motion for bringing in the bill was carried by a large majority. Upon this Mr. Grey moved a call of the house, that gentlemen might

might have time to consider a proposition of such importance.

It was supported by Mr. Fox, who contended that the delay of one week could not make any material difference as to the object in view: if the object was punishment, there must be criminality, and the present laws were fully adequate to that. If it was merely to prevent the escape of a few guilty persons from justice that demanded so unprecedented a measure, it was scandalous, for a single moment, to surrender the liberties of the whole kingdom on such an account. He lamented that the old established laws, known to the constitution, had not been applied to the evil, if any existed; and contended, that it was an infamous libel on the constitution to say that it was only able to maintain itself in a season of tranquillity. He wished to know how long the suspension was to continue, or how it could be necessary? Was it said, that when we were engaged in a war upon such honourable principles as to be approved by the whole kingdom, and that at a time when there was the most popular administration that ever governed in that kingdom, who had, on every occasion, a majority of ten to one—was it at such a time we thought it necessary to suspend the habeas corpus act, from the apprehension of an insurrection in the heart of the kingdom? The pretences for this measure were, he asserted, the most slimsy and barefaced he had ever witnessed, and the measure the most daring and impudent.

Mr. Grey replied to some expressions which had fallen from the chancellor of the exchequer, and in the course of his speech declared, that however impugned, parliamentary reform was a cause he would never desert, nor would he, to preserve power or gratify ambition, ever become AN APOSTATE.

The bill, on the same evening, rapidly passed through its first and second readings, and was voted into a committee, though the house was several times divided. The report was received at three o'clock in the morning; but the third reading was deferred to the following day, when, as the chancellor of the exchequer was not in the house, Mr. Sheridan proposed an adjournment, which was seconded by Mr. Francis.

During an interesting debate on the occasion, in which the motion was opposed by Mr. Canning, Mr. Rose, Mr. Yorke, &c. and supported by Mr. Courtenay, lord Wycombe, Mr. Lambton, lord W. Russell, &c. Mr. Jekyll observed, "that it was a maxim in English law, that every man was to be deemed innocent till he had been convicted by the judgment of his peers." It was indeed, he said, true, that some persons were in custody on a charge of high treason; but was it to be supposed, if guilty, that they would escape if the present bill were not passed into a law? The minister had frequently declared, and even the last evening but one, that the majority of the nation were attached to the present existing government. If so, and that it was so he was fully persuaded, why take such a violent measure? Why raise an alarm for the sake of punishing a few, for whose punishment the existing laws were fully adequate? Mr. Jekyll called upon the house to recollect that the act in question had been obtained by almost a miracle. It was, in one stage, carried in the upper house by a kind of fraud; one of the tellers seeing a very fat lord come in,

in, and knowing him to be a man of *weight*, counted him for ten. In the debate in that house upon the suspension in 1722, a very able opposition to it had been made by lord Harrington, whose speech Mr. Jekyll called to have read from the reports.

On the division for an adjournment being put, it was negatived by a majority of 124. The question for the third reading of the bill was then moved, and it was again opposed by Mr. Grey. The measure would, he said, utterly exempt ministers from all responsibility. To allow them to act as they pleased secretly, would be the least of two evils; since, if they acted in violation of the law, they would at least act under the terror of impeachment. He asserted, that the ballot by which the committee was chosen did not deserve the name; he differed in opinion from the committee in their conclusions from the evidence reported, and doubted whether all the evidence which ought to have been produced to the house had been produced. The committee had, he thought, been either deceived themselves, or wished to deceive others, and an attempt was now made to involve the house as parties in the imposture. The precedents for this measure of 1722, and of 1745, were entirely different from the present. Another had occurred in 1777, in which so much time was allowed for a full discussion and deliberation on the subject, as to admit of a petition being presented against it from the city of London. On this occasion it was held improper to appeal to the public for their sentiments, though on former ones the minister had affected to appeal to the "public voice." Was this right to be observed when the event appeared likely to be advantageous to himself, and when there appeared any danger of their differing from him, was it to be reprobated as indecent and unconstitutional? The same use was made of the public voice in the hon. gentleman's appeal in 1784, on the subject of the slave trade—and when, upon his defeat on the subject of parliamentary reform, he had recourse to resolutions at the Thatched house tavern in St. James's-street, in concert with John Horne Tooke, and those unfortunate gentlemen who were labouring under the severities of conviction, and still severer sentences, only for persevering in those sentiments which others had abandoned, he had then resolved, "That considering it was in vain to look to parliament for a regeneration originating within itself, it be recommended to the people throughout the kingdom to assemble during the ensuing summer, in districts, for the purpose of an application to parliament upon that subject." Would it be said, that the object of those meetings was not to supersede the functions of parliament, but to make application for reform? What then, upon the face of their proceedings, as contained in the report, could be attributed to the present societies, but a recommendation of what they call a convention, for precisely the selfsame purposes, only that, because the word *petition* was not expressly mentioned, the absurd and iniquitous design was imputed to them of superseding that House in the exercise of their functions? What was the conduct of the minister in the year 1782, when his pretended sincerity for a parliamentary reform had been defeated in that house by a motion for the order of the day? He had abandoned it for ever.

William

William Pitt, the reformer of that day, was William Pitt the prosecutor, and persecutor too, of reformers now. He who thought fit to inflame the passions of the people, and to instigate them to a contempt for the house of commons then, would not at present allow the people to judge of their own rights and dearest interests; but persecuted, with the real bitterness of an apostate, his own partner in the question of parliamentary reform. He had that very day been examining as a prisoner John Horne Tooke for persevering in his sentiments. This same William Pitt, who had once taught the public to believe that nothing honest was to be expected from the house of commons, now asserted that the people should do nothing for themselves, but should submit implicitly to the house of commons the right of their personal freedom.

Mr. Grey asserted, that if any evil had arisen from the doctrine of applying to the people instead of to parliament, the chancellor of the exchequer was to be considered as the cause. If the language of applying to the people for a parliamentary reform was criminal, Mr. Grey said he had himself been guilty, since he did not scruple to assert, that from the house of commons he had no hopes of parliamentary reform; that house never would reform itself, or destroy the corruption by which it was supported, by any other means than those of the resolutions of the people acting on the prudence of the house. That point they could only accomplish by meeting in bodies, and this in 1782 had been the opinion of the minister. An hon. gentleman (Mr. Windham) had asserted that the doctrine of universal suffrage was only fitted for the refuse of the people. If this were so, of that description were the duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt. This he proved from the duke's letter to colonel Sharman. What more had been done by Messrs. Palmer, Muir, &c. to expose them to their present sufferings? What, he said, had been discovered by the fine velvet bag which the minister had brought into the house a few days before? Nothing but what had been known twelve years ago, and what these societies had thought proper to reprint and publish in the year 1794. For this the habeas corpus act was to be suspended, and the personal liberty of every individual of the kingdom was to be placed in the hands of ministers. In extreme cases extreme powers should certainly be given; and if the case were made out, he should readily accede to the measure proposed: but he strongly contended that the charge at the utmost amounted only to sedition, and imputed the measure to that system of alarm which had been adopted to prevent the people from seeing their real situation.

Mr. Canning asserted, that in the precedent of 1722, ministers had only been supported by a message from the throne; on the present occasion such a message had been backed by the secret committee. Then traitorous correspondences were carrying on for restoring the exiled family; they were now carrying on for the subversion of the constitution, and the introduction of republican anarchy. Why then not apply the same remedy to cases so similar? Or, were there no precedent, were we not justified in devising new remedies for singular and unheard of offences? What had been said of the precedent of 1777.

so far from being in point, was diametrically opposite to the present instance. That had for its object the prevention of a congress in America; this plan was designed to prevent the assembling of one in Great Britain. He retorted the charge brought against the minister of adopting only such precedents as made for him, and scouting others. He would not, he said, argue as to the proof of the danger that induced ministers to suspend the act. The report of the secret committee justified the measure, and he was willing to take the word of government. It had been observed, that if time were given, petitions against the measure would flow in from all parts of the country. He was not however to be intimidated from his duty by any petitions. He adverted to the conduct of the minister, when he had stood forward as an advocate for parliamentary reform. What he thought on that subject then, he said, now signified but little. He entertained the same opinions with his right hon. friend; he supported him in them; and agreed with him, that though such a reform might be not improper for discussion in a time of peace, it was a proposition that ought not to be agitated in a season of tumult. If the chancellor of the exchequer should at a future time return to his former opinions, it was probable he should again agree with him. However he and his right hon. friend might be threatened with secessions in the house, and disturbances abroad, they should continue to know and feel their own dignity, and wait for the subsequent approbation of the people.

Mr. Courtenay, with his usual humour, entered into an ironical eulogium on the preceding speech. He knew not which to admire most, the arguments which had been displayed, or the ingenuity with which the chancellor of the exchequer had been defended by his *friend*, who had admitted him to be an apostate, and complaisantly declared himself one also. He had further professed his readiness to join his *friend* if he resumed his principles. He seemed attached to his *friend*, as necessary, probably, to promote his fortune.

Thus a light straw, whirl'd round with every blast,
Is carried off in some dog's tail at last,

He had as yet, he said, heard no argument that warranted the suspension. After bestowing the highest eulogium on the habeas corpus act, Montesquieu, in his Spirit of Laws, had pronounced it the palladium of English liberty, an act that ought never to be repealed. Nothing could justify the suspension but great and imminent danger to the state, and the actual existence of rebellion. In the suspension of 1745, and that in the American war, circumstances were materially different from what they now were. Mr. Courtenay contended that the report did not state any distribution of arms to have taken place, nor mention that any correspondence had been carried on with the enemy. There was therefore no evidence for the necessity of such a measure, which was calculated to destroy the social intercourse amongst men. He was, he said, much at a loss to conjecture why ministers adopted those measures which they so much reprobated in a neighbouring country, where the same thing had been done by Barrere and Robespierre. It was evident, he said, no proof existed of a plot to overturn government. He pointed out the danger of arming government with so large a discretionary power. Every act of oppression

pression might be justified on the plea of state necessity. Much had been said on the humanity of ministers; he would refer on this subject to the cases of Messrs. Muir and Palmer. He declared his full intention to oppose the bill to the utmost of his power, because it struck deeply at the existence of the constitution, and subjected innocent persons to extreme oppression.

Mr. Dundas observed the marked scepticism which prevailed respecting precedents. A coincidence of circumstances might, he said, never occur; nay, it was almost impossible an exact coincidence ever should. It was sufficient for the adoption of any measure, that the pressure of the moment demanded such an extraordinary interposition. Since the revolution the *habeas corpus* act had been suspended nine times, and that under the best and wisest ministers that ever governed the country. Had the evils painted in such *sombre* colours ever followed? Had any man alleged that the rights and privileges of Englishmen suffered any diminution? No fear had been entertained of the executive government, under such circumstances, subverting the constitution; he was therefore the more surprised at the present opposition. As to the necessity being more apparent then, he would rather have to contend with an open and avowed enemy than to resist the secret poison that operates unseen, and against which it is more difficult to provide an antidote. With respect to the inferior condition of those who were now conspiring against government, that increased the necessity of applying an immediate remedy to the mischief; such men had much to gain from anarchy and confusion, nothing to lose. A parliamentary reform would not satisfy these men: the resolutions of one of their societies expressly declared, "that some things were not to be submitted to either with or without the sanction of parliament." All the societies did not indeed go so far; but he had no hesitation in declaring that a convention, which had for its avowed object *universal suffrage and annual parliaments*, could only exist by subverting the monarchy and the parliament. With respect to the apostacy charged upon his hon. friend (Mr. Pitt), there was no specification made of the principles on which he acted. If the duke of Richmond had held these opinions, it only proved that a wise man might adopt a very foolish theory. The propositions alluded to were such as no friend to his country would attempt to bring forward at the present period.

Mr. Sheridan pointedly noticed the mention which had been made of nine precedents, without one of them having been examined. Admitting, however, their number, was it wonderful that, immediately after the revolution, it might be found necessary for preserving the constitution, to vest in the executive government extraordinary powers? But would the hon. gentleman say, that he would rather grapple with an avowed enemy, and open rebellion, than contend against the *secret* poison and hidden practices of these societies? Was that the character of the danger to be apprehended? Did it wear the most remote feature of secrecy or conspiracy? Mr. Sheridan noticed the publicity of all the proceedings of the societies, their public meetings, their intentions announced in the public papers. If this was a conspiracy, it was the most open garrulous

garrulous conspiracy he ever heard of. The remedy, however, he thought likely to produce something much more like a conspiracy; for unless all the obnoxious persons who composed these societies were to be cooped up in prisons, they would pursue, in secret, the same objects, and assume the colour, and probably have the effect of a real conspiracy: for the measure to be adopted by the house did not declare such meetings illegal—it did not declare the opinions they held treasonable—nor did it even state that a convention for the purposes intended would be criminal. Mr. Sheridan considered as futile, any intention of punishing all who might favour the idea of universal suffrage; and observed, that ever since the commencement of the French revolution, ministers had evinced a strong jealousy of parliamentary reform. The proclamation, he said, which was the first measure they adopted, was avowedly directed rather against the "friends of the people," than against any of those seditious societies. The result of that proclamation had been tumult and insurrection. The next measure was spreading abroad spies and informers; but these had only increased the general turbulence. The last measure was a system of prosecution; but the result of these, according to their own statement, was, "that a great part of the nation was now actually in a state of rebellion." He had himself a full conviction that the whole of this was a trick. Ministers had long been in possession of every fact relating to these societies; and why did not they then proceed upon the information they had received? Because they knew them to be false. Suddenly Mr. Stone was examined before the privy council: all these plots revived, though it was notorious Mr. Stone had nothing to do with these societies; so that if he had been engaged in a plot, of necessity it must have been a different one. It had not been stated whether the arms mentioned in the report had been furnished from Sheffield, or from some other place; or whether they had been furnished for the purpose of rebellion; or that each man, fearing the excesses of a church and king mob, had determined to furnish his house with a musquet. It was impossible such an army as was stated in the report could have been formed without the knowledge of ministers, long antecedent to this period. The press had been exercised in an uncommon degree on this occasion, to second the ingenious management and dispatch which had distinguished the production of the report. Mr. Sheridan then produced an absurd hand-bill, which he contended was calculated to excite and spread abroad the general alarm.—He appealed to the house, whether they had not expected, upon coming down, to have heard of some earnest and pressing danger. In the course of last year, they had been told that the system of prosecution, and the associations of Mr. Reeves, had totally changed the public mind; and in the close of the last session, in the king's speech, they were told, that all the attempts against the constitution were completely checked. On the opening of this session his majesty was again made to rejoice "in the steady loyalty and firm attachment of all ranks of people to the constitution." The hands of government had since been strengthened by an alien bill, the traitorous correspondence bill, the new levies, &c.;

sce; and the house was called upon now to declare, that his majesty was entirely mistaken; and that it was necessary for the preservation of the existing government, that an undefined exercise of arbitrary power should be vested in the executive government. This extensive power, which had been asked upon very frivolous occasions, he thought would be exercised upon pretences equally frivolous. He argued, that the sentiments of those societies had originally sprung from seeds first sown by the chancellor of the exchequer, the duke of Richmond, and Mr. Burke; and, in support of this assertion, quoted passages from the letters of his grace and the latter gentleman. The time when these opinions were disseminated, was similar to the present; and the effect of pursuing the desired measures in their extent would only fill the gaols with men whose criminality was undefined; and the measures would not accomplish their object, but tend to multiply societies for parliamentary reform.

It was observed by Mr. Windham, that it was erroneous to suppose that, because the proofs of a conspiracy existing had been for some time in the hands of government, those proofs had no validity. No man who permitted his reason to guide him, could deny that there were complete proofs of a regular system to overturn the constitution, when it appeared in the first instance, that the designs of these societies were clearly expressed and followed up by overt acts, tending to the perfection of their designs. The principle adopted by them of universal suffrage, if carried into practice, must terminate the existence of that house. From that principle had arisen the tremendous evils of France. Mr. Windham censured the severe language used respecting the committee of secrecy. The suspension of the *habeas corpus* act conveyed no terrors to his mind, for he recollected no instance in which it had been attended with evil consequences. It was unfair to say, that because the former measures of government had not cured the present evil, they had done no good. Mild remedies must be used first; but if the present measure should prove insufficient, recourse must be had to others more harsh. The thing must be done; and if the existing laws were too weak to check the mischief, laws of greater force must be made. There had been a plan laid for the subversion of every government, even of America; which had however been aware of the fact, and taken measures to prevent the operation.

Mr. Fox, in a most eloquent speech, again strenuously reprobated the bill, and replied to a part of the preceding speech, which he considered as foretelling the destruction of the British constitution. With respect to the gradations of punishments which were professed, what by this argument must we think of the present measure? but that it was only one step in the ladder, and that more severe remedies were in reserve? Gentle remedies had already been applied. The alien bill was an anodyne, the treasonable correspondence bill was also a gentle medicine; but as in the king's speech these evils were said to exist with increased malignity, this severe remedy was to be tried, with the declared intention, that if this should fail, more violent methods would be pursued. What were they? Would all meetings of the people be prohibited, so as to prevent all discussion on political subjects?

jects? When that proved ineffectual, was the minister to have the power of making arbitrary imprisonment perpetual? Would the next step be the establishment of a revolutionary tribunal? Under the colour of pretended alarms, were we to infringe upon and demolish the best part of the constitution? He contended that the proceedings here were precisely similar to those in France; that ministers circulated stories of alarms and conspiracies to fill the public mind with fear, and, according to the French, to make terror the order of the day. The question for the consideration of the house was, he said, to compare the danger with the remedy. Whether the word convention was a bugbear held up to terrify their imaginations he knew not; but it was of consequence to inquire into the nature of the thing, and not to be startled at names. Mr. Fox entered into a discussion on the nature of a convention, which meant no other than a meeting of the people; in which if they committed an illegal act, they might be sent to prison, and tried for the offence as securely as if no convention existed. The danger then called for no remedy; and the suspension was only intended to agitate and alarm the nation, to put men's minds under the dominion of terror, and take from them the exertion of their rational faculties, which would be otherwise employed in scrutinizing the fatal measures of ministers. For that reason subscriptions had been set on foot; he said *for that reason*, because ministers had been open enough to acknowledge that it was not for money. He expressed high esteem for some of the members of the committee, but asserted that it was composed of two descriptions, men who were either dupes to themselves, or wished to dupe others. Their whole report was trifling and inconsequential, and told nothing which was not known before. The avowed intention of the societies was to obtain universal suffrage, which, however he might be disposed to agree was a wild and impracticable idea, he must doubt its having caused the destruction of France. Why was the house to argue theoretically or practically from the example of France? Was every man who mentioned liberty to be regarded as a traitor because liberty had been abused in France? If such were the case, it would be fatal for England. Mr. Fox called upon gentlemen to state the parallel between this country and the old government of France, that we should dread similar effects from jacobinical doctrines. Had France, he said, possessed a habeas corpus act, had she respected the rights and liberties of the people, those doctrines would never have prevailed. He stated this not improbable conjecture, one on which he would not lay much stress; but it was material, in support of the argument adduced by Mr. Windham, to prove that the old government of France had fallen from a want of power, as the argument had been, that we must proceed from measure to measure, till ministers should be armed with sufficient power to resist and vanquish all innovation. Such doctrines went to the extinction of every vestige of the constitution. Mr. Fox asked what all these severities were for? Were they because any great body of people were disaffected to the state? No such thing: it was the boast of ministers that every part of the country was strictly united in love to the constitution. It was to be introduced, because some low persons, without property and consideration, had entertained

tertained opinions about a parliamentary reform, which were thought dangerous. If the act was to be suspended, he said, till no discontented person remained in the kingdom, there was an end to it; and it was a declaration to all mankind, that the constitution of England was fit only for an Utopian society, and not for any society that ever did or could exist upon earth. If America had been alarmed, let us look to what her conduct had been on this occasion? Had she shocked every feeling and considerate mind by the scandalous rigour of her legal punishments. Had she plunged her country in war, and loaded her people with new and excessive burdens? No: she had maintained a strict and perfect neutrality towards the belligerent powers, and protected herself at home by securing to her people all their privileges; and, so far from dreading comparison, they left their people to the most ample discussion of political doctrines. From the little regard paid by these societies to himself, Mr. Fox argued that he could not be actuated by any partial regard towards them; but he contended strongly for the right of popular discussion, as an essential and salutary privilege of the subject. With his usual candor, he confessed that the events in France had corrected several opinions which he previously held; and that though when a boy his heart revolted at the observation of Cicero, *Iniquissimam pacem justissimo bello antefera*, the wisdom of the sentiment was now manifest to his mind. He could hardly frame to himself the condition of a people, in which he would not rather covet to continue than advise them to fly to arms, and to seek redress through the unknown miseries of a revolution. But the more he was weaned from such experiments, the more he abhorred all acts on the part of government which tended to exasperate the people. Wise men, deliberately weighing the relative duties of government and people, would recommend incessant conciliation. Never had England been so happy as when this was the case, never so miserable as when a persecuting system had been adopted, which, he argued with great ability, had almost uniformly nourished the plant it intended to destroy.

The necessity of this measure was supported by the chancellor of the exchequer, who stated the question as resolving itself into the simple consideration, whether the danger threatened to the government and constitution was not greater than that of placing in the hands of the executive government a more than ordinary degree of power, for the purpose of resisting a very dangerous conspiracy. It had not, he said, been adverted to in the debate, that the bill was limited in its duration, and only a temporary measure adapted to the existing evil, and was to continue in force little more than six months; all the rights of the people and all the privileges of parliament remaining the same, attaching at the time the same responsibility upon ministers to which they were liable in every other situation, and equally answerable for any abuse of power. Could any gentleman then think that all the liberties of the subject, and all the privileges of parliament, would be annihilated by this bill? He contended, that there was nothing in the present measure similar to those in France, under the influence of the present ruling powers in that country.

try, *miscalled* a government. It was, he said, unfair to impose such comparisons upon the house; in the present instance we were only resisting French crimes by opposing to them French principles. An extraordinary kind of argument had been used, which was, that because all the measures which had yet been taken had proved ineffectual, they were not to persevere in endeavouring to overcome the evil by more efficacious means. If some measures had not been already taken, he asked whether we should now be as quiet as we are? The fact was, they would have been turned much faster to the same scenes of mischief which were opened to their view. As to mild and moderate remedies, was it to be supposed that a jacobin convention once established in this country was to be stopped, or its consequences avoided, by indulgence and concession? or that they were fit to be opposed to so daring an attempt on the existence of the constitution? The preservation of the British constitution would be impossible, if these societies met with indulgence or concession. Nothing would satisfy them short of a surrender of the constitution. Toleration of such opinions amounted to a toleration of the worst species of anarchy, sedition, and treason. With respect to the question of "where are you to stop?" it was not proper that the limit of their remedies should ever be declared, or that they should pronounce this the last remedy to which they would recur. He would however say, that persecution ought not in any case to extend beyond what the real necessity of the case required, and the temporary remedy in the present bill might be supposed the best in the present case. Respecting the necessity of the measure, the proofs for that necessity, and the nature of the remedy applied to the case, he conceived the house was perfectly satisfied; and he saw no reason why the right of the people to meet for legal purposes in a constitutional way, or their right to petition parliament for a reform had been introduced, since those points had never been disputed. Such a meeting, however, he contended, bore no resemblance to the convention proposed by those societies; and in support of this opinion he read extracts from the proceedings of the societies. Mr. Pitt argued at much length on this subject to prove that the convention was intended to possess a power paramount to that of parliament. Whether or not the report contained any thing new was little to the purpose, provided it was considered to substantiate the grounds of the alarm. The fact, however, was otherwise. Till the seizure of the papers the correspondence with the club at Norwich was unknown; a very important fact, which brought to light the general design of assembling their jacobin convention. What was known two years ago was a link of the chain which reached down to the present time. The remedy, he said, only amounted to put a legal restraint upon criminal actions; and the present crime amounted, in his opinion, to a conspiracy of that nature, which was perhaps a stronger reason for the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, than the cases of invasion or rebellion so frequently alluded to. The persons who composed these societies were of a very different opinion, he said, from those who thought the present measure ineffective; for they had declared the suspension of the *habeas corpus* bill the very measure which should be

be the signal for them to assemble their convention; and therefore it became the more necessary to pass the bill quickly, to prevent their taking measures to evade the operation.

Mr. Thompson rose to explain the correspondence alluded to in the report of the secret committee between the corresponding society and the society for constitutional information, of which he was a member. The latter society had, he said, refused to agree to the word convention, as tending to give a false impression of their intentions, and on the Friday following they resolved they would not send delegates to any meeting. Why was this resolution not mentioned in the report? and he asked Mr. Pitt, as a member of the committee, if he did not remember having seen the resolution in the books of the society?

This fact not being *recollected* by the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Grey spoke of it as a proof that the whole report was a scandalous imposture; and a very warm altercation took place between this gentleman, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Windham, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Jekyll, who, in order to gain time for the necessary inquiry, moved for an adjournment of the house, which was negatived by a large majority. On the motion for passing the bill being put, the ayes were 146, noes 28; after which, Mr. Sheridan moved for printing the report, which, after some conversation, was agreed to, and the house separated at three o'clock on Sunday morning.

On the 17th of May a message from his majesty, similar to that which had been brought down to the lower house, was introduced into the house of lords by lord Grenville.

The duke of Grafton, lord Lauderdale, and earl Stanhope were solicitous to proceed immediately to a consideration of the import of the message, which was, however, postponed till Monday 19th.

Lord Grenville then moved, that the report of the secret committee of the house of commons should be referred to a secret committee of their lordships; which was opposed by earl Stanhope, on the grounds that as the contents of the papers produced were notorious, they might as well be referred to an open committee of the whole house; for which he stated several reasons. From what he had previously heard respecting the business, during his attending the debate in the other house of parliament, he considered the report as "a mere humbug;" the mere shadow of the papers it referred to, varying materially from the papers on which it pretended to be founded; and a particular and material resolution, entered in the book of the society, was passed over without the smallest notice. For these reasons the report and the papers ought to be examined in that house, that the variations might be traced and detected.

The motion for a secret committee was opposed only by earl Stanhope, and a committee was balloted for and appointed.

On Wednesday the 21st, the first part of the report was presented to the house by the lord privy seal, and on the following day it was taken into consideration. The report stated, that the committee had compared the report of the committee of the house of commons with the papers sent with it, and were

were satisfied from it, that a treasonable conspiracy had been formed and acted upon in different parts of the kingdom; for the express purpose of superseding the functions of parliament, subverting the established laws and constitution of the kingdom, and introducing that anarchy and confusion which so fatally prevailed in France: that measures had been taken for providing arms of the most pernicious sort; for carrying on the purposes of the conspiracy. The committee had, he said, directed a further examination into these circumstances; and they submitted whether it would be proper they should order the perusal of these books and papers by a committee of secrecy, or leave it to the zeal of their lordships to come to an immediate measure, to avert the calamities in which the further progress of the conspiracy might involve the nation.

The earl of Lauderdale objected to the report as irregular. The committee, he said, should have reported facts to the house, on which they might form an opinion, and not have stated their own opinion to the house.

In this he was opposed by the bishop of Rochester.

The regularity of the report was also contended for by lord Grenville. His lordship called upon the house to consider whether they ought not immediately to proceed with all possible expedition in the measure before them, which was a bill from the house of commons, enabling his majesty to secure and detain such persons as he shall suspect to be conspiring against his person and government. That there was a dangerous conspiracy formed, had been communicated by his majesty's message, from the house of commons, and by a committee of their own. It was also ascertained that arms had been furnished to effect these wicked machinations. In such a situation the two branches of the legislature had shewn precedents for strengthening the hands of the executive government, to defeat these dreadful purposes. In passing the bill his lordship said the house was only following the example of their ancestors, at a time when liberty was the best understood. Such a bill had been passed at the time of the revolution, on a simple communication from the crown, without facts or proof being adduced. The views which had been ascribed to these societies by the committees had, he said, so far from being discouraged, been encouraged in many instances, and that at a time when we were contending for every thing dear to ourselves and to society, and both houses of parliament had decided upon the justice and necessity of the war. From the moment in which those who produced the revolution in France had found themselves strong enough to avow their real principles, they began to disturb this and other countries under the name of reform. Accordingly in the beginning of the year 1792, a correspondence was established to disseminate principles utterly inconsistent with the existence of the constitution of this country, or, in short, of any where there was either law, morality, religion, or order. His majesty had then been advised to warn his subjects of the pernicious tendency of such principles, and accordingly a proclamation was issued in May. Precisely at the time when these societies came forward for a purpose to which

which it was very material to attend, they endeavoured to corrupt the people by disseminating pamphlets containing their system; and on the 18th May passed a resolution to distribute a cheap edition of a book called "Rights of Man." Their principles were so wonderfully extended, that it appeared there were similar clubs in almost every town in Great Britain, with whom they held a correspondence. This he stated as the foundation of that system which had since ripened into treasonable practices. It was increased by the success of Dumouriez, which demonstrated the views of the parties, and their avowed concurrence with the national convention of France, manifested by an address formally presented to the convention, and answered by the president Barrere, who applauded the spirit of British republicans, and hoped the time was not far distant when a national convention should be established in England. The declaration of war suspended this intercourse, but still the societies continued their assiduity in proportion as any advantage was obtained over the allies. At the time when we were arming in our own defence against the decided enemies of this country, the societies had entered in their books the names of Barrere, St. André, and Roland, whose hostility to England was strongly marked. His lordship expressed the astonishment he had felt upon reading the assertion of Barrere in the convention, that it was false the people of England were adverse to their proceedings, and particularly the murder of the king: yet this speech had been applauded by the societies. He noticed the studied accommodation to French forms and French phrases, which, though in themselves insignificant, he said, yet, when united with other circumstances, proved their views to be the same with those of France. All the papers of the societies contained an express approbation of the principles of government maintained in the national convention, and were a direct attack upon the constitution of this country. Every seditious publication was eagerly disseminated amongst men who were the most likely to be led by their passions. At length they determined upon calling a convention, which met in December; and they then sent a delegation to Edinburgh, where they met under the avowed title of the British convention, and were proceeding to act in direct violation of the law, when the magistracy interfered; and some of them were now suffering the punishment due to their crimes. This it was hoped would have had a proper effect; but the societies had since proceeded further than ever, and dared to arraign the proceedings of the courts. His lordship read extracts from the report, and maintained, that open resistance to the law had been recommended by the societies, and that there was nothing like a disposition to apply to parliament evinced. It was stated indeed that they looked for a parliamentary reform by legal means: but this his lordship regarded as a slimsy and miserable pretext, and contrary to the whole tenor of their proceedings, which went to introduce into this country the anarchy of France; and he hesitated not to pronounce that their designs were criminal and treasonable. His lordship strongly reprobated the proceeding of the societies in the circular letter in which they desired a return of their numbers if it could be ascertained, and of the resolutions passed at the

meeting at Chalk Farm, which, he contended, were exhorting the people to rise in arms against parliament. The conclusion drawn by the committee was, he said, the conclusion he had himself drawn from the circumstances. In some of the societies, proposals had been made for providing arms for the members, which must be a complete conviction to the most credulous mind of their treasonable intentions. When this fact was established, that they armed to effectuate by force, if possible, what they could not otherwise accomplish (for he had not a doubt of the issue of such a trial), it would surely appear a necessary caution to strengthen the hands of the executive government, to prevent an evil which might otherwise produce a civil war. The measure had been said to be strong and harsh, but it was required by necessity. If it should be argued that there was an incongruity in adopting a measure which would attach to the whole, because a part was criminal; he would argue that their lordships might repose with safety in the clemency and the exercise of any power vested in the executive government. With respect to the insignificancy of those who formed these societies, history would inform us that the overthrow of all governments had proceeded from obscure individuals. In proof of this, his lordship noticed Oliver Cromwell; and stated, from the authority of Dumouriez, that just previous to the revolution in France there were not above 200 persons in the country who wished for it. He concluded by moving, "that the bill for empowering his majesty to secure and detain such persons as he may suspect to be conspiring against his person and government be now read a first time:" which being done, his lordship moved for the second reading.

This measure was opposed by earl Stanhope, who said he considered the bill as the establishment of the old French system of a *Bastile* and *lettres de cachet*, by which any man might be imprisoned for an indefinite time at the will of ministers, without proof, without reason, and even without trial, and, after all, without redress of any kind for such imprisonment. No situation could, he thought, justify such a measure to the proposed extent, and the report did not by any means state sufficient ground for it. His lordship proceeded to consider the charge against the societies. A convention—a meeting—a congress—assembly, or give it whatever name they pleased, for the name was nothing, had, he said, been agreed upon by these societies, in which the object of the parties, and the means by which it was to be attained, were to be considered. The charge against them was, that they avowed their intention not to apply to parliament for a reform, but to supersede its power, and take upon themselves the functions of legislation. There appeared to him a miserable deficiency of logic in such a conclusion; for it was certainly possible, though not advisable, for a body of men to form a resolution for obtaining a parliamentary reform, and that legally, without an application to parliament. That the societies had meant to attain their object legally, his lordship inferred from the frequent repetition of the words "legal and constitutional means" so often recurring in their papers; and he spoke the more freely, he said, upon this point, as he never belonged to these societies, and did not approve of the meeting of such a convention

a convention as the societies proposed, because, however legal it might be, it was not likely to be effectual. It had been unsuccessfully tried in the years 1780 and 1781. To prove that a plan for a parliamentary reform might be formed and even carried into effect legally, his lordship put the case, that all who possessed the right of election should determine not to vote at a future election for any man who would not pledge himself to agree to a given plan for a parliamentary reform; and suppose those so elected were to prove faithful to their engagements. The papers were said to contain extravagant ideas of reform. The ideas of annual parliaments and universal suffrage were not peculiar to them: a person of the name of Richmond had delivered that opinion both in and out of parliament. The secretary of state had, his lordship said, mentioned that the societies had expressed disapprobation of the parliament of Ireland. The same intemperate expressions had been used respecting the parliament of England. Let their lordships recollect a congress, a meeting, or a committee, in Kent in the year 1780, amongst whom were the late earl of Camden, the earl of Jersey, the earl of Radnor, the right hon. Thomas Townshend, a brother to the right hon. secretary of state, and many other distinguished characters. They afterwards met in London and Westminster, stated several points for reform, entered into several spirited resolutions, and did not speak of parliament in very soft and delicate terms. A congress, as he believed it had been called, met even in the common-council chamber of the city of London, to which aldermen Wilkes and Sawbridge were sent as delegates from the city. A meeting had also been held at the Thatched-House Tavern, at which some lords then in the house had attended, and several resolutions had been entered into; and no question was started respecting the legality of the measure. His lordship then noticed the quintuple alliance which had agreed to call a convention precisely as those societies had done. Another meeting upon the subject of reform had been held in Scotland, by the recommendation of the lord advocate, which was called a convention. He mentioned as advocates for reform Mr. Pitt, sir George Saville, the duke of Richmond, the latter of whom, in his letter to colonel Sharman, had said, "that he had no hopes of a reform from parliament, but that the people must do every thing for themselves." If then any of the members of these societies were to be imprisoned for disrespectful expressions to parliament, they ought to send with them citizen Richmond. As a further instance his lordship quoted Mr. Burke's letter to the inhabitants of Bristol, and to sir Hercules Langrishe in 1791, on the exclusion of the Irish catholics from the elective franchise. Before the passing of the convention bill in Ireland, the law with respect to public assemblies of the people was the same in that country as in England. To alter it, a bill was passed to declare such assemblies illegal, which was, his lordship contended, a clear confession that that, which after the passing of the bill was illegal, was strictly legal before the passing of the bill. He ridiculed the idea of a conspiracy being meditated and carried on in meetings, every act of which was public. With respect to the cheap edition of the Rights of Man which had been circulated, his

lordship stated that the original book had been prosecuted, and declared by the jury a libel on the constitution of this country; but in all the cheap editions circulated by the societies, the parts selected by the attorney general for prosecution were omitted: the inference therefore was, that the book in that state was a legal publication; as it was not to be presumed the attorney general had passed any part of a public libel by, without inserting it in his indictment. The address to the convention and jacobins, which was curiously stated to have been made on the eve of the commencement of the war, was legal, in his opinion, as long as the war was not begun. The answer to it was as curiously stated as a crime, since it was not known whether the answer was approved or even read. As to the admission of Barrere and Roland as honorary members, there was nothing in the face of it illegal; for their speeches were not inserted in the report, and their lordships had no evidence of their unconstitutional tendency. Nor was Roland, as had been stated by the secretary of state, in the convention, for placemen did not sit in parliament in France. The report, his lordship maintained, was extremely unfair; parts of the correspondence of the societies, the most unfavourable were selected, and the favourable parts omitted. The whole should have been exhibited to enable the house to judge. On the subject of arms, his lordship quoted the authority of judge Blackstone, and desired to know what arms had been traced and discovered. The opinion of lord Hawkesbury on arming the people he stated had been, that there never was an instance of an armed people using their power to their own destruction. The measure his lordship thought unwise and unwarrantable; and the fears pretended to be felt were to be compared only to the windmill in Don Quixotte. Admitting, however, the machinations of a few individuals, it was unjust that the freedom of all the people in England should be thrown at the feet of the ministers. Do justice, said his lordship, produce measures of mild and temperate reform, and give the people peace; then you will be able to guide their reasoning, and keep it within proper limits.

Earl Spencer, lord Hay, and lord Barrington argued in favour of the bill, which was supported by lord Thurlow, who observed, that the general principle on which the bill was founded was necessity; and when once that necessity was established, there was nothing so strong in the measure as to create an objection to it. Obedience to the laws was a duty which every legislature was bound to enforce; and if it was clear that the proceedings which made the bill necessary had produced all the mischief in France, then it was necessary to adopt this measure, which, though it seemed for a time to infringe upon the principles of the constitution, took away just as much as secured the rest. From what he had seen of the report, his lordship said it contained many facts that amounted to heinous and aggravated sedition, but he *thought not to any higher crime*. If sufficient facts and inferences could be proved of their subsequent conduct, the offences might be carried up to treason, but he begged leave to decline giving any further opinion. The bill, his lordship said, gave no further additional power to government, than that suspected persons

might be secured and detained for a certain time, without being brought to trial, but at the instance of government. Whenever the bill passed, the *habeas corpus* act would in reality remain in full force; and magistrates acting under this act must consider that to be the case, and act with proportionate caution. Bills of this kind had been resorted to, where actual insurrection had taken place, or where conspiracies were strongly suspected; and in the latter case it was prudent to detain suspected persons till the conspiracy could be traced. As to the crimes charged in the report, certainly many persons might be committed under this act; but he thought most of them could be brought before the common courts, whether this act passed or not.

Lord Lauderdale ridiculed the idea of any actual danger to be apprehended from these conspiracies, with which the country was kept in alarm, but the existence of which he confined to the weak heads or insidious designs of ministers. With all the attention he could pay to the report, he contended it afforded no ground for the present measure. It certainly, though the greatest, was not, he said, the only innovation lately brought forward; and noticed the alien bill, the traitorous correspondence bill, the introduction of foreign troops, and the raising voluntary subscriptions without the consent of parliament, all which were to be followed up by the present bill; and formed altogether a chain of revolutionary measures, tending to establish in this country a new system of revolutionary government. During the schemes of reform by the duke of Richmond, &c. no such measure had been adopted. As to the statement of the power of these societies composed of the meanest of the people, and their treasonable designs, it was mere assertion unsupported by proof. Who could suppose that Lovel and the 200 madmen he collected at Chalk Farm could produce any serious harm? or who could believe, that if he was so mad as to attempt to collect persons for the purposes ascribed to the society, he would get twenty to assemble? His lordship argued strongly against the possibility of the papers affording proof of treason, on the ground of their publicity. They had, he observed, paid the duty at the stamp-office, and been for a considerable time a source of revenue to the very government which they were intended to overturn and destroy; so that ministers had long known the whole proceedings they now pretended to think so dangerous, and had been nursing the conspiracies till it suited their own purposes to bring them forward, and keep up the system of alarm and terror, when it would have been of much more importance to consider the real state of the country, respecting the war, &c. His lordship charged some of the members of administration with mean and shameful apostacy in deserting the principles held by the societies. Whenever the *habeas corpus* act had been suspended formerly, it was founded on some overt act, and not upon such ridiculous and untenable grounds, as the report on the table held out. It might, his lordship said, be recollected what happened after 1715, in sir W. Windham's time, when respectable gentlemen were brought up from Norfolk and confined, which afforded a sufficient proof how power might be abused. In 1722 the

bill was founded on a specific communication to parliament contained in the king's message. In 1745, as in 1713, there was an open rebellion in the country. From that time till within twelve years there had been a pretender and a jacobite party in existence. Other ministers had never thought of suspending the habeas corpus act under such circumstances as the present. Whence he might conclude, that either that act ought never to have existed till within these twelve years, or that it ought never to exist again. His lordship earnestly recommended a plan of moderation. When once embarked on the sea of innovation, there was no saying where the revolutionary system might end. If mention was ever made of the mischiefs and imperfection which had gradually crept into the constitution, there was an immediate cry of the danger of innovation, and that by men who were constantly innovating upon the best rights of the people. It was, he said, an equal calamity to a country, whether a struggle was caused by a greedy attempt to increase power, or by mad ones to introduce anarchy and confusion. As instances of this observation his lordship mentioned France on the one hand, and Poland on the other. To prove that low men were not always the instruments of treasonable conspiracies, he called to the recollection of the house the virtuous duke de la Rochefoucault. He noticed the precedent of 1777, when the bill then brought into parliament only affected a particular description of persons specified in it; and thought that the operation of the present bill ought only to extend to the members of the objectionable clubs and societies. But this, he said, would not have answered the end of ministers in alarming and deluding the people. His lordship endeavoured to vindicate the society of the friends of the people, of which he professed himself a member. The system of terror was, he said, what had ruined France, and to that his lordship ascribed the overthrow of the Brissotines, of Hebert's party, and of Danton's; the massacre of the 10th of August, and the death of the unfortunate king. His lordship concluded by moving, "that the house do now adjourn."

The bill was supported by lord Abingdon and the earl of Mansfield, who argued upon the propriety of "nipping the seeds of anarchy in the bud," rather than leaving them to ripen and disperse. He denied that terror had produced the unexampled atrocities in France. Our measures of precaution were, he said, not to be calculated on the probability of ultimate success, but on the magnitude of the evil with which we were threatened. His lordship depicted in strong colours the mischiefs which would result from a convention, such as the societies proposed to assemble, usurping an authority paramount to that of parliament.

With respect to what had been said of unnecessary alarm, lord Caernarvon stated, that it would have been as competent in him to have asserted, that those who had marked a contempt for the danger to which the constitution was exposed, had, by blind temerity, unwillingly perhaps, fomented and encouraged the evil designs of the disaffected, till the mischief required the present remedy. The question, he said, simply was, whether the temporary suspension of the *habeas corpus* act could be justified upon any emergency, and whether

ther the present dangers authorised the measure. Both of these points his lordship resolved in the affirmative. Certainly, he said, if the present measure was only to facilitate the punishment of the seditious matter in any of the papers, the measure would not be necessary, as the common law would be sufficient; but the proceedings of the societies made it necessary to guard against the treasonable effects of those libels. His lordship admitted that no constitution was safe and free, unless in its ordinary state of vigour great latitude was given to the wild range of fancy of reforming projectors, because some good might result from it, and the evils flowing from the intemperance of individual zeal might, in common circumstances, be left to the usual provisions which the law, circumscribed by the jealous spirit of liberty, has formed: but in difficult and suspicious times the secret enemies to the constitution ought not to be suffered to collect and ripen their poison, under the protection of that liberty they meant to destroy; and upon this principle all former instances of this measure had been founded. A secret conspiracy having broken into open rebellion could never, he said, be an additional reason for employing a power applicable only to secret enemies. Such an act as that in question was only calculated to operate against concealed enemies, of which there were necessarily fewer when one half were in open war, and out of the reach of such an act. The eve of a rebellion was therefore the time when such a power must have its most effectual operation. The negligence of any government in suffering conspiracies to gain strength would, he said, produce a catastrophe similar to that in France. A conspiracy, clearly proved, needed not to be traced through all its ramifications: its existence, and the danger to the state, were sufficient to justify the temporary suspension of that security for our liberty, which by law was our birth-right. From what had been deemed legal by some of the members of the house in the conduct of the societies, his lordship contended that much danger existed from them.

The question of adjournment was supported by lord Derby. If the less the danger the stronger must be the precaution, to what an extreme of absurdity might such an argument be carried! Every fence of the constitution might be broken down: and should a fortunate period arrive when no danger existed, not an atom of it would be left. If the acts of the persons now in custody only amounted to sedition, he could not see the necessity of new powers to bring them to justice, or to prevent their doing future mischief. He asked whether it was meant to be said, that all who attended the meeting at Chalk Farm were implicated in the purposes of the meeting? In the neighbourhood of London a very few persons could soon collect a mob of thousands, merely from motives of curiosity. That the societies were preparing to distribute arms, was stated even in the report as a mere presumption. He therefore deprecated a measure which he considered as not called for by any adequate cause, and as an attack on the constitution.

The earl of Carlisle and marquis Townshend supported the bill. The former mentioned lord George Gordon's mob, which, though at first an object of ridicule, had actually awed the legislature, and subverted government for a week. The mar-

this thought it safer to confide powers in the executive government, than to leave individuals to take measures for their own security, the mischievous effects of which might be a civil war.

The marquis of Lansdowne strongly supported the motion for adjournment. No inconvenience could, he said, arise from the delay of a day. It would give the people time to form and come forward with an opinion on the subject. The principal persons concerned in this terrible conspiracy had been taken up, and no attempt had been made to rescue them. No appearance in any part of the country justified the haste of this proceeding. None of the precedents, his lordship said, were enough in point to justify the measure. No distinction could be pointed out between these societies and those which met for the purpose of parliamentary reform in the years 1778 and 1782; yet the executive power had never then expressed the least apprehension, or taken any measures to suppress them. Why, he asked, was the measure not adopted last year, when an insurrection was so much apprehended? The reason was obvious, because the people were not wound up to a proper pitch for receiving such a measure. The revolution in this country, and that in France, had been effected by men of rank and condition. The report, he said, was full of capital inaccuracies. It gave no information what the law could do, nor any real cause for the measure. It talked of societies. Those societies had the same object in view with the society in 1782, to whom, if any, a greater degree of blame attached, as they were the beginners. But the old jacobins were prosecuting the new. There was a vulgar proverb, the purport of which was, that one set of men were best to catch another; a smuggler was the best man to catch smugglers, but would it be right to invest him with power to catch the fair trader? As to the policy of the measure, if it was the real opinion of the country that there should be a reform, whatever might be done to prevent it, sooner or later it would be effected. If their grievances were real, they ought to be redressed; and that they had real grievances was certain, for the commissioners of accounts, appointed even by parliament, had reported on the enormous sinecures, expences, and burthensome offices of government. After every exertion which could be made, what was the benefit to be expected? That there should be no meetings for the discussion of popular subjects? Was that a state of society to be wished for? Emigrations would, his lordship observed, not diminish under such measures. The discontents of the people arose from the impolitic measures of the present ministry. What was to be the end of the present business? Was it to prevent a remonstrance against the war? Were the people to be silenced till there were no longer men or money to carry it on? His lordship argued with great ability against the latitude given to informers and spies by the present bill, and the evil consequences that might ensue; and demonstrated the impossibility of arms being collected to any considerable amount without the knowledge of ministers, who had only to send for a few of the principal manufacturers to have immediate information. As to new-fashioned arms, and the dramatic representation of pulling a dagger from under their cloaks, it was too contemptible a manœuvre for the good sense of this country.

The

The bill was supported by the duke of Leeds, and the lord chancellor, who contended that the precedent of 1712 was perfectly in point, and only differed from the present measure in not having been accompanied with the same degree of information to the house; whereas, in the present case, whatever objection might be made to the measure, it could not be alleged that it had not been fully discussed. On the real point at issue, the lord chancellor said, there had been but little argument. It had been admitted, that if there was a convention, &c. (the name signified little) which aimed at giving laws to parliament and the country, this measure would have been wise and salutary. The only difference then was about the fact—whether the societies really aimed to give laws to the country, or merely meant to obtain a parliamentary reform by legal and constitutional means? From passages in the report which were quoted by his lordship, he contended that a reform of government and not of parliament was the object intended; and that the assertion that their object was a parliamentary reform no more legalized the meeting, than *God save the king*, written at the bottom of a seditious libel, could purge it of its libellous tendency. Parliamentary reform had been tried more than once, and settled and extinguished in the years 1781 and 1782. He observed that these societies originated at one of the worst periods of the French revolution, and described the convention at Edinburgh, which was altogether on the French model, and had the French convention in view in all its proceedings. The numbers he stated as at least tenfold the number of those who began the riots in 1780.—On the question of adjournment there appeared against it a majority of 108.

A motion was then made for the second reading of the bill, which was opposed by lord Lauderdale on account of the lateness of the hour (past two o'clock in the morning). It had, his lordship said, been intimated that a petition against the bill would probably be presented the following day. The standing order against reading a bill twice on one day was not unknown to the people: what must the house not suffer in character from violating its own standing orders, and obviously to prevent the people from their right of petitioning? The duke of Richmond and Mr. Wyvill he was certain would deny that parliamentary reform had been put to sleep in 1782. It had been said that this bill would not prevent an action for false imprisonment. In 1715 it was understood that it did give complete indemnity to the privy council for all commitments. The bill then went through the usual forms, and a division took place in every stage: it passed at about three o'clock in the morning. A spirited protest was however entered on the journals, which was signed by the duke of Bedford and the earls of Albemarle, Lauderdale, and Stanhope.

The second part of the report was debated in the house of lords on the 13th of June. It was introduced by lord Grenville, who ended his speech on this occasion by moving an address to his majesty, "informing him that the house had, from the consideration of the papers sent down, seen a traitorous conspiracy against the constitution; and strongly expressing the loyalty of the house; and adding that they wished to bring to exemplary punishment the abettors of such plans, and to vest additional powers in the executive

tive government; and were ready to give energy and vigour to that law by which they were protected," &c.

The address was strongly objected to by the earl of Lauderdale, as containing no ground of complaint against ministers, who had been in possession of the facts contained in the report for several months. If a conspiracy existed, it ought to have been crushed in the bud. His lordship stated, however, that he had seen nothing like such a proof of a conspiracy as warranted the carrying up to the throne an address which pledged the house in a very considerable degree. He argued at large against the whole proceedings on this occasion, and a debate ensued, in which however little new matter was brought forward. The address was carried without a division, and sent to the commons for their concurrence.

Previous to the reading of the second report in the house of commons, Mr. Pitt brought up several papers as a supplement, containing a letter from Mr. Grey to the minister, and inclosing several others signed by Mr. Daniel Stuart. The purport of the communication was to shew that there had not been any communication between the society of the friends of the people, of which Mr. Grey was a member, and that convention which was held at Edinburgh after the proceedings of that convention bore the appearance of violent intentions.

Mr. Grey thought it extremely strange that this letter, in explanation of the others, did not appear on the face of the report; and was joined in this opinion by Mr. Sheridan. That part of the supplement which related to the society in question was, he said, of a nature the most uncandid. It contained three letters, which, if they had been ever so slightly examined, would have been found to be written by Mr. Stuart in his individual, not in his official, capacity. There appeared, he said, in the report a design to insinuate that the society of the friends of the people had been connected with the convention at Edinburgh from beginning to end. It was unfair to charge the society with the contents of a letter expressing the sentiments of a private gentleman, though the letters contained not one sentiment of which any man of honour need to be ashamed. Had Mr. Stuart been examined, every doubt and suspicion would have vanished. He mentioned another letter of Mr. Stuart's, which, if found, would have convinced the committee that Mr. Stuart acted only as an individual.

Mr. Pitt defended the committee as having only acted consistently with their duty. They had entertained some doubts respecting those letters found in the pocket of Skirving, observing that the signature was different from that used by Mr. Stuart in his official capacity. Yet, when they compared these letters with his official ones, the resemblance was so strong it was difficult to say where the line of distinction was to be drawn. He admitted the finding of the letter alluded to, but said the committee had not chosen to insert it in their report.

Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Grey warmly expressed their disapprobation at its having been kept back, and wished to know the meaning of the omission.

On the same day the chancellor of the exchequer moved, "that the house do agree with the house of lords in their address to his majesty." He strongly insisted upon the conclusions formed in the report of

of the existence of a conspiracy against the state, and of its having long existed. He also entered into a very able detail of the proceedings of the societies from which their guilt had been inferred; and referred any gentleman, who could still entertain any doubt on the subject, to two or three of the last pages of the report.

Mr. Lambton reprobated the mode of selecting partial extracts from letters of individuals, and books of societies, and making them charges and accusations against particular persons: nor could he think the mode of printing certain words and passages in italics and capitals altogether fair, as if doubtful of a fair appeal to cool and unbiassed judgment in its decision, but endeavouring to influence the passions, by pointing out partial views on which the subject was to be examined. He cited the words of Algernon Sidney, "That if quotations were suffered to be so mangled and disguised to answer party purposes, he would prove from the bible itself, that there was no God." This mode of partial printing might tend to influence the minds, if not of that house, perhaps of those courts of justice before whom the present objects of persecution were about to appear. Partial extracts, unaccompanied by any *overt act*, would not be admitted as criminating evidence in any court of justice, and were inadequate to substantiate any charge of treason; what therefore was not admissible evidence in a court of justice ought not, consistently with the principles of justice, to be admitted in that house. He could, he said, scarcely avoid wishing to see an account thus garbled of the society to which Mr. Pitt and the duke of Richmond had belonged. In the beginning of the report, the circumstances attending the supposed conspiracy were stated to be extravagant. If this meant absurd and impossible, how could the minister justify the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act upon the supposition of danger? If it was meant to call them wild and extravagant, whence arose the pains taken throughout the whole of the report to prove them regular and systematical? While the committee professed to trace the origin of these conspiracies, why did they state facts of a recent date? or why were they forced in out of their natural order of time and place? In the third page of the report the plan for providing arms was termed a general idea; yet directly afterwards it was stated, that the matter was discussed only by a few, and that only when the general meetings were broken up, and a few select members left behind. What were these talked-of arms? Eighteen pike-heads, ten battle-axes, and twenty blades unfinished. This was the mighty force that was to overthrow the constitution, to annihilate the parliament, and to destroy his majesty! Meetings were said to have been held at Paisley for the purpose of practising arms, yet at Paisley no arms had been discovered; two regiments would have destroyed this formidable conspiracy in its most gigantic maturity. Mr. Lambton vindicated the society of the friends of the people, and condemned the suppression of some of the papers found on Skirving. From the different circumstances of the two countries, he contended that there was not the least danger of the prevalency of French principles. He had, he said, pledged himself to accord with the measures of

of administration, if they brought forward any evidence to prove that the constitution was in danger, but it was his duty to state, that he saw no danger whatever.

Mr. Robinson and Mr. Martin censured the report, which was defended by Mr. serjeant Watson, sir Wathin Lewes, Mr. alderman Newnham, and Mr. Burdon.

Mr. Fox, in a speech replete with sound argument, avowed his little connection with the societies, and urged the little necessity that could exist for warranting a departure from the ordinary course of administering government. He warned the house against the fatal error of bringing the constitution into contempt, by teaching the people that it was of itself inadequate to any emergency. In discussing questions of war or alliance, it was said to be the prerogative of the crown, and that parliament was not to interfere with the exercise of this prerogative, but to punish ministers if they abused it. Was it not equally the prerogative and the duty of the crown to punish all attempts against the constitution by the regular course of law, and the province of parliament to animadvert on ministers if they neglected or betrayed their duty? No reason could be alleged for deviating from the ordinary mode in the one case more than the other. What was to be expected from their address? Professions of loyalty. Surely the house of commons had better means of manifesting their loyalty than by professions. Professions they had already given in abundance, and they were not in this instance called upon to give material advice; they were only called upon to witness facts, to affirm their belief of the existence of a conspiracy, which was already in issue on the trials of the persons committed as accomplices in that conspiracy. The address was neither for the purposes of loyalty nor advice, it was a reconveyance from that house to the crown, whereby the house was made to volunteer as a witness of their own accusation. The papers in the report on which the address was founded were many of them the composition of ministers: of the authenticity of such papers, neither the house nor the secret committee had any knowledge of their own. The effect of the address could only be to publish the opinion of the house that the constitution was in danger. He ridiculed the idea of arms, and the use which was made of the term convention; and noticed, that a convention had seated the house of Brunswick on the throne. Mr. Fox asserted the right of the people to meet and discuss their private or political affairs. Conventions might not only be innocent but meritorious; and if the right of assembling and giving their opinion on grievances properly alleged were withheld from the people, the constitution of the country might gradually sink into ruin, without one blow being struck. It was, in his opinion, the work of *the old tory faction in this country* to raise an alarm, and to exhibit as a weapon of danger the only constitutional means which could be resorted to in cases of extremity. A case might be supposed, in which it would be the duty of the people assembled by their delegates in convention to call upon parliament to do what parliament would not do of itself. Was it not then the height of madness to blunt the weapons, and discredit the means to which parliament must resort in such an emergency? He would not quote the resistance made to king James,

to

to shew that the prince on the throne might at any time be resisted. It might be asked how the obedience of the disaffected was to be secured? The law had provided for the punishment of the disaffected, whenever disaffection shewed itself in any of their actions. That was the proper means of prevention, and the true answer to all that had been said about suffering the mischief to grow to a head. To put the law in force, was it necessary for the house to declare its belief in the existence of a conspiracy, on evidence which they should have been ashamed to listen to? Had parliament, previous to the trial of Mr. Walker, &c. declared their belief of the conspiracy with which those gentlemen were charged, a jury prejudiced and misled by such a declaration might have found a verdict of *Guilty* on the testimony of a witness, who was in fact a person whom the counsel for the prosecution was ashamed of. For these reasons he objected to that part of the address, which declared the belief of the house in the conspiracy, and should move to leave it out. He objected also to the declarations of loyalty as unnecessary, but should not vote against them. From a review of the persons from whom danger was apprehended, he said such men might join in a revolution, but could never produce one. In the advice he gave his disinterestedness must be allowed, since it could scarcely be imagined he should wish to go to the *guillotine*, merely for the sake of being accompanied by the gentleman over against him. Rash and even seditious conversation would, he supposed, be proved in the course of the prosecutions, but he trusted none had so far forgotten their duty to their country as to embark in treason. At all events the trials would be conducted, and the punishments awarded, with the dignity and humanity of British justice; and the examples, in his opinion, strike with greater force, without any previous declaration from parliament. In countries where the taking off a few individuals tends to overturn the government, a few individuals, however obscure, might effect a revolution; but here, where the revolution must be popular to have the most distant chance of success, nothing could be more irrational than the attempt. Such persons would be more fit for Bedlam than for Newgate. In the most eloquent and energetic terms Mr. Fox recommended the diffusion of civil and religious liberty, and a regard to the happiness and rights of the people of this country, and of all mankind, as the surest means of establishing and securing the government; and concluded by moving for leaving out of the address, that part which declared the belief of the house in a conspiracy against the constitution.

The amendment was opposed by sir William Dolben, as throwing the whole proceedings into ridicule. In any address sent from the commons to the house of lords he was certain they would not have taken the liberty of proposing such an omission. If the commons altered the address, we should, he said, have a passive obedient king, non-resisting lords, and a rampant republican house of commons.

The attorney general noticed, that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fox) had asserted, that these reiterated discussions were more to make the house act as a witness, and give evidence to prejudice the trials of the unfortunate men then under prosecution, than for the attainment

ment of any substantial good. This effect, he argued, from the benignity of the English laws, could not be produced. He vindicated the proceedings against Mr. Muir in Scotland, and contended, that the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, which had been insisted upon as a violation of the constitution, extended only to persons suspected or accused of treasonable practices. No person could, he said, put the assemblies of the present times in competition with the convention held in 1688, without affixing a gross libel on the constitution. The present convention had for its object the annihilation of that constitution which at that period was ratified and established; and he called upon the house to point out one instance of a similarity of principles adopted by those who conducted the revolution, and the modern reformers. He considered the society of the friends of the people, and that of the liberty of the press, as particularly dangerous, from the persons of rank and influence that composed them. It was not easy to find out what the views and intentions of the former were; the latter had been more audacious, and by applauding the patriotic sentiments of counsel, and the conduct of persons after conviction, attempted to palsy the hand of the public accuser. The part of the address attempted to be omitted, contained its very substance and essence. He deprecated the mode in which the law officers of the crown were constantly treated with regard to criminal prosecutions. If they forbore to prosecute, they were accused of neglecting their duty; if they prosecuted, societies voted thanks to those who opposed them, and gave them every support. Prevention was, he said, better than cure. Had the existing government prevented the assembling of 40,000 men in the year 1780, would it not have contributed to the public tranquillity, and prevented innumerable evils. The amendment of Mr. Fox was negatived without a division, and the address was put and carried.

Whilst the preceding business was in agitation, the marquis of Lansdowne, on the 26th of May, addressed the house of lords on the subject of America. It had not been, he said, his intention to trouble the house again this session; and he had arranged matters for going out of town that day; but he wished not to let the season slip without once more calling their attention to the state of affairs at home and abroad. At a former period he stated that he had taken the liberty of directing the attention of the house to the neutral nations, and had predicted a variety of circumstances relative to the impropriety of the war, which, though at that time treated with light and inconsiderate regard, had unfortunately proved to be too fatal, and too true. To the same objects he was again reduced to recur by the impolitic and delusive system we had adopted. Previous to the discussion of the particular subject of his motion, he begged leave to make some observations connected with it. His lordship recommended several interior reforms, and objected strongly to the present employments of the attorney and solicitor general, who could not enter into a consultation with his lordship's agent on particular business, as they were engaged in taking the examinations of persons suspected of treasonable and seditious practices. He was astonished to hear, that the great officers of state were employed in inspecting

instruments of cruelty, calculated for the purpose of assassination, when their time might be so much more respectably employed by ministers to the advantage of the public. His lordship censured in pointed terms the management of affairs at home. Abroad, he said, every thing had tended to confirm his former opinion of their calamitous state, particularly in Flanders. His lordship mentioned the great loss of our artillery, and that the number of sick, since the commencement of the campaign, which was only six weeks, exceeded the whole amount during the last year. Was it not universally known that the losses of our allies were concealed, while our display of successes was made with every ornament that ingenuity could bestow? He stated the Low Countries to be in extreme danger, the inhabitants openly condemning the war, and proclaiming their wishes for the enemy;—the Dutch murmuring at our conquests in the West-Indies, and complaining that we had secretly gained possession of the French Atlantic colonies to monopolize the sugar trade;—Italy and Spain reprobating our perseverance. The astonishing multitudes in arms brought forward by the French might, he said, teach us how utterly impracticable the war was, with any hope of ultimate success. In a war like the present, attended with such a prodigious waste of men and money, it behoved ministers to reflect deliberately before they provoked a new enemy to enter the field against us. He had great apprehensions respecting neutral nations, and he wished a noble lord (Auckland) to declare whether he had signed an article of a treaty in his official capacity, which had not been laid before the house, and required the grand duke not only to banish emigrants, but such of his own subjects as the British court should proscribe. His lordship further censured the conduct of ministers respecting the courts of Sweden and Denmark, and the island of Corsica, and proceeded particularly to notice the conduct of this country towards America. He first complained of our conduct respecting that part of the treaty of peace with the United States in 1783, which fixed the boundary, and allotted them the barrier posts, of which they had never yet been put in possession, and were still uneasy on that score. This neglect had, he said, irritated the Americans; and their suspicions and jealousy were increased by our having assisted the Portuguese to enter into a truce with the Algerines and the States of Barbary. That conciliation was, he said, effected by the Portuguese consenting to join the league against the French. The Portuguese, antecedent to that truce, had constantly opposed the Algerines, and kept a squadron of men of war at the mouth of the Straits, principally to check the Algerine rovers from injuring the American trade. In this point of view our conduct stood condemned by the Americans, who were not at all reconcileable to the truce, as it was averred on their parts, that the truce was acceded to by the Barbarians, on the express condition that it should be concealed for six weeks; the consequence of which was, that the Algerine vessels were let out upon them at once, greatly to their detriment; the sallies against the American vessels proving successful, and a great number of them were actually seized near

near Lisbon; which might have been avoided, had the negotiation been known. The next cause of offence to America was, he said, the order of council, June 8, 1793, to seize all ships (those of Sweden and Denmark excepted) loaded with corn, and after purchasing the cargo for the use of his majesty, and paying what was reasonable for freight, to dismiss them. This his lordship stated as not only strange and insolent conduct towards an independent nation, dictating to them with whom they should trade, but an instance of unprecedented cruelty in attempting to starve twenty-six millions of people for a matter of opinion. No writer on the laws of nations stated it as a principle, to prevent a neutral power carrying corn into a belligerent nation; the restriction was only on arms and ammunition, but not on corn, which was the staple commodity of America.—The next point referred to by the marquis was the order of council of November 6th, for capturing all vessels carrying any provisions or stores to the French colonies. From the 6th of November to the 28th of March upwards of 600 American vessels had been captured or detained in British ports. This detention he greatly reprobated, because it was continued after the hope of regular confiscation was abandoned, the cargoes damaged, and at last the owners received no demurrage. He disapproved of the non-permission of American vessels to sail from the British ports in the islands, unless they gave security for the discharge of their cargoes in some British or neutral port. These infringements had so far alarmed the American merchants here, that they had applied to government to know on what they might depend, looking upon it as a measure calculated to produce a rupture between the two countries. The order was, however, soon after revoked, which was a tacit confession from ministers of the injustice and illegality of the measure. The imprudence of provoking hostilities with America was demonstrated by his lordship from the contiguity of our West India islands, our retention of Canada, the number of manufacturers employed, the yearly employment of 230,000 tons of shipping, and by the danger our commerce to the West Indies would be exposed to in sailing along the extensive coast of America. The marquis at length proceeded to consider the speech of lord Dorchester in reply to seven tribes of Indians, on the 10th of February 1793, of the seven villages of Lower Canada, as deputies from all the nations except three, which was drawn up in the following words:

"Children,

"I have well considered your words, and am now prepared to reply.

"Children,

"You have informed me, that you are deputed by the seven villages of Lower Canada, and by all the nations of the Upper Country, which sent deputies to the general council held at the Miamis, except the Chawanoos, Miamis, and Loups.

"Children,

"You remind me of what passed at the Council Fire, held at Quebec, just before my last departure for England, when I promised to represent their situation and wishes to the king, their father; and expressed my hope that all the grievances they complained of on the part of the United States would soon be done away by a just and lasting peace.

"Children,

"Children,

"I remember all very well: I remember that they pointed out to me the line of separation which they wished for between them and the United States, and with which they would be satisfied and make peace.

"Children,

"I was in expectation of hearing from the people of the United States what was required by them; I hoped I should have been able to bring you together, and make you friends.

"Children,

"I have waited long, and listened with great attention, but I have not heard one word from them.

"Children,

"I flatter myself with the hope, that the line proposed in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, to separate us from the United States, which was immediately broken by themselves as soon as the peace was signed, would have been minded, or a new one drawn in an amicable manner: here also I have been disappointed.

"Children,

"Since my return, I find no appearance of a line remains: and from the manner which the people of the States push on, and act, and talk on this side, and from what I learn of their conduct towards the sea, I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year; and if we are, a line must then be drawn by the warriors.

"Children,

"You ask for a passport to go to New-York; a passport is useless in peace; it appears, therefore, that you expect we shall be at war with the States before you return. You shall have a passport, that, whether peace or war, you shall be well received by the king's warriors.

"Children,

"They have destroyed their right of pre-emption, therefore all their approaches towards us since that time, and all the purchases made by them, I consider as an infringement on the king's rights; and when a line is drawn between us, be it peace or war, they must lose all their improvement of houses on our side of it. The people must all be gone who do not obtain leave to become the king's subjects. What belongs to the Indians will of course be confirmed and secured to them.

"Children,

"What further can I say to you? You are our witness, that on our part we have acted in the most peaceable manner, and borne the language of the United States with patience, and I believe our patience is almost exhausted.

"Given under my hand, at the castle of St. Lewis, in the city of Quebec, on the 10th of February, in the year of our Lord 1794.

(Signed) DORCHESTER."

By his excellency's command,

(Signed)

HEMAN WISSIUS RYLAND,
Secretary."

The dangerous consequences of such a paper, if authentic, were largely commented upon by the marquis. Could it be matter of surprise, after such a paper had appeared in print, that the Americans had laid an embargo on our vessels in their ports for thirty days? Yet such had been their temper, that they had proceeded to the measure with remarkable reluctance. Had the measures pursued against them by this country originated with those who had condemned the peace, it might not have been so wonderful; but some of them were persons who had assisted in making

near Lisbon; which might have been avoided, had the negotiation been known. The next cause of offence to America was, he said, the order of council, June 8, 1793, to seize all ships (those of Sweden and Denmark excepted) loaded with corn, and after purchasing the cargo for the use of his majesty, and paying what was reasonable for freight, to dismiss them. This his lordship stated as not only strange and insolent conduct towards an independent nation, dictating to them with whom the[illegible] should trade, but an instance of u[illegible] precedented cruelty in attempt[illegible] to starve twenty-six millions of [illegible]ple for a matter of opinion. [illegible] writer on the laws of nation[illegible] it as a principle, to prevent [illegible] power carrying corn into [illegible]rent nation; the restrictio[illegible] on arms and ammunitio[illegible] on corn, which was the [illegible] modity of America. [illegible]ve point referred to by [illegible]e Ohio." was the order of co[illegible] ber 6th, for capt[illegible] ministers carrying any pro[illegible] ndebted to the French colon[illegible] an opportu[illegible] of November to [illegible]emselves against upwards of 600 [illegible]d to him to be been captured [illegible] measures pursued ports. This [illegible] neutral nations had reprobated, [illegible] fully discussed in the nued after [illegible] respect to what he fiscation [illegible] the unexampled severi- goes da[illegible] executive government, owners [illegible]ers likely to ensue both disapp[illegible]d abroad, the conduct of of A[illegible]ive government, and that Brit[illegible]islature likewise, would, the [illegible]xamination, be found to be of [illegible]y lenient, but in some in- [illegible] perhaps criminally tender. [illegible]t to an assembly which had [illegible] for two years in possession of [illegible]onduct of those who aimed at [illegible]ting the constitution, that the [illegible]quis addressed such language? they might deper[illegible] as a measure [illegible] a rupture be[illegible] tries. The [illegible] after rev[illegible] confessio[illegible] justice [illegible] sure. [illegible] ing [illegible] de[illegible] t[illegible]

[illegible] preserved [illegible] human blood. [illegible] great part of [illegible] [illegible]arquis, the cond[illegible] [illegible]nt was a full refutation [illegible]nsure and calumny wh[illegible] [illegible]d designed to convey. A[illegible] [illegible]alamities of war must be co[illegible] [illegible]ered as produced by those w[illegible] brought on the war; and these, as u[illegible]al, his lordship contended, were the French. The conduct of this country towards neutral nations, he asserted, was strictly consonant to the laws of nations; and he knew of no r[illegible] the executive government had [illegible] excess of liberality to sacrifice the interests of the country to the view[illegible] of its enemies, while we were carrying on a defensive war. He censured the speech of the marquis of Lansdowne which had preceded [illegible] motion; but, as it had been made, all that the house could do was to prevent the effect it might othe[illegible] produce. With respect to fixing the boundaries and the line of po[illegible] in the treaty of peace with America, he had never considered that as the article of most advantage to Great Britain, nor had he ever conversed with any individual (who understood the subject) who entertained a different opinion. The article might have been necessary, as perhaps better terms could not have been had; and when concluded

ft for the purpose—that ministers, for having taken proper measures to ieve that object, should be ac- of acting improperly? This ould not possibly feel any n that subject; and in this, orders were peace between Barbary states. in part failed; a concluded, and the Great Britain could ure a truce. But it was means true that it was kept a t for any sinister purpose, or any nger than the nature of the transaction required. With regard to the order of council June 8th, he did not, he said, expect to hear that it was a crime on the part of this country to seize, not for condemnation, but merely to detain, afterwards to value, and then to pay for, the cargo of ships laden with corn that were on their voyage to supply the enemy. He thought every principle of the law of nations warranted this conduct; or rather, that we had relaxed from the spirit of that law, in having granted to America advantages that had not been allowed to Sweden and Denmark. Respecting the order of council November 6th, his lordship stated that the French, feeling themselves unable to bring their cargoes directly to Europe, had gone with the whole produce of their West India islands to America, and waited there an opportunity to come home with safety. To meet this circumstance the order was made; and it ought only to be considered as a temporary measure, which when no longer necessary was revoked. The revocation, however, he acknowledged was partly produced by the requisition of a number of individuals, who stated that it might be possibly attended with inconve-

it, and were well acquainted with the motives on which it was founded, and had never offered any reason for a change of their opinion. He assured the house, the only object he had in view in this investigation was to avert danger, and to heal the differences between the two countries. This motion would afford ministers an opportunity of clearing themselves from an imputation which, if false, might produce dreadful consequences; if true, it was right to bring it forward, that the wisdom of the legislature might correct the rashness of the government. After a speech of great ability, his lordship concluded by moving for an address to his majesty, praying him "that there be laid before the house copies of the instructions sent to lord Dorchester, relative to all differences between this country and America, and such communications as may have been made of conferences with the Indian tribes north-west of the Ohio."

Lord Grenville thought ministers were not in the least indebted to the noble marquis for an opportunity of vindicating themselves against that which appeared to him to be no charge. The measures pursued with respect to neutral nations had already been fully discussed in the house. With respect to what he had termed the unexampled severity of the executive government, and the dangers likely to ensue both at home and abroad, the conduct of the executive government, and that of the legislature likewise, would, on fair examination, be found to be not only lenient, but in some instances perhaps criminally tender. Was it to an assembly which had been for two years in possession of the conduct of those who aimed at subverting the constitution, that the marquis addressed such language? The marquis had, he said, talked of the intention of starving the poor distressed country of France. Distressed and poor it was true it was, and earnestly desirous to render every other country the same. How then could blame attach to ministers for having used precautions to prevent the introduction of that ruinous system? The oppressions of France, his lordship said, arose not from the external combination against her, but from a set of barbarians who had got into power, and preserved it by deluges of human blood. With respect to a great part of the speech of the marquis, the conduct of government was a full refutation to the censure and calumny which it seemed designed to convey. All the calamities of war must be considered as produced by those who brought on the war; and these, as usual, his lordship contended, were the French. The conduct of this country towards neutral nations, he asserted, was strictly consonant to the laws of nations; and he knew of no right the executive government had in excess of liberality to sacrifice the interests of the country to the views of its enemies, while we were carrying on a defensive war. He censured the speech of the marquis of Lansdowne which had preceded his motion; but, as it had been made, all that the house could do was to prevent the effect it might otherwise produce. With respect to fixing the boundaries and the line of posts, in the treaty of peace with America, he had never considered that as the article of most advantage to Great Britain, nor had he ever conversed with any individual (who understood the subject) who entertained a different opinion. The article might have been necessary, as perhaps better terms could not have been had; and when concluded

ed they must be binding, and must therefore be punctually observed. All treaties, however, were to be considered on terms of reciprocal advantage to both parties. If one side did not fulfil the conditions stipulated, it was an ample reason why the other should not be over-forward to comply with all the stipulations; since it would be new indeed in the affairs of states, if a nation making considerable sacrifices on its part should not expect to obtain also the advantages of that treaty to itself. His lordship said, it would be idle for him to say any thing more on that part of the subject. The interest of Great Britain and America was to be on terms of mutual friendship and good will; and by that principle every part of the executive government of this country had been uniformly governed since the conclusion of the peace. He professed himself at a loss to know what the motive was for bringing forward the charge against them, and still more at a loss to conceive in what government had disgraced itself. So conscious was he of their endeavours to act unexceptionably, that he was ready to take his share of the responsibility which belonged to his station, for the advice he gave his sovereign on that subject. A charge that ministers wished to provoke a war with America, could be considered as little less than a calumniatory libel on his majesty's government. With respect to the peace effected through his majesty's mediation between the Portuguese and the Algerines, could it be supposed that when Portugal, our old and faithful ally, at the commencement of a war so important as the present was desirous of peace with the Barbary states, and solicited the king to interpose his good offices for the purpose—that ministers, for having taken proper measures to achieve that object, should be accused of acting improperly? This country could not possibly feel any repugnance on that subject; and in consequence of this, orders were sent to negotiate a peace between Portugal and the Barbary states. This negotiation in part failed; a peace was not concluded, and the mediation of Great Britain could only procure a truce. But it was by no means true that it was kept a secret for any sinister purpose, or any longer than the nature of the transaction required. With regard to the order of council June 8th, he did not, he said, expect to hear that it was a crime on the part of this country to seize, not for condemnation, but merely to detain, afterwards to value, and then to pay for, the cargo of ships laden with corn that were on their voyage to supply the enemy. He thought every principle of the law of nations warranted this conduct; or rather, that we had relaxed from the spirit of that law, in having granted to America advantages that had not been allowed to Sweden and Denmark. Respecting the order of council November 6th, his lordship stated that the French, feeling themselves unable to bring their cargoes directly to Europe, had gone with the whole produce of their West India islands to America, and waited there an opportunity to come home with safety. To meet this circumstance the order was made; and it ought only to be considered as a temporary measure, which when no longer necessary was revoked. The revocation, however, he acknowledged was partly produced by the requisition of a number of individuals, who stated that it might be possibly attended with inconve-

nience and injury. The extract from the New-York Gazette he knew nothing of. The particulars, if true, would be transmitted by the noble lord whose name it bore; and it would then be time enough to proceed upon it. The motion he thought calculated not to be advantageous, but of disadvantage to this country.

This position was contradicted by the duke of Grafton, who thought that, so far from any harm accruing from the motion, it would only convince America of the earnestness of that house to prevent any possible cause of complaint. From all that had occurred, he wished this country to assure America of its determination to act fairly. The declaration that the secretary of state had not seen the paper alluded to by the marquis, he thought very insufficient, and strongly urged him to proceed one step further, and to inform the house whether lord Dorchester had been invested with such powers as warranted his adoption of the measure.

The abilities of lord Dorchester were warmly defended by lord Sydney. The earl of Lauderdale, adverting to that part of lord Grenville's speech relating to the proceedings of ministers in cases of sedition and treason, observed, that government had proceeded as if the country was in a state of actual rebellion; and this was the notable proof which the minister had to give of the criminal tenderness of the executive government. With respect to what had been urged, that the country was in a state of defensive war; whatever it had been at its commencement, no one, he affirmed, could deny that the principle of the war had been changed, and that the country was, and had been, acting offensively. "What! said his lordship," engaged in a defensive war, and seize all the French West India islands! Engaged in a defensive war, and declare that peace shall not be made till the conquest of France be completed!" This was the most curious mode of proving a defensive war that the imagination of man could devise. The noble secretary had, he said, thought proper to discuss the motives of the marquis of Lansdowne's speech: it would have been more satisfactory to have discussed the speech more ably, than to have made any observation on the motives. Was the secretary prepared to say, that discussions even of subjects upon which no regular documents were before the house, were improper? As an instance that they were not, his lordship mentioned the debates on the Russian armament, which had, he said, prevented a war, and induced ministers to descend from arrogance to humility.

The earl of Carlisle conceived it so much to the mutual advantage of this country and America to continue on amicable terms, that he entertained no doubt such would be the event. He thought the passage quoted from the New-York Gazette a very insufficient ground for a parliamentary proceeding, and was joined in this opinion by the earls of Coventry, Radnor, and Caernarvon.

The earl of Mansfield censured the introduction of the late proceedings respecting treasonable practices, into the present debate, as irrelevant. With respect to defensive war; the meaning of it was, he said, to repel attacks, and to give the enemy as many thrusts as he laid himself open to. The object of defence was clearly twofold; to defend with precaution and skill, and to attack the assailant wherever vulnerable.

nerable. The measure of stopping the corn he thought fully justifiable, and could not conceive how the Americans could be stated to be sufferers, having received the full value of their cargoes in British guineas instead of French assignats. His lordship argued for the necessity of investing foreign agents with discretionary powers, and the impropriety of incautiously divulging secret instructions.

The marquis of Lansdowne vindicated the motives which had induced him to bring forward the question in debate, and which had been solely those of securing a cordial and permanent friendship between this country and America. Instead of the pitiful calumnies and personalities he had met with, he had, he said, expected to have heard language which should have conciliated the people of America. If it was wrong in ministers who made the peace, to concede the boundary in question, and give up the posts in America, they were highly culpable, and ought to be impeached; for he had no hesitation to say, that they might have kept the posts if they would, and a still larger extent of country than they had secured to Great Britain. But after very mature consideration, it was deemed wise and proper to concede to such terms as should convince the United States that we were sincere in our wishes to establish a cordial and stable reconciliation with America, and to create one common interest between the two nations. With regard to the idea, that if one contracting party did not fulfil her conditions of a treaty of peace, the other party was exonerated from discharging her agreement faithfully, the doctrine was perfectly new to him. His lordship stated the impolicy and expence attending such conduct, which was calculated to involve us in future wars, and required fortresses, garrisons, &c. innumerable. It had, he observed, been stated, that he ought to produce his civil-law authorities for what he had said respecting neutral nations and the conduct of administration during the war. He was not however to prove the negative; and he was bound to say, that the measures could not be justified by the books. Where, he asked, could be found an authority for starving a whole nation, for treating twenty-five millions of people like a besieged fortress? Where was there a precedent for making tobacco an article of provision? Where a precedent for saying to an independent nation, that its legitimate commerce on the high seas should be interrupted, and call it grace to stop them from going to their designed markets, and to set what price was most agreeable upon their staple commodity? From the character of lord Dorchester, the marquis inferred that he had not acted without authority. On a division of the house, there appeared for the motion 9, against it 69.

On the same day on which the motion of the marquis of Lansdowne was introduced into the house of lords, Mr. Sheridan brought forward a motion to a similar purpose in the lower house. Mr. Dundas, however, *positively denied* that any instructions had been given to lord Dorchester authorizing such a line of conduct, and asserted that, on the contrary, ministers had used their utmost endeavours to terminate all hostilities between the American states and the Indians. The paper, he said, *he had never before heard of*. Sir Francis Baring, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. M. Robinson, deprecated a war with America. As, however,

however, though the paper bore the appearance of authenticity, and was believed to be such by persons conversant in American affairs, it had been publicly disavowed, Mr. Sheridan begged leave to withdraw his motion; which was agreed to.

This debate was succeeded by a motion from Mr. Sheridan, for leave to bring in a bill for a new military test, containing only a declaration of his majesty's right to the crown, an attachment to the constitution, and a promise to reveal all treasons. This measure was, he said, totally unconnected with party, and had arisen incidentally from the circumstance of the emigrant corps bill. It was not founded upon any petition or claim of that people, for whose peculiar benefit it was intended; for at a time like the present, when his majesty was calling for aid from his subjects of every description, in support of the constitution, it might be improper to petition for what they felt to be no more than justice, as it might have the appearance of a demand; and it might be as improper for government to grant a voluntary offer of relief, which might be considered as a bribe. It was, he said, his opinion, that all penal statutes which made distinctions between different classes of his majesty's subjects should be done away, but that he did not expect to see done at present. He respected the prejudices as well as the rights of the people, for he considered those prejudices as originally inspired and cherished by government for wise and beneficial purposes. When we were in danger of a popish king, great pains had been taken to prejudice the people against trusting the Roman catholics; but after reaping the benefit of such prejudices, it would be unjust in government to insult them all at once. This was not however necessary: the dangers apprehended from the Roman catholics, and the prejudices against them, had vanished from every rational mind. The riots in 1780, he contended, ought not to deter the house from adopting any measure in favour of the catholics at this time. Those troubles did not, he said, arise merely from the apprehension of relief to be granted to that people, but from a general disapprobation of the measures which were adopted, and the criminal negligence of those who should have prevented them. Since that time, the spirit of toleration had been increasing. If then the danger and the prejudices were gone, the inconvenience from allowing catholics to serve in the army or navy, in the same manner as any other of his majesty's subjects, remained alone to be considered. When we were embodying an army of French catholics, did it not appear preposterous to exclude an English catholic? It was preposterous in another instance, to prevent the employing of Roman catholics in the army and navy, in this country; for, by an act passed last year in the Irish parliament, catholics were permitted to serve in the army as officers, under the rank of the staff. Supposing any of these officers to be ordered upon duty to England, could any thing be more absurd than that they should be subject to heavy penalties for bearing the king's commission, which they did in conformity to the laws of their country? Nothing but the urgency and importance of other business could have rendered ministers inattentive to such an absurdity; and this he thought himself warranted in saying, from a review of the proceedings in the Irish parliament

liament during the discussion of this question. To every objection which had been urged on that occasion, on the incongruity of the measure, the utmost reason had been given for believing that a similar law would be passed in England, and this by men who were in habits of official communication with his majesty's ministers. The catholics, Mr. Sheridan observed, did not stand in the same situation with the protestant dissenters, who, if they chose to incur the penalties, were admitted to serve. Besides, the act annually passed in that house, allowing persons a longer time to qualify, afforded them some protection, while it was at the same time a proof of the injustice and inconsistency of these tests. As an instance of the difference made between these two classes of dissenters, he mentioned Mr. Weston, a gentleman of most respectable character and great influence, who had been nominated a lieutenant colonel in one of the new corps, which he had contributed largely to raise, but who had been superseded in his command, as ministers did not think it proper to allow his commission to be signed. He thought it extremely hard, that the catholics, who were so distinguished for their fidelity, loyalty, and attachment to government, should be deprived, at a time when his majesty called for aid from all his subjects, of one great means of proving their loyalty and fidelity. He stated that the catholics had, almost without exception, contributed voluntarily to the necessities of their country. Still further to prove the absurdity of the present regulation, Mr. Sheridan put the case, that if any one of those commands usually filled by the senior officer became vacant on the continent during the war, if the officer next in command chanced to be a Roman catholic, to succeed to the command he must prove himself a Frenchman; for neither an Irish nor even an English catholic would be eligible: whilst a Frenchman, under the emigrant corps bill, might succeed to any command in the army. He very forcibly objected to all tests and disqualifying laws; but confining himself, he said, to what he thought likely to be then granted, he mentioned only military and naval tests, leaving all civil employments to remain as they were. Nor was he particular in the mode of attaining his object; if it was chosen, rather than repeal military tests altogether, to repeal them only during the war, which might be done by extending the time allowed for qualifications, or by framing a new oath to be taken by catholics conformably to what was contained in his motion.

The loyalty of the catholics was fully admitted by Mr. Dundas; but the motion, he observed, included dissenters of every description, and operated to repeal every religious test. As that was a subject which had often been discussed in the house, it was unnecessary at this time for him to give any opinion on its merits; and he should therefore move the *previous question*, as the most proper when the period for discussing the principal question was improper.

The hardship of subjecting Irish catholics to the severest penalties in this country, who had accepted commissions in conformity to the laws of their own, was argued by Mr. Fox, who further adverted to the distinctions made between catholic and protestant dissenters. He condemned the harsh treatment shewn to dissenters, to whom he said we owed more than

to any other description of men —the constitution we enjoyed, and which we so lavishly praised. He stated the readiness evinced by them to stand forth in defence of their king and country; their readiness in 1715 and 1745; and asked what had been done after they had used such exertions? An act of parliament had been passed, not to reward them for their services, but as an act of grace and pardon for a violation of the existing laws, which they had committed by taking up arms in defence of their king and country. He thought the legislature bound in honour to remove the odious distinctions with which they were branded, especially those which precluded them from serving their country in a military capacity. It was, he said, the duty of every government to preserve honour and integrity towards all its subjects. The line ought, therefore, to be drawn: either admit dissenters to equal rights in time of peace, or give up their services in times of difficulty and danger.

Mr. W. Smith said, however the dissenters might be gratified by the passing of a bill which removed some portion of the odious suspicion under which they laboured, they had not been at all consulted on the present occasion, nor desired to receive as a boon what they might justly claim as a right. He farther asserted the readiness of the dissenters to defend the constitution and the country.

The motion for the previous question was considered by Mr. M. Robinson as countenancing the principle of the bill which he disapproved. In this light it was also considered by Mr. Sheridan, and as only an objection to the time in which it was introduced. With respect to any danger resulting from granting indulgences to dissenters and catholics, he begged to be informed what evils had arisen from the indulgence already granted to the catholics of this country, or the privileges given to those of Ireland? What evil consequences had ensued from the admission of catholics to the bar? He trusted that ministers only wished for time to consider the subject fully, and that they would themselves bring it forward in the next sessions of parliament. After some further conversation, in which the master of the rolls disapproved of the original motion, the *previous question* was carried without a division.

On the 30th of May, the duke of Bedford called for the attention of the house of lords on the important subject of peace. In opening the discussion, his grace recapitulated the leading circumstances of the war. It was, he said, his design to shew the views in which it had been entertained by government and the legislature; the different aspects it had assumed, and the utter impossibility of drawing any specific conclusion of the intentions of administration, or limiting the calamity to any object the attainment of which would satisfy their wishes. He entreated the house to examine the state of affairs abroad and at home, and to inquire whether the system pursued and the means taken for its accomplishment were likely to produce any beneficial effect to this country, much less the object professed. His grace said he intended to offer some resolutions for the assent of the house, which might be offered with propriety, since both the object and the nature of the war were changed. Hostilities were avowedly commenced to prevent the navigation of the Scheld, and to guarantee the Dutch from

from the invasion of the French. Both these purposes had been early completed; and therefore some propositions for peace on the part of Great Britain might long before this have been expected. His grace proceeded to read his five first resolutions *.

The matter contained in these resolutions was, he contended, the first proof of the determination of ministers to interfere with the internal affairs of France. It was a declaration in favour of monarchy, as explicit and unequivocal as could be made. It was, he said, material for the honour of the country, to see upon what principles lord Hood had

* "Resolved, I. That it appears to this house, that during the several changes which took place in the constitution and government of France, before the commencement of hostilities, and more particularly after the events of the 10th of August 1792, when his majesty was advised by his ministers to suspend all official communication with France, it was, and continued to be, the professed principle and policy of his majesty's government, carefully to observe a strict neutrality, and uniformly to abstain from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France. That when his majesty was advised to make a further augmentation of his forces by sea and land at the beginning of the last year, it was for the declared purpose of opposing views of aggrandisement and ambition on the part of France; and that when his majesty acquainted parliament, that acts of hostility had been directed by the government of France against his majesty's subjects, and after war had been declared against his majesty and the United Provinces, the then avowed object of prosecuting the war on our part, was to oppose all views of further aggrandisement imputed to France, and that the prosecution of the war on this ground, and for the attainment of this object, was approved by both houses of parliament.

"Resolved, II. That it appears to this house, that at or before the end of April 1793 the armies of France were obliged to evacuate Holland and Flanders, and to retire within their own territory; and that the prince of Cobourg, commander in chief of the emperor's forces in Flanders, did on the 5th of April engage and declare that he would join and co-operate with general Dumouriez, to give to France her constitutional king, and the *constitution which she had formed for herself*; and that the prince of Cobourg did also then declare, on his word of honour, that if any strong places should be delivered over to his troops, he should consider them no otherwise than as sacred deposits; and that on the 9th of the same month all the preceding declarations of the prince of Cobourg were revoked.

"Resolved, III. That it appears to this house, that, by the 15th article of the treaty concluded with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, on the 10th of April 1793, his majesty's ministers were of opinion, that the *situation of affairs had then entirely changed its aspect*, in consequence of which his majesty might not have occasion for the Hessian troops, and might be at liberty to relinquish their service, on certain conditions of compensation to be made to the landgrave.

"Resolved, IV. That it appears to this house, that on the 14th of July 1793 a convention was concluded between his majesty and the king of Prussia, in which their majesties reciprocally promised to continue to employ their respective forces, as far as their circumstances would permit, in carrying on a war equally just and necessary.

"Resolved, V. That it appears to this house, that on the 23d of August 1793 lord Hood declared to the people of Toulon, that he had no other view than that of restoring peace to a great nation, upon the most just, liberal, and honourable terms. That the inhabitants of Toulon did, in return, declare, that it was their unanimous wish to adopt a monarchical government, such as it was originally formed *by the constituent assembly* of 1789; and that lord Hood, by his proclamation of the 28th of August, accepted of that declaration, and did then repeat what he

had acted, what terms he proposed, and into what ongagements he entered on behalf of his majesty. It was evident from the paper on the table, that he accepted their wish to adopt a monarchical government such as was formed by the constituent assembly; that he offered protection to the people of the south of France who should manifest their sentiments, and pledged the faith of the government of England to the unequivocal maintenance of the object of their declarations. The invitation given to the people in the south of France was accepted; they repaired to the standard erected; and his lordship, on the 28th of August, solemnly accepted their declaration. Thus a specific ground and object of the war was held out to the people of France, and the faith of Great Britain was pledged for this object. The phraseology quoted in his 6th resolution *, his grace asserted, deserved the warmest reprobation. What, he asked, would be the feelings of this country if its constitution were so treated by any foreign minister? By the memorial to the states general in January 1793, those who had made the constitution which we pledged ourselves by lord Hood's declaration to assist in reestablishing, were described as "miscreants assuming the name of philosophers." His grace reprobated such declarations, and all ideas of dictating to another independent people the government they should choose, or the mode of regulating their internal concerns. Such an interference could, he said, only be regarded as a violation of rights, and an outrage not to be forgiven. The French were, he said, held out as the original declarers of the war, which was called upon our parts a defensive one; but it was of little importance who were the first declarers, in comparison of who were the first provokers; and it was impossible we could look back to these preliminary steps in the war, with any satisfaction to ourselves either as to the right, the moderation, or the policy we had exercised.

The next resolution, his grace said, referred to the means we had taken, and the co-operation we had secured for the conduct of the war. By it †, his majesty certainly expected the other powers at war to accord in the sentiments expressed; but

he had already declared to the people of the south of France, that he took possession of Toulon, and held it in trust only for Louis XVII."

* "Resolved, VI. That it appears to this house, that the constitution, to which the declaration and acceptance stated in the preceding resolution are applied, was the same which his majesty's ambassador at the Hague did, in a memorial presented to the states general of the 25th of January 1793, describe in the following terms, *viz.* 'It is not quite four years since certain miscreants, assuming the name of philosophers, have presumed to think themselves capable of establishing a new system of civil society: in order to realize this dream, the offspring of vanity, it became necessary for them to overturn and destroy all established notions of subordination, of morals, and of religion;' and that this description was applied by the said ambassador to a government with which his majesty continued to treat and negotiate from its institution in 1789 to its dissolution in August 1792: and that his majesty's ambassador was not recalled from Paris until that government was dissolved."

† "Resolved, VII. That it appears to this house, by the declaration made by his majesty's ministers, and dated on the 29th of October 1793, 'that his majesty demands only of France, that some legitimate and stable government should be established,

but their manifestoes and declarations proved him to be deceived. The declaration of the 29th of October 1793 did not bind us to continue the war till monarchy was restored; but said, that we should not make peace till the establishment of a stable government, which might secure a permanent peace. The former of these he thought no man could answer for, the latter any man; and he had no doubt if proper overtures were made from this country, the people of France would force their government to make peace. His grace proceeded to read his 8th, 9th, and 10th resolutions *; after the latter of which, he animadverted in pointed terms on the assistance promised, but never afforded, by the empress of Russia. England had been said to arm in the common cause of all nations; America, Sweden, and Denmark were neutral in the business; Poland neither could nor would assist; Naples had inserted a saving clause in the treaty with this country, enabling her to withdraw from the war at pleasure; Venice and Genoa would not engage in the contest; the king of Sardinia was subsidized for defending his own dominions; and the assistance from Spain and Portugal was ineffectual. He next stated the conduct of the king of Prussia. That monarch had been the first to declare war against France, and bound himself to pursue the war as a principal; which he did till April 1794, when his Britannic majesty was obliged to

established, founded on the acknowledged principles of universal justice, and capable of maintaining with other powers the accustomed relations of union and peace;' and that his majesty, in treating for the re-establishment of general tranquillity with such a government, 'would propose none other than equitable and moderate conditions, not such as the expences, the risques, and the sacrifices of the war might justify;' and that his majesty hoped to find in the other powers engaged with him in the *common cause*, sentiments and views perfectly conformable to his own."

* "Resolved, VIII. That it appears to this house, that, at the commencement of the war, the prosecution of it was considered by his majesty as a cause of *general concern*, in which his majesty had *every reason* to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who were united with his majesty by the ties of alliance, and who felt an interest in the same cause.

"Resolved, IX. That it does not appear to this house, that, in the prosecution of the war, considered by his majesty as a *cause of general concern*, and as a *common cause*, his majesty has received that *cordial co-operation* which we were led to expect from those powers who were united with him by the ties of alliance, and who were supposed to feel an interest in the same cause.

"Resolved, X. That, on a review of the conduct of the several powers of Europe, from whom, if the cause was *common*, and if the concern was *general*, such cordial co-operation might have been expected, it appears to this house, that many of those powers have not co-operated with his majesty; that the empress of Russia has not contributed in any shape to the support of this common cause; that the crowns of Sweden and Denmark have united to support their neutrality, and to defend themselves against any attempt to force them to take part in this common cause; that Poland is neither able nor inclined to take part in it; that Switzerland and Venice are neutral; that the king of Sardinia has required and obtained a subsidy from Great Britain, to enable him to act even on the defensive; that the king of the Two Sicilies, professing to make a common cause with his majesty in the war against France, is bound to it by nothing but his own judgment, *in the course of events which may occur*, and that he is at liberty to abandon the common cause *whenever he shall judge that he cannot any longer with justice and dignity continue the war*; that the efforts of Spain and Portugal have been completely ineffectual."

grant

. . exorbitant subsidy to . . n to act even as an auxi- . . . the war was the common . . . civilized states, why, he . . . , was not the emperor to con- . . . ute to the expence, the salva- . . . of whose country was stated to depend on the destruction of France? In the end his grace thought we might be obliged to bear the whole of the expence. Were we able to sustain such a burden? From a view of the situation and circumstances of the allies, he thought the object of the war unattainable, and pregnant with the most awful calamities to this country. His grace spoke in pointed terms of the inconsistency of remaining tame spectators of the atrocities exercised against the brave and high-spirited Poles, and yet declaring that we were humanely engaged in fighting the cause of civilized nations. He noticed subsidizing the king of Prussia enable him to wage the most inhuman and cruel war that was undertaken with the cry of humanity in our mouths. Those attempts against the independence neighbouring nations with which we charged, and for which we execrated the French, we assisted other powers in perpetrating. It was, he said, idle and hypocritical to assume the pretext of humanity in the one instance, and to laugh it to scorn in the other.

The four* following resolutions, his grace said, referred to the object of the war as originally professed, and the restoration of peace on terms of permanent

* "Resolved, XI. That, with respect to the powers who were principals in the present war (*viz.* the states general, the king of Prussia, and the emperor), it appears to this house, that the states general, having refused to contract for the payment of their portion of the subsidies to be paid to the king of Prussia, beyond the term of the present year, have thereby reserved to themselves a right to withdraw from the support of the war at that period, and to throw the whole burden of it upon Great Britain. That the king of Prussia, being bound by the convention of July 1793 to act in *the most perfect concert and the most intimate confidence with his majesty, upon all the objects relative to the present war; and having then promised to continue to employ his forces, as far as circumstances would permit, in carrying on the war;* and his majesty having since been obliged, by the treaty of the 19th of April 1794, to grant to the king of Prussia an enormous subsidy, in order to engage him to continue to co-operate in the prosecution of the war; it follows that the king of Prussia is no longer a principal, party, nor even an auxiliary in the said war, but that he basely lends out his troops to this country, in return for a most profitable pecuniary compensation, at our expence; and that Great Britain is, in fact, loaded with his proper share of the burden of a war which is said to be the common cause of every civilized state. Finally, that if it were expedient or necessary to purchase the king of Prussia's co-operation on such terms, the emperor, whose interests are more directly at stake, was full as much bound in reason and justice as his majesty or the states general could be, to contribute equally to that expence; and that if, at any future period of the war, the emperor's finances should be so exhausted as to make it impossible for him to maintain it on his part, at his own charge, his imperial majesty will be invited and encouraged, if not justified, by the example and success of the king of Prussia, to call upon this country to defray the whole expence of whatever army he may continue to employ against the French; nor does it appear to this house, by what distinction in policy or in argument, the terms granted to the king of Prussia can be refused to the emperor, whose efforts and expences, in the course of the war, have infinitely exceeded those of Prussia; or how this country can, in prudence or with safety, decline a compliance with such demands, if it be true, as has been declared, that the destruction of the present French government is essential

rmanent security, which could ly be obtained by proposing to ance equitable and moderate con- ions, and explicitly stating the ject we had in view. The whole the resolutions had, he said, been awn from official documents. He ewed from the collection of state pers, that the prince of Saxe bourg had in April 1793 joined th Dumouriez to restore the con- tution of 1789, against which war had been undertaken. The consistency of this declaration ith that from this same prince, ur days after, in which he *totally nul's and revokes all he had antece- iently declared*—the further incon- sistency of lord Hood's declara- ion to the Toulonese with this of e prince of Saxe Cobourg—the ontradiction in the declarations of eneral Wurmser—and the still reater contradictions in the con- ct of this country were all noticed by his grace. He then entered into a review of the events preceding and producing the French revolution, the seeds of which he thought were brought from America; and mentioned the amelioration produced in France at the time of the revolution. Speculative men had, he said, afterwards attempted to form a system too pure for the present state of society; but time would have softened down these theories, and have made it one of the grandest and most extraordinary structures that was ever formed by man. During this time, unless some trifling dispute about boundaries, nothing happened to excite the jealousy of other powers. Yet two of the despotic powers of Europe affected to see the progress of the revolution with alarm, and laid the foundation of all the horrors that have followed. The constitution of 1789 had been formed by men distinguished for their rank and talents. How had these men, how had M. La Fayette been received by

essential to the security of every thing which is most dear and valuable to us as a nation.

"Resolved, XII. That it appears to this house, that in consequence of the events of the war on the continent and elsewhere, all views of aggrandisement and ambition on the part of France, supposing the French to entertain such views, are evidently unattainable, and must be relinquished by France; and that, therefore, the object of the war, as it was originally professed on our part, viz. the restoration of peace on terms of permanent security, is now attainable, and may be secured, provided that, on one side, the French shall be content with the possession and safety of their own country, and that we, on the other, shall adhere to the principle of justice and policy, so often declared by his majesty, and avowed by his ministers, of *uniformly abstaining from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France.*

"Resolved, XIII. That it is the duty of his majesty's ministers to avail themselves of the present circumstances of the war, and to promote a pacification by every means in their power, by proposing to France equitable and moderate conditions, and, above all things, by *abstaining from any interference in the internal affairs of France.*

"Resolved, XIV. That it is the opinion of this house, that in every possible case, it is equally desirable that his majesty should make an explicit declaration of his views. If it is the intention not to interfere in the internal government of France, nothing can contribute so much to advance a negotiation with those who now exercise the power of government in that country, as such a declaration solemnly and explicitly made. If, on the other hand, it is intended to interfere, it is highly essential to make the degree of interference precisely known, to induce such parts of the French nation as are dissatisfied with the present government, to unite and exert themselves with satisfaction and security."

these

grant him an exorbitant subsidy to induce him to act even as an auxiliary. If the war was the common cause of civilized states, why, he asked, was not the emperor to contribute to the expence, the salva tion of whose country was stated depend on the destruction of Fra In the end his grace thoug might be obliged to bear th of the expence. Were we a tain such a burden? Fro the situation and circum allies, he thought th of war unattainable, a ad, he the most awful ure arisen country, Hi e allied pow- pointed term d on the French of remainin to cruelty, and had atrocities and set upon them and high prey, and rendered them in the toils. Their ex- tion, their blood was deem- ed necessary to give security to Eu- To destroy the government was necessary to destroy the French system, French principles, and even the people. Could such an expectation, he asked, be entertained by any reasonable man? To the friends of despotism all the massacres of France were to be attributed. They instructed the people to distrust a good and humane king, who they made them believe was so shackled by his nobility, and so enveloped in prejudice, as to be unable to fulfil what a temporary expediency obliged him to grant. The conduct of our allies, with other causes, had, he said, conspired to produce a second revolution.

With respect to the arguments commonly urged in favour of the war, his grace ridiculed the idea of preventing by war the introduction of principles. This was not a country to be invaded by doctrines contrary to human reason: sentiments of liberty were not new to it; sentiments that cherished licen-

claring be received t gage torture of ... t secure b ... ness was a rati ... tion. It was, ... ly consideration, th ... industriously spr ... ch principles had b ... ace to pursuing Fre ... ples ourselves. His grace accused ministers of having gone unwarrantable lengths in the prosecution of several of their late measures (the landing the Hessian troops, the rapid progress of the suspension of the habeas corpus act, &c.), and reprobated, in pointed terms, the association of place-men and pensioners for the purpose of breeding and fostering swarms of spies and informers to hover over the levities of conversation, the unguarded moments of conviviality, and to treasure every hasty expression of passion excited by the irksome weight of revenue laws, or the oppressive burdens resulting from war. That expressions of passion wrung from a man in the agony, perhaps of having lost his all, should subject him to be dragged to the tribunal of justice, was a horror at which the heart of every friend to freedom must revolt. His grace expatiated at large upon this subject, and asked if such proceedings were calculated to preserve in the minds of men an admiration of the constitution, and a love and reverence for the laws? He then ridiculed the idea of peace being considered as unattainable from the intemperate expressions used in the French convention, and asked whether it was to be believed that ministers in this country would not listen to an equitable pacification, because they had been guilty of a number of idle terms of reproach and unmeasured expressions of contempt. As the conduct of the lead-

ers

equal; in in e- it continued ustice. It fell opened, that an un undertaken without in its authors in the most dread- consequences. The consequences attending the interference of the French king in the affairs of this coun try had recoiled upon himself and his family, and afforded a striking lesson to other princes and powers. His grace concluded his very able and animated speech, by entreating the attention of the house to the whole of the subject as it then stood—the conduct of the allies—the change in the sentiments of a great part of Europe—the impolitic, unsafe, and unpromising prosecution of the war as far as respected this country—and the energy of the French: from all of which, he said, they might be convinced that we should never conquer France. He then proceeded to move his first resolution.

Lord Auckland rose to state what occurred to him respecting the expressions made use of against the French, in a declaration to the United Provinces. That declaration had, his lordship said, been made subsequent to the revolutionary decree for subverting every government in Europe, to the invasion of Holland, to the murder of the king, and only six days prior to the declaration of war against England and Holland. He had, he said, certainly meant to allude to those who had managed the first constituent assembly, to whom he attributed all the calamities that now appalled mankind. With the single exception of the abbé Sieyes, they had no pretension to the title philosophers; they were the enemies of God and the human race; and he had no apology to make, either to them or their predecessors, for the sentiments and language he had so long maintained respecting them. The resolutions adduced by his grace opened, he said, the whole circle of politics, foreign and domestic. He trusted however the house would be little disposed to discuss them *seriatim*; it would be a waste of time. With respect to the internal situation of the country, his grace had, he said, reprehended the measures taken for the suppression of treasonable practices, in terms more remarkable for their force, than for their justice, prudence, or temperance. His lordship strongly contended for the necessity of these measures. With respect to the external situation of this country, he fully agreed with his grace, as to the difficulties and risques of the war; but we had no alternative. He did not however feel despondence on this score; for it was not to be supposed that so unnatural and so monstrous a paroxysm as that of France, could be permanent. His confidence in the protection of providence would not allow him to believe that the supreme being had determined the subversion of all states and the general destruction of mankind by each others hands; and he hoped, before the next session should arrive, we should be drawing towards a safe close of a just and unavoidable war. His lordship concluded by moving for an adjournment.

The resolutions were further opposed

those men who professed themselves engaged in the cause of humanity? That there was much to blame in the system of liberty first adopted in France, much to correct, much to alter, was certain; but what a work was a system of government! and how impossible that human wisdom could perfect it in a day! Subsequent to the king's death, every species of horror to which humanity could be subjected had passed on the devoted scene of France. These however had, he contended, in a great measure arisen from the conduct of the allied powers, who had pressed on the French from cruelty to cruelty, and had goaded, hunted, and set upon them like beasts of prey, and rendered them desperate in the toils. Their extermination, their blood was deemed necessary to give security to Europe. To destroy the government it was necessary to destroy the French system, French principles, and even the people. Could such an expectation, he asked, be entertained by any reasonable man? To the friends of despotism all the massacres of France were to be attributed. They instructed the people to distrust a good and humane king, who they made them believe was so shackled by his nobility, and so enveloped in prejudice, as to be unable to fulfil what a temporary expediency obliged him to grant. The conduct of our allies, with other causes, had, he said, conspired to produce a second revolution.

With respect to the arguments commonly urged in favour of the war, his grace ridiculed the idea of preventing by war the introduction of principles. This was not a country to be invaded by doctrines contrary to human reason: sentiments of liberty were not new to it; sentiments that cherished licentiousness would only be received by a people under the torture of oppression; the most secure barrier against licentiousness was a rational system of freedom. It was, he said, a melancholy consideration, that the alarm so industriously spread against French principles had been the preface to pursuing French principles ourselves. His grace accused ministers of having gone unwarrantable lengths in the prosecution of several of their late measures (the landing the Hessian troops, the rapid progress of the suspension of the habeas corpus act, &c.), and reprobated, in pointed terms, the association of place-men and pensioners for the purpose of breeding and fostering swarms of spies and informers to hover over the levities of conversation, the unguarded moments of conviviality, and to treasure every hasty expression of passion excited by the irksome weight of revenue laws, or the oppressive burdens resulting from war. That expressions of passion wrung from a man in the agony, perhaps, of having lost his all, should subject him to be dragged to the tribunal of justice, was a horror at which the heart of every friend to freedom must revolt. His grace expatiated at large upon this subject, and asked if such proceedings were calculated to preserve in the minds of men an admiration of the constitution, and a love and reverence for the laws? He then ridiculed the idea of peace being considered as unattainable from the intemperate expressions used in the French convention, and asked whether it was to be believed that ministers in this country would not listen to an equitable pacification, because they had been guilty of a number of idle terms of reproach and unmeasured expressions of contempt. As the conduct of the leaders

on both sides had been equal; w no obstacle to negotiation in mutual reproaches. With re- to the question, how a *perma-* peace was to be made with the ch? he was, he said, at a loss comprehend the force of that et. As applied to treaties be- en nations, no peace had ever en permanent when it suited her of the parties to break it. No peace had ever been continued n the influence of justice. It sel- n however happened, that an un- war was undertaken without in- ving its authors in the most dread- consequences. The consequences ending the interference of the French king in the affairs of this coun- try had recoiled upon himself and his family, and afforded a striking lesson to other princes and powers. His grace concluded his very able and animated speech, by entreating the attention of the house to the whole of the subject as it then stood—the conduct of the allies—the change in the sentiments of a great part of Europe—the impolitic, unsafe, and unpromising prosecution of the war as far as respected this country—and the energy of the French: from all of which, he said, they might be convinced that we should never con- quer France. He then proceeded to move his first resolution.

Lord Auckland refused to state what occurred to him respecting the ex- pressions made use of against the French, in a declaration to the United Provinces. That declara- tion had, his lordship said, been made subsequent to the revolution- ary decree for subverting every go- vernment in Europe, to the inva- sion of Holland, to the murder of the king, and only six days prior to the declaration of war against England and Holland. He had, he said, certainly meant to allude to those who had managed the first constituent assembly, to whom he attributed all the calamities that now appalled mankind. With the single exception of the abbé Sieyes, they had no pretension to the title of philosophers; they were the ene- mies of God and the human race; and he had no apology to make, either to them or their predecessors, for the sentiments and language he had so long maintained respecting them. The resolutions adduced by his grace opened, he said, the whole circle of politics, foreign and domestic. He trusted however the house would be little disposed to discuss them *seriatim*; it would be a waste of time. With respect to the internal situation of the coun- try, his grace had, he said, repre- hended the measures taken for the suppression of treasonable prac- tices, in terms more remarkable for their force, than for their justice, prudence, or temperance. His lordship strongly contended for the necessity of these measures. With respect to the external situation of this country, he fully agreed with his grace, as to the difficulties and risques of the war; but we had no alternative. He did not however feel despondence on this score; for it was not to be supposed that so unnatural and so monstrous a pa- roxysm as that of France, could be permanent. His confidence in the protection of providence would not allow him to believe that the su- preme being had determined the subversion of all states and the gene- ral destruction of mankind by each others hands; and he hoped, before the next session should arrive, we should be drawing towards a safe close of a just and unavoidable war. His lordship concluded by moving for an adjournment.

The resolutions were further op-

posed by lord Darnley. The arguments used for peace had, he said, been often urged, and often refuted, and nothing had been adduced to shew that this country could with safety or honour make peace with the present government of France. His lordship denied that in the papers brought forward by his grace there was the smallest variation in principle, or contradiction in fact. As we required the assistance of the king of Prussia, the only question was, whether it could have been obtained upon better terms?

The adjournment was approved by earl Fitzwilliam, who thought no peace could, with safety to this country, be made with France. It was not a sufficient ground, because the matter of most of the resolutions was contained in the papers on the table, that the house should adopt the conclusions drawn from them. The precise question was, whether it was consistent with the wisdom of this country to come at this time to a specific declaration on the war, or not? In his opinion, it was not called for. France had provoked hostilities by the declaration of being ready to proceed to war, for the subverting of every existing government. Before peace could be had, France must annul that declaration. With respect to our interfering in the conduct of France, it became a great and magnanimous people to become the defenders of mankind. King William had on this account, he said, opposed Louis XIV. and we had a right to interfere in the internal affairs of France till they should be so regulated as to give security to mankind. His lordship declared himself a friend to the restoration of monarchy in France, as an intelligible means of restoring order; though he did not mean that he would not be willing to make peace while she retained a republican form. He was far from disapproving of republics, but at present he thought France only a republic in name, and the people slaves to the most rigid despotism. The French were, his lordship contended, the authors of the war. As to the late proceedings in the suspension of the habeas corpus act, they were called for by the exigencies of the times, and were in general warmly approved.

That France had been guilty of acts of aggression, was admitted by the duke of Grafton, who contended, however, that it would not have been derogatory to the character of this country to have acted as a mediator, instead of engaging in the war. His grace entered into a review of the conduct of our principal allies. Prussia had been defended for accepting a subsidy on the ground of incapacity; but he believed it would be found, that the king of Prussia rather wished to save money in the grand combination, to prosecute an unjust war in another quarter. To his tardiness the successes of the French in West Flanders were to be attributed. Should we go into another campaign, there was much reason to think the emperor would not be enabled to make very vigorous exertions. Much assistance was not to be expected from the empress of Russia. Spain seemed incapable of defending herself; and Sardinia was nearly ruined! How long did ministers suppose the good sense of the people of this country would suffer them to go on in the present manner? It had been a means of putting an end to the American war, and had saved us from a war with Russia; for so partial were the present ministers

fers to preserve what they esteemed the balance of power in Europe, that they would have encountered all the expences of a war, to determine whether Russia or the Porte should possess Oczakow. Four years ago, government was acting the Drawcansir in defence of the liberties of Europe; and now was seen prize-fighting for the re-establishment of despotism in France; in pursuance of which plan, every thing adverse to France was undertaken with alacrity, and every thing in her favour rejected. His grace particularly adverted to the proposal made by the French to the king of England, to mediate between them and Austria; which, if complied with, might have placed Europe at this day in a happy state of peace. His grace urged at considerable length the necessity of concluding a peace with France, and reprobated the alarms artfully raised, in order to give an opportunity of carrying measures the most unconstitutional.

The earl of Mansfield asked what purpose could be answered by parliament adopting the resolutions which had been proposed? He considered such an adoption as derogatory to the dignity of the house, which had so often and so solemnly approved the measures which were now arraigned. That ministers had not forced France into war he contended upon the authority of the letter of the abbé Sieyes to M. Neskar, in which he says, *I shall ever regret that France has provoked war, and set all Europe against her.* It had been a matter of contest in the convention between the jacobins and girondists, which had been the authors of the war. With respect to the embargo on corn, Brissot had given orders for fitting out a fleet with all possible dispatch, and for the purchase of all provisions which could be got, for that purpose. Had not ministers taken the utmost pains to prevent these purchases, they would have been guilty of a criminal dereliction of their duty. His lordship utterly denied that the king of Prussia had deserted the confederacy. That night was, he said, the first time he had heard that, because a war was defensive, the assailant should not be attacked in turn; and he forcibly argued the absurdity of such a position. He noticed, as a circumstance that had not taken place in former wars, the care of the French, which was so officiously affected in both houses of parliament. In the course of his speech, his lordship adverted to what had fallen from the duke of Grafton respecting the exhausted revenues of this country, and regretted that such language and such reasoning had come from one who had filled the highest offices of the state.—His grace, in explanation, persisted that the finances of this country were in danger, and that the resources of Great Britain were proceeding towards exhaustment with an alarming rapidity. When he left the administration, the public debt had, he said, amounted to one hundred and thirty-two millions, and this enormous debt had been doubled in about twelve years! His grace said he had always disapproved of the funding system.

The earl of Lauderdale observed, that when a person of his grace's rank thought proper to come forward with such resolutions as had then been proposed, it must refute every misrepresentation which asserted that all who were not friends to the war were enemies to the country, and desirous of subverting the constitution of Great Britain. In a time of insurrection, his grace had

much to lose—in the moment of alarm also much to endeavour to preserve. It had, he said, been objected to his grace's resolutions, that they contained nothing new. Every day produced some new accounts of bloodshed, expenditure, and devastation: it was therefore the duty of every man to propose, without intermission, some remedy for the evils which increased with every revolving day. He said he saw none of those difficulties in making peace which some were afraid of; such difficulties as there were he believed were created by those who were ready to repeat the common-place question, With whom can you treat? a question which precluded a particular description of men from being in a situation to make peace with, and of course set up an insurmountable bar to the conclusion of the war. The idea of re-establishing the ancient monarchy of France he conceived equally absurd and impracticable. He had, he said, been in the country; and from the best information he could obtain, he denied that the restoration of monarchy was wished by the majority. The discontents at home he thought easily to be accounted for from the distress of the country, and the severe measures lately adopted. He took a review of the armies abroad, and branded the accounts in the Gazette, after every action, as constructed with the utmost duplicity and delusion, to deceive the people with mistaken notions of success. The names of officers, however brave and active, if connected with persons in opposition to the minister, were suppressed (as an instance, his lordship mentioned colonel Fox): he noticed the delay in the account of a defeat, and the acceleration in the report of a victory: the exaggerated return of the killed and wounded of the enemy, whenever unsuccessful; and several similar artifices which equally took place in the naval and military force. His lordship considered at large the loan to the emperor, and the subsidy to Prussia. He forcibly contended against every possibility of succeeding against France, and said, "If however their whole system could be overturned, and we were to succeed in placing a monarch upon the throne, we ought to calculate the expence of maintaining him in his situation, contrary to the wishes of the majority of the nation."

Lord Hawkesbury urged the impolicy of interfering with the royal prerogative, particularly respecting peace and war, as the enemy might infer, that the legislative part of the government was adverse to the executive; and peace would be doubly difficult to attain. It would tend to create distrust in our allies, who would be dispirited to see one branch of the government averse to the continuance of the confederacy, of which *this country was the soul*. The French, his lordship asserted, had interfered with us; and their making war upon us unprovoked undoubtedly gave us new rights. None who understood the law of nations could question the propriety of attacking them in every way that could conduce to our ultimate success. The interfering system of the French government gave no hopes of a permanent peace being to be made with them. The speediest method of obtaining peace would be, by a change in that government. He was, he said, persuaded that a people of twenty-five millions could not be held by a republican form of government. The experiment had been tried upon a smaller scale in England, and failed.

Money,

Money, he said, was never so plentifully in circulation as at the present time. The conquest of the French West Indies was a new and extraordinary source of wealth, and would soon be found an astonishing means of increasing the national commerce, and consequently the national revenue. There was a benefit accruing from the war of at least two-thirds of ten millions yearly, and he hoped shortly it would amount to the whole of that annual sum. Our manufacturers would also be employed in increasing numbers, and wealth would be flowing in upon us in a constant and uniform proportion.

The marquis of Lansdowne thought there was not the smallest similarity between the present state of France and that of England previous to the restoration. Property, he stated, was greatly more equalised in that country than it had been in this, though he denied that no one there was suffered to possess more than two hundred a year: on the contrary, he was well assured, that several large fortunes were still suffered to appertain to individuals, untouched by the executive government. With respect to the allied armies' conquering France, it had been proved, that the veterans of Austria and Prussia, conducted by the ablest generals, were inadequate to the attempt of conquering men who were inspired with an enthusiastic love for their country. Such had been the devastation in the English troops, that boys of sixteen years of age were made captains of cavalry; that to replace the finest body of cavalry which perhaps the world ever saw, were sent out horses which had never been ridden, and men who never rode. His lordship said, that the conduct of ministers was such, that if he had any motive of personal animosity against them, it was such as he should wish them to adopt.

That a secure and permanent peace could be obtained with the present government of France, was strongly denied by lord Grenville. Had we entered into negotiation with the persons who last year exercised the powers of government in France, the execution of Brissot, &c. would shew the futility of such an attempt; and it was manifest the present government was equally precarious and unsubstantial. In no former war, he said, had ministers been called upon to state the specific object of it: there was, however, but one that was justifiable, which was a secure and advantageous peace. But how was this to be effected? To attain this object, he did not see why we were not to interfere with the internal concerns of France: he would, he said, go farther; that the only security we could obtain was in restoring monarchy to France; this was not restoring despotism, as the abuses of the monarchy alone were despotic. Independent of the radical imperfections of the present French government, the rulers shewed such malignity against this country, as to make it folly to rely on their sincerity, if England had not too much at stake to admit of any compromise. His lordship asserted, that the successes of the present campaign were unexampled, spoke in high terms of colonel Fox, and represented our situation as in the highest degree brilliant. As a contrast, he mentioned the desperate resources, annihilated commerce, and ruined revenues of France; the people only prevented by their fears of immediate punishment and death from uniting to

overthrow a tyranny which must be of short duration.

The duke of Bedford, in a short speech, lamented that nothing had been urged which shewed any prospect of a termination of the war. The prospect was indeed gloomy, and distant indeed, if we were only to look for peace in the issue of a war which was to exterminate twenty-five millions of people. He ridiculed the idea of deriving security from any particular form of government, or any particular set of men. Give a great nation such a peace as they had a right to expect, and that would, he said, be the best security for its permanency. Whatever was the valour of our troops, he could not but distrust their final success against a foe whose numbers almost exceeded calculation. He could perceive no solid advantage in our foreign conquests, but as they might be the means of procuring a general peace. On the motion for adjournment, the contents were 113, non-contents 12.

On the same day, Mr. Fox introduced into the house of commons fourteen resolutions similar to those brought into the house of lords by the duke of Bedford. It was not, he said, his intention to endeavour to decide, whether in the present war the aggression had arisen on the part of France or of the allies; but the real principles on which it had been undertaken, had, he contended, been concealed. His majesty's speech, at the commencement of the last sessions, insisted on the neutrality he had observed. Subsequent even to the destruction of the monarchy of France, in 1792, and after the commission of the most horrible atrocities, this was still held forth to the people.

Ministers said fairly, if the French made an unprovoked attack on any of our allies, or pursued plans of aggrandisement, which, if accomplished, would render it difficult to repel any attack they might afterwards make, we must take part in the war. Great pains were taken to persuade the house that their attempt to open the navigation of the Scheldt was an aggression on the Dutch; and however this had been since ridiculed, he appealed to the house whether this was not at first the point principally insisted upon? To settle this, he had, he said, recommended negotiation, which, though refused by the house, was adopted by ministers, but in such a way as was certain to render it ineffectual.—The war then commenced; but even then the principle of interfering in the internal government of France was not avowed: on the contrary, it was repeatedly asserted, that the continuance of the power of France in the hands of those who then exercised it, was not a fundamental objection to peace. This had been the mode of conduct during the last session. Several declarations made in his majesty's name during the recess, evinced the progressive departure of administration from that line of action. If the aggression on Holland, which had been stated as the real cause of the war, had not taken place, the boasted cause of religion, morality, and the cause of civilized society might have been left by Great Britain either to other defenders, or to take care of themselves. He desired the house to consider why it was more necessary on principles of policy to interfere in the government of France this year than at the commencement of the war. Had the necessity arisen from our *successes* at Toulon, or from that system of penetrating into France with a force which had

not yet left our shores? It certainly had not. We had disclaimed peace with the present rulers, and disclaimed interfering in the internal government of France; but we were at this time interfering, and in the most objectionable manner. He argued the probable miseries arising, even if we succeeded in overturning the present government of France, and setting the rulers of that country to erect another; and the fatal mischiefs the interference of this country in the internal government of France might produce to its unhappy inhabitants in its divided and distracted state. What he would particularly insist upon was, that we had entered into the war on defensive principles, and were called upon to continue it on other principles; and that the people were deluded by false pretences to spend their blood and money, for purposes which, if fairly stated to them in the first instance, they would not have consented to. Mr. Fox noticed the inconsistencies which had taken place in ministers respecting the conduct of the war. He entered into a consideration of the conventions between this country and foreign powers, which he asserted were all to the advantage of the latter, to whom Great Britain guaranteed herself not to lay down her arms till each nation had recovered those dominions which might have been conquered from her; but no stipulation of this nature was made on their parts in favour of this country. Thus we were bound to continue a war *ad internecionem*, and consequently of incalculable duration. Had the king of Prussia stated as a reason for his subsidy, that he had sustained any losses or defeat? On the contrary, we were told the last campaign was successful beyond the most sanguine expectation. The exhausted state of his finances could not then be an unforeseen circumstance, and the words, "as far as circumstances will permit," inserted in the treaty, were fraudulent, and meant to deceive. Austria had indeed assisted with her troops: but was that all she was to do? was she to bear no share in the expence? It was well known that Prussia, previous to her application to this country, had applied to Austria, and been refused assistance. The emperor, with all his vast extent of rich dominions, had been obliged to apply to this country, and he understood ministers had not explicitly approved or disapproved this loan. Should the English think his security suspicious, he must then apply to government as Prussia had done. Under such views, Mr. Fox said, he conceived it his duty to propose some rational means for procuring peace, which could only be procured by treating with France, or pursuing our conquests in such a manner as to force our adversary to make peace. To the first of these it might be objected, that the existence of such a government as France must subvert all other governments. But experience proved it the will of providence that governments of every description might exist at the same time, and that those principles which were directly adverse to each other, might not only exist without mutual injury, but in friendship and alliance. Let us then make a trial, propose a peace with France; and should we then be deceived, we could then secur to war: it would be much more easy to proceed from peace to war, than from a ruinous war to an advantageous peace. If we could not be safe without the destruction of France, it was a most melancho-

ly truth, that, whatever had been our success, the French had never since the revolution been so powerful as at present. France was no more affected by our successes than our disgraces. This was more peculiarly melancholy, when we considered the exhausted situation of the allies. The advantages we had gained might indeed be of eminent use in making peace, but could not conduce to the success of that system by which France was to be destroyed. They were every thing for negotiation, nothing for destruction. None could doubt the power of the French government to make war against any nation it chose to attack. If then it possessed the power of making war, it possessed the power of making peace. If, as was stated, force was required to make the French take the field, it surely must require less force to induce them to make peace. Whatever might be the event, Mr. Fox said, we could lose nothing by making the proposition; the French could no longer be deluded by the idea that they were fighting for their most valuable rights, and this country would be convinced of the sincerity of this government in its wishes for peace. The original French principles which were held by many to be so dangerous, he very ably traced to the writings and principles of this country, whence they had been diffused to America, and thence to France. After having with his usual energy urged every thing to induce the house to adopt his resolutions, Mr. Fox said, that if they were rejected, he should contend that the determination to destroy the French government should be openly and solemnly avowed, and what was our object in the war. If we declared we were contending for the restoration of the old government, we might then be joined by its partisans—if for the constitution of 1791, then by the approvers of that constitution. The same argument might be used, if the object were the establishment of a rational republic; and the assistance given in these cases would be that not merely of the hand but the heart. From the great losses of the French, which he computed at 200,000, he inferred the vast power of that country, which was able to lose so many men, and yet come forward with such incredible force; and from a survey of the state of the campaign on the frontier of France, and of the myriads of men in arms, he said, he must consider the conquest of France as more desperate than ever.

Mr. Jenkinson denied that it was the avowed intention of ministers to interfere in the internal government of France, and stated what had been so often urged as grounds of the war. He was, he said, ready to admit, that if security for the future and indemnity for the past were attainable, it ought to be brought to a speedy conclusion: but these he thought, under the present circumstances, could not be obtained, and upon this point he was ready to meet the present question. The principles upon which the ruling powers of France acted and supported themselves, denied a wise man the possibility of entertaining such an idea. If we recollected the striking features which marked every change of power in France, we should find that moderation, the friend of peace, had been the destruction of the power of the different ruling parties, and the power confirmed in the hands of the present rulers of France was owing to the total want

want of moderation. The destruction of the present French system was therefore an indispensable preliminary to peace. By the destruction of the jacobinical system peace could alone be attained; and however distant the completion of such a scheme might be, it was by no means impossible or impracticable. Mr. Jenkinson repeated the opinions he had advanced on a former night, of the importance of securing a strong frontier; which, if we should fail of taking Paris, would, at all events, secure a barrier which would afford protection and safety to our allies. He justified the subsidies to Sardinia and Prussia, and conceived that there was every reason so looking forward with confidence to success and victory. He thought it absurd to bind ourselves down to a specific declaration of the form of government we intended to establish in France. It was impossible, he said, in the nature of things to bind down men in precise terms as to objects of pursuit; they might change from a variety of causes. Interference, he argued, was strictly justifiable in a state of war. He concluded by moving the previous question.

When the question was about to be put, Mr. Sheridan said, that from the silence of ministers, with them at least "mum was the order of the day." From their silence, however, he inferred that the sentiments of the gentleman who had spoken last corresponded with theirs. The gentleman, though not a minister, always spoke as if he was much in the secrets of ministry; and nothing else could warrant the manner in which he delivered his sentiments, unless we were to suppose that a deep insight into the secrets of cabinets ran in his blood. He asked whether the destruction of Paris was so attainable as he had asserted, and compared the accounts of the successes of the present campaign begun only a few weeks, with the advantages which had been gained by the French, and the bulletin of the emperor concerning the victory of the 22d, so much boasted of. We had indeed, he said, taken Landrecy; but then we had been obliged since to abandon the defence of it, and to fall back near 70 miles. We were 70 miles further from Paris (to which however we must go) than at the commencement of the campaign. The arguments made use of on this occasion were, he said, precisely those used in the American war, and respecting the power of Russia, when the minister had called upon us to arm on account of Oczakow; yet since that we had tranquilly seen Russia taking its share of Poland. This he mentioned, he said, to shew how much sincerity there was in these general expressions about our very existence being at stake, and to shew they were mere common place state tricks to cover the most wicked designs. The whole of our force, if our object was to destroy the power of the jacobins, was, he said, misemployed; for by this we held out to our enemies a spirit of commercial advantage, while we pretended to fight disinterestedly in the cause of order, morality, and religion. In short, he added, this was, what the wars of princes against the people always had been, a war in which fine and splendid pretexts were made use of to conceal intentions the most mean and selfish. He asked where the Prussian troops were, for which so large a sum had been paid by this country. They were to have joined the British on the 24th of May, but as yet we had received no intelligence of them. With respect

to the emperor's loan, he would state a singular circumstance. He held in his hand a paper which contained a letter from Mr. Boyd, the banker who was concerned in the transaction, requesting the chancellor of the exchequer to confirm, in writing, an assertion he had made in a consultation with Mr. Boyd and the German minister respecting the loan. Here he could not but remark, that though that right hon. gentleman, of all men who ever breathed, or ever spoke in a public assembly, had the finest choice of words, and the most beautiful arrangement of them, yet, in all his dealings with commercial men, he was so unfortunate as never to make himself understood. That was the case in the present instance. Mr. Boyd, who, he had no doubt, was a very accurate man, requested Mr. Pitt to state, in writing, what he had already said in the conference, that "the loan was perfectly legal, and government wished it all possible success." That was what had been understood by Mr. Boyd and the German minister, when the former gentleman applied to the chancellor of the exchequer for information, as he did not wish to do any thing illegal, or contrary to the wishes of government. At the distance of a fortnight, during which time no doubt advice had been sent to the imperial court of the minister's hearty concurrence, the chancellor of the exchequer returned for answer, "That, as far as he could recollect, there was no statute against a loan to a power at amity with this country, and that government did not wish to obstruct such a measure." That certainty, then, of the perfect legality of the measure turned out to be nothing more than a mere floating idea in his mind, that he recollected nothing to the contrary, and, instead of wishing it hearty success, it was only not wishing to obstruct it. Might not the imperial minister with justice complain of deception on the part of the minister? The minister, perhaps it would be thought, ought to have wished to obstruct it, as those persons who made the loan with him for the public service did understand that no other loan was to be negotiated, and were in consequence of that step much dissatisfied.

Mr. Pitt considered the whole of the motion as calculated only to put upon the journals an abstract of the opinions entertained by the opposition. So far was the assertion from being true, that at the time of augmenting the forces, no intimation had been given of a design of interfering in the internal government of France; that it appeared in his majesty's message of the 28th of January 1793, and in the addresses in answer, in which it was stated that the general and particular thirst of power, which when obtained, was to be employed for the most pernicious ends, was the danger against which we were to guard. When too a motion had been brought forward at the close of the last session of parliament similar to the present, the hon. gentleman had concurred in the statement, that such a degree of interference as was necessary for our own safety, was all that he wished for in regard to the interior condition of the miserable country in question. The motion went to prevent all internal interference in the government of a country with which we were at war—a length which never had been gone, and such an interference might be one means of obtaining peace. It was contrary too to what he (Mr. Fox) had asserted in

in the affair of Holland some years ago, that we should use our endeavours for a form of government in that country; the most conducive to British interests; and this practice was approved by the authority of statesmen, sanctioned by the experience of ages, and conformable to the common sense of mankind. Mr. Pitt argued that there was no discordancy in the proclamation of his majesty and the declaration of lord Hood at Toulon, and ridiculed the professions of gentlemen on the other side of the house to support the war, and the opposition given to every measure in support of it. It was not, he said, the design of ministers to conquer, but to save France, and to restore to it liberty and order instead of anarchy and despair. With respect to not pulling down one form of government till another edifice was erected in lieu of it, no scheme of government could be so pernicious to the interests of Europe as the present one of France. By declaring in favour of any particular form, we should weaken the general confederacy against the present. Was there, he asked, any security, that if we should attempt to negotiate, the French would listen to our proposal upon any reasonable terms? Could it be supposed that men who were sworn enemies to this constitution, who had declared that the king should be deposed before they would make peace; that men, who by their constitution were declared traitors if they negotiated with a sovereign, would agree to any terms consistent with the dignity of this country? What was the reward of this enormous sacrifice of our dignity? The certainty of the loss of our allies, and the weakening of our own efforts pending the negotiation. As to the French West India islands forming a proper basis for negotiation, he would, he said, rather wish them for ever lost to this country, than that jacobin principles should remain unsubdued. Upon that every thing dear to us depended.

To prove that the majority of the people of France were not adverse to the present government in that country, Mr. Fox adverted to the expedition under lord Moira, which had failed, though publicly announced, and for six months endeavoured to be carried into execution, by affording to the mighty majority of the French an opportunity of joining us, for the purpose of overturning a form of government, of which they were said to be so tired. The French certainly now were not desirous of destroying their republic: had they ever been so? When Dumouriez abandoned the French republic, how many followed him? A few officers and domestics. When we took Valenciennes, how many flocked to our standard in consequence of it? We erected a standard of royalty at Toulon, how many Frenchmen came to it? We declared in favour of royalty, and the French were called upon to shake off their sanguinary tyrants, and we would protect them: how many Frenchmen flocked to us for that protection? Whatever the French might think of their government, they would never join the allies to alter it; they had too clear a specimen of Russian, Prussian, and Austrian integrity, to remain doubtful of its nature. They saw, by the partition of Poland, that when the allies professed to protect, their object was to plunder. It was said to be extraordinary that gentlemen should both oppose and support the war. He was himself, he said, one of those who did so, and would do all

all in his power to induce the people to demand peace: but if an obstinate haughty minister should plunge us into war, we must do our best to get out of it; and to keep up our respectability to the rest of the world, supplies must be granted. As to the general argument, that the house had often divided upon many points now brought forward, it was an answer that might cover the most enormous errors, and an answer which he had continually received in the American war. It was, however, a mode of answering, which had cost this country above one hundred millions of money, and many, many thousands of men. The same topics were resorted to, and the same system adopted, in this and that war; and the conclusion of the present might be, perhaps, more calamitous to this country than the conclusion of that had been. With respect to any disgrace attaching to the negotiating with the present rulers of France; had, he asked, the minister forgotten that he himself negotiated with M. Chauvelin, the minister of these jacobins? and that lord Auckland negotiated with Dumouriez, the then agent of these persons? As far as the war had proceeded, jacobins had increased in number both in Germany and Italy. War therefore had not hitherto tended to their extermination. On a division of the house there appeared for the previous question 208, against it 55.

As we have found it the most convenient and perspicuous mode of arrangement to insert the details of the war under the affairs of France, which enables us to include in one view the operations of the whole alliance, we shall not interrupt the chain of parliamentary proceedings in this place with a recital of foreign events. It may, however, be necessary slightly to intimate, that the armament under sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis was eminently successful in the West Indies, and the islands of Martinico, St. Lucia, Guadaloupe, and their dependencies were reduced early in the campaign under the power of Britain. These, however, were considered by the nation as small achievements in comparison with the brilliant victory of earl Howe on the 1st of June, when the grand fleet of France was completely defeated with the loss of 7 ships of the line, six of which were taken, and one sunk in the engagement.

On the 20th of May the unanimous thanks of the house of commons were voted to sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis, for their gallant achievements in the West Indies. A similar vote of thanks to lord Howe passed in the house of lords on the 11th, and in that of the commons on the 16th of June.

On the 11th of that month lord Grenville moved for the thanks of the house to lord Hood, on whose conduct in the West Indies, at Toulon, and in the Mediterranean he bestowed a very warm eulogium.

The motion was opposed by the earl of Lauderdale. The thanks of the two houses were, he observed, the only honour that the houses of parliament could bestow, and therefore ought only to be given after undeniable proof of great and meritorious services. With respect to the conduct of the admiral at Toulon, he could not, he said, perceive that the smallest credit accrued to this country. The circumstances attending that transaction were unfavourable to the British name, and the motion came with peculiar impropriety

propriety from his lordship, as the language of lord Hood at that time was a flat contradiction to his own. The one declared his intention to restore the government of 1789; the other, the old government of France. Lord Hood's services were not to be compared with those of the other commanders who had received the thanks of the house.

Lord Grenville declined entering into the affair of Toulon, as it had been spoken of by his majesty in his speech from the throne, and had then been fully discussed. He spoke of the services of lord Hood on that occasion, as of very great advantage to this country. With respect to the capitulation, the conditions of a treaty were to be made good as far as the contracting parties had it in their power to make them good; further it was not possible to go. His lordship mentioned Corsica as a fit place for carrying French prisoners to. He was certain that officers thought too justly to be meanly jealous of other officers individually receiving the thanks of parliament.

Lord Derby objected to the motion, as not being so much a motion of thanks to lord Hood, as a motion from ministers to thank themselves. He spoke of the evacuation of Toulon as so far from meritorious, that it had tarnished the lustre of our other conquests in the extreme. Toulon was, he said, delivered by a treaty, every article of which it behoved us to observe; but we had violated both the promise we had made of restoring the constitution of 1789, and the promise to guarantee the fleet. In order to get rid of the motion, his lordship moved the *previous question*, Which was approved by the duke of Bedford, who urged that nothing was to be inferred from the silence of the house respecting lord Hood in the answer to his majesty's speech, since it was a rule to give as little opposition as possible to the address on the first day of the session. He reprobated the conduct of lord Hood at Toulon, and the breach of the conditions made with the Toulonese in taking the French to Corsica, as it was not stipulated with them that they should be taken there. Much more might, he thought, have been done in the time in Corsica; and with respect to the taking of Bastia, his grace thought the importance of the conquest was much exaggerated by the minister, as, according to the Gazette account, there were only seven men killed, and thirteen wounded; which was a pretty sure proof that but very little force had been used. The delay his grace attributed to dissensions amongst the troops.

Lord Hawkesbury considered what had passed at Toulon as extremely advantageous to this country as a maritime power, and replied to every part of the duke of Bedford's speech. A very warm altercation ensued, in which lord Lauderdale urged the greater propriety of voting a motion of thanks to the duke of York for his conduct at Valenciennes, and intimated his desire, if the original motion was carried, that colonel Villette the commander of the land forces should be included in the vote of thanks. The motion of lord Grenville was carried by a considerable majority: but a protest was, on this occasion, entered, which was signed by the duke of Bedford, and the earls Albemarle, Lauderdale, Derby, and Thanet.

PROTEST

PROTEST
Against the vote of thanks to lord Hood.

Dissentient,

1. Because it has not been the practice of this house to vote thanks to officers commanding his majesty's forces by sea or land, except on occasions where they have eminently advanced the honour and promoted the interests of their country, by the most important and acknowledged services.

2. Because, by voting the thanks of this house except in such instances, we diminish the value of the most honourable reward we have it in our power to confer, and lessen one of the best incitements to future service.

3. Because the reduction of Bastia does not in itself appear to us to be such a service as calls upon this house for any extraordinary mark of approbation or applause.

4. Because, whatever the merit of that service may be, the other admirals of the fleet, and the commanding officers of his majesty's land forces, must have had their share in it; and to refuse thanking them, as had been usual on similar occasions, appears to us to justify an opinion, that the vote of thanks to lord Hood originated from some motive of a private and personal nature, which it is improper for this house to countenance.

5. Because even ministers themselves do not seem, in the first instance, to have considered that service as entitled to such a mark of approbation; for, though accounts had been received of the reduction of Bastia, previous to those of the victory obtained by the fleet under the command of earl Howe, no intention was announced of moving a vote of thanks to lord Hood, till this house had paid the just tribute of gratitude and honour for that most important and splendid victory.

On the 20th of June Mr. Dundas moved for the thanks of the house of commons to lord Hood, which was opposed in a very able speech by Mr. Sheridan, principally on the grounds urged in the other house. After a spirited debate, which was supported on the side of ministry by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Addington, Mr. Law, Mr. serjeant Watson, and Mr. Burke, and opposed by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox, the motion of thanks was carried without a division.

On the 17th of June sir Watkin Lewes moved for leave to bring in a "bill for the better regulation of the city militia." He stated that the present manner in which the militia of the metropolis was regulated, was attended with many disadvantages, and that they were not adequate to the defence of the city. He wished to have them put upon the same footing with the other militia of the kingdom. One regiment was to be constantly employed in the city, and the other should be liable to any removal which might be thought proper. The bill was opposed by Mr. Sheridan, who observed, that the city had been well protected under its present military establishment, and he did not conceive there was any desire on their part for a change. Upon the question for engrossing it, Mr. Sheridan again objected to it. He thought the clauses not such as were warranted by the preamble to the bill, which set forth, that there were some defects in the militia establishment; and in order to remedy such defects the bill entirely destroyed the ancient constitutional

force

force of the city. Their present force was nine thousand men, which, if properly managed, would be an effectual protection for the city. In place of this force, it was proposed to substitute two regiments of militia, which were to be under the controul of the king, and to add to the influence of the crown, consisting but of six hundred men each, which did not appear to him to be any improvement of its military force. He thought the measure fraught with mischief, and so repugnant to the spirit of freedom, that had ever distinguished the metropolis, that he could not conceive the inhabitants had been consulted upon the subject. If they had acceded to it, they had acceded to a pusillanimous abandonment of their most valuable rights and privileges. They were to give up the power they had long enjoyed by charter of defending themselves by a force selected from their own body, and subject only to their own laws. Had the citizens of London thoroughly understood the extent of the bill, they would not have instructed their representatives to support it. It was a link of that chain of innovation on the rights of the people, which characterised the present administration, and another attempt to convert the government of the country into an absolute monarchy, and to introduce a military government.

Sir James Sanderson said, that all possible means were used to render the defence of the city by raising a militia by the former law practicable, but without success. It was, he said, the sense of the city, and his own conviction, that the city was safer with the twelve hundred disciplined men, than with the armed multitude which had been referred to, if they could ever be raised, which he thought unlikely. The old force of the city was, he contended, of no use whatever, nor ever had been so. The bill was further supported by Mr. Dundas, who said, the measure had originated in the city, which had stepped forth in support of good order and for internal defence. The citizens had considered it maturely, and knew it to be a proper measure. They understood their interests too well to need a warning voice. They knew the value of the blessings they enjoyed, and had too much good sense ever to abandon them but with their lives.

Mr. Sheridan professed his surprise at hearing the old city establishment so disparaged, particularly by a *great military commander* (sir James Saunderson) who had on a former occasion received thanks for his conduct. That gentleman had forgotten the services that the militia had rendered to this country in the times of Charles I. particularly at the siege of Gloucester. It was true he might want the military air of his friend who sat near him (Colonel Cawthorne), but he might nevertheless possess talents sufficient to improve the present force of the city, and not lend his aid to destroy it. The occasions on which this militia was to be called out, were, he said, notoriously vague. One of them was imminent danger of rebellion. The *habeas corpus* act was suspended, the militia called out, and the parliament suddenly assembled, on account of intended invasions and apprehended insurrections. The city force was now at the disposal of the city. If this force were superseded, the new militia would be entirely at the disposal of the crown. To give time for the better understanding of the bill, Mr. Sheridan moved for an adjournment

ment of three days, which was negatived by a very considerable majority, and the bill accordingly passed.

On the 10th of June, the day previous to the prorogation of parliament, Mr. Sheridan moved for an account of the money issued for the king of Prussia, in pursuance of the treaty between his majesty and the king of Prussia, together with an account of the troops employed by him in concert with his majesty's troops, in pursuance of that treaty. He prefaced this motion by a speech of very considerable length, in which with great ability he recapitulated the conduct of ministers in the prosecution of the present war, and insisted upon the necessity of inquiring why all their expectations respecting it had been disappointed. Whatever they had asked from the nation had been granted, yet all hopes and expectations had ended in disgrace, defeat, and disaster! All this called for an inquiry into the cause. He wished to know whether the plan of marching to Paris had been disappointed by the king of Prussia; whether that monarch had received his subsidy, and what troops he had furnished in consequence of it? He did not imagine the minister would assert that the king of Prussia was assisting the alliance against France, by massacring the Poles. If he urged that he did not imagine the king of Prussia would have acted as he had done, it was his business so to have thought; for he was warned of it in the debates on granting the subsidy, and ought to have expected it from the character of the monarch. He was warned also of what might be the conduct of the emperor and the other allies. The minister must have been aware of the immense numbers of the French, and he had himself said that they were an "armed nation." Why, when these adverse events took place in Flanders, were the troops suffered to hover on the coast of Hampshire? The avowed object of the war was, he said, well known to be unattainable; it became the house therefore to call upon ministers to say, whether they persevered in that object. From some new political alliances which had been formed, he suspected a deeper and more stubborn principle for prosecuting the war had been adopted, and that these new appointments hoisted the bloody flag, to declare that war was to be carried on till either the government of France was exterminated, or England fell in the attempt. Explanation was strongly urged as further necessary on the subject of our difference with America; but as nothing that administration could do could possibly satisfy the Americans, without the express recognition of parliament, he thought that of itself a very good reason why parliament should not at this time be prorogued. If the minister was inclined to give the house any information respecting America, or any explanation respecting the money paid in part of the Prussian subsidy, and the subsequent conduct of the king of Prussia; if he was willing to give the house any explanation as to the object of the war; then, Mr. Sheridan said, he should address his majesty not to prorogue parliament till an opportunity should be had of receiving such information. The assertion that we must not make peace, because we must have security for the future, and the French had not a government that we could depend upon, of all the insulting mockeries that ever tired the patience of man was the most insulting. The engagements of the allies faithfully to co-operate, and even our own promises

nists of protection to the royalists, he had all been shamefully violated, yet we talked of security. The only power in Europe which had been faithful to its promises was France. She had said that, single handed, she would fight all the despots of Europe, and she kept her word; — she declared she would drive us from Toulon, and she kept her word; —she affirmed she would drive the Prussians to the other side of the Rhine, and she kept her word; —she asserted she would beat the allies out of Flanders, and she kept her word. Why then was France to be called the only power in Europe on which no reliance could be placed? In all the points in which he could view our situation, he said he saw abundant reason for parliament entering into an examination of it, and coming to some determination for the satisfaction of the public.

Mr. Sheridan strongly ridiculed some projected arrangements in the cabinet, and expressed his sanguine hope, that if this mad crusade was yet to be continued, the deluded people of this country would at length turn their eyes, their hearts, and their minds, to one man (Mr. Fox), and in that stormy hour would find him

Like a great sea-mark, standing every flaw,
And saving those that eye him.

The object of the war was again avowed by Mr. Pitt to be the destruction of the jacobin government of France. It was not, he said, a war of extermination, nor its object the conquest of France, but the emancipation of that unhappy country; for no argument could lead him to believe, that a numerous and enlightened people would willingly submit to the most severe and sanguinary despotism. It was impossible to put an end to this, without destroying the present government of France. This object had been avowed in his majesty's declaration in the course of the last summer, in his speech at the close of the last sessions, and at the beginning of the present. He dwelt at much length upon the magnitude of *our gains*, in comparison with those of the enemy. Had, however, the disappointments experienced by the allied parties been tenfold greater than they appeared to be, even through the mist of exaggerated misrepresentation, it could not make an atom of difference, as to the only method which prudence required for the safety of this realm, and the preservation of order. With respect to the treaty with the king of Prussia, and the employment of the troops promised by him, Mr. Pitt thought none who wished well to the operations of the combined armies and the success of the cause, would wish that question answered in the midst of a campaign. While negotiation was pending with America, he thought it equally improper to state any circumstance respecting it. As to the general grounds of persevering in the war, he did not suspect the sentiments of the house or of the nation were changed. What then was to be gained by adjourning instead of proroguing parliament? As ministers were responsible to parliament for the conduct of the war, it did not require the sitting of parliament to watch that conduct; and their interference with the conduct of the king of Prussia and the affairs of America would be highly injudicious and improper. Mr. Pitt ended by an eulogium on the talents and virtues of the new converts to ministry, and on their devotion to the benefit of this country.

Mr.

Mr. Grey said, that there scarcely existed any difference between the object as avowed by ministers, and that charged against them by the opposition. Mr. Sheridan had stated that *extermination* was the object of ministers: his opponent said, it was only the destruction of the present government of France that was the object. He was himself totally at a loss to discover where the essential difference between the two ideas conveyed by those words lay. Opposition had been accused of having termed the war *bellum usque ad internecionem*. Those words had indeed been used by one who at that time displayed his abilities in exposing the conduct of ministry, but who was now to be war minister. It had been said that the object of the war was not to destroy, but restore. Was that object to be achieved by assisting the French against each other? Were not two disastrous campaigns sufficient to convince us of the futility of such an attempt? Were the people of Toulon or the inhabitants on the northern frontier to be adduced as instances of what might be expected from the co-operation of the loyal French with our armies? Where were those inclinations which were pretended to be discovered in the hearts of thousands, when an opportunity should be presented to them? If in the course of last year's campaign we were unable to make any impression, even during a rebellion in the country, what was to be expected when the government was become energetic, their resources regular, and their armies increased? He asked how long it would be before we acknowledged a republic, which sooner or later he believed we should be obliged to acknowledge; and demonstrated the similarity between the language and conduct pursued at this time, and during the American war. In wishing for peace, he said, he meant no such thing as suing to any people in the world; he wished it on no other terms but such as were consistent with the honour and dignity equally with the interests of the nation. He therefore had no hesitation to exhort the house to acknowledge the French republic. The explicit declaration of a continuation of hostilities from the minister, would, he hoped, rouse the nation to an interference necessary for their salvation. He doubted not that numbers, judging from the facility with which he had relinquished former assertions, had hoped he would have done so in the present instance, and resting on that hope had hitherto acquiesced. Mr. Grey ridiculed what he called the stale trick of state secret. The motion went not, he said, to investigate into causes and effects, but merely to ascertain a matter of fact, whether the money had been paid, and whether the troops stipulated for were employed. This was to be answered by the word which had such a charm in it—a secret. The whole was indeed a secret—a secret, why the treaty was entered into at all—a secret, why such an enormous sum of money was granted—and a secret, where the troops so paid for were to be found. The only thing that was not a secret, was that the king of Prussia had received a considerable part of the money. State secrecy was also urged to what related to America, the motion with regard to which had only been made to afford parliament an opportunity of preventing a war.

In the course of the debate many personal charges were made by the minister against the members of the opposition, and by the opposition against the minister. At the close of it Mr. Sheridan-

dan stated, that as any account of the Prussian troops, &c. was refused, he should not trouble the house with any further motion.

On the 7th July (Monday) lord Amherst moved for an adjournment till Friday. As this was the day on which the prorogation of parliament was expected to take place, the earl of Lauderdale objected to the adjournment, alleging that some propositions should be offered to the consideration of the house previous to its prorogation, and moved for an adjournment to Thursday. This motion was however negatived; and that for Friday being about to be put, the duke of Norfolk declared his intention of moving on Friday for permission for the house to continue sitting some time longer, that it might be enabled to deliberate on important affairs. This he meant to do, unless he should in the interim receive such information from any of his majesty's ministers as should render the motion unnecessary.

On Friday July 11th, several peers, amongst whom was the duke of Norfolk, being assembled in the house, the earl of Lauderdale reprobated in severe terms the absence of the lord chancellor, which he represented as intended to prevent his grace from coming forward with the motion he had proposed. His lordship moved that the house should immediately proceed to the election of a new speaker. Soon afterwards the lord chancellor arrived; but after the necessary formalities on this occasion were gone through, the duke of Norfolk observed, that as there was not sufficient time for debating the motion of which he had given notice, he should decline giving their lordships any further trouble. His majesty then came down in state to the house of lords, and as usual terminated the session by a speech to both houses of parliament.

In whatever light we may be considered by the partisans of ministry, we can safely assure them, it is with pain that we record any circumstance whatever that reflects the slightest discredit upon government. We should however be culpably negligent of our duty, if on any occasion we omitted to submit the *whole truth* to the consideration of our readers; and indeed such conduct would rather be injurious than friendly to government. Infallibility is not the portion of human nature: if ministers would wish to act well for their country, they must be warned of their mistakes. He is no friend to the government and constitution, who in sullen silence broods over the misfortunes of his country, and sits secretly rejoicing over every repetition of error, till ruin comes like a torrent on the nation, and overwhelms all that is estimable in civil society! Under this impression, at the conclusion of our last detail of domestic affairs, we noticed the truly impolitic order of council of November 6, which, had it not been afterwards revoked, must infallibly have involved these kingdoms in hostilities with the United States of America. We cannot be surprised if such an order, added to the previous acts of aggression in seizing and detaining the merchant ships of America, should have a natural tendency to alarm the jealousy of a free and independent people. Nhis jealousy was increased by another measure equally unjust, useless, and impolitic; and that was the re-occupation of certain forts within the boundary line, which were to have been ceded by the peace of 1783, and which most unaccountably had been

repossessed by the lieutenant governor of Canada. The very extraordinary speech of lord Dorchester to the Indians, the authenticity of which was most *unaccountably denied by Mr. Dundas* in the house of commons, was well calculated to raise these suspicions into a flame.

It is the part of the historian to record even the sentiments of different parties upon political topics; and without subscribing to the opinion, it may not be improper to remark, that from these circumstances it was suspected by some, that ministers, in the height of their exultation on the victories in Flanders, had actually entertained expectations of reducing not only France but America to a state of subjection. This alone, they observe, will account for counsels which could only irritate, orders issued only to be revoked. Weak and incapable men, they add, are ever insolent and arrogant in prosperity, abject in adverse fortune. Unsteady councils and irregular and eccentric measures are the necessary consequences of such a character. Their proceedings are not the result of uniform wisdom, of a system founded upon full consideration and ample knowledge; they flow from *existing circumstances*, and their conduct is a political Proteus, which varies its appearance upon every change.

Such were the reasonings adopted on this occasion by the opponents of ministry, while they were justified by their friends on the principle of necessity. The only hope of success, they observe, in the present contest, was that of starving France into discontent and insurrection. To intercept their supplies was the only mode of effecting this purpose, and with this view the order of council was issued. The forts were reoccupied, because it was possible that this necessary measure might involve us in hostilities with the American states; and the speech of lord Dorchester was not intended to excite the Indians to immediate hostilities, but to secure their alliance in case of such an event.

To this statement of the arguments on both sides we shall not add any conjectural comment of our own. Whether the reverse of fortune in the Netherlands repressed the pride and presumption of ministers, or whether the arrangement was the pure result of their wisdom and their justice, we cannot but sincerely rejoice in the event, and exult that Britain was fortunately rescued from the most disastrous war, and the most afflicting situation in which she could possibly be involved.

In the month of April Mr. John Jay, chief justice of the United States, was appointed by the president, and his appointment was confirmed by congress, as minister plenipotentiary to adjust the points in dispute between the republic and Great Britain. His reception at the court of London, we have understood, was at first cool and revolting, and but little hope was entertained of an amicable termination. The opponents of ministry insist, that in proportion as the allied armies on the continent retreated, the negotiation with the American minister advanced.

On the 30th of July Mr. Jay presented a memorial to the secretary of state, setting forth the causes of complaint alleged against Great Britain on the part of America with respect to captures, &c. It stated that a very considerable number of American vessels had been irregularly captured, and

as

as improperly condemned, by certain of his majesty's officers and judges; and that these irregularities extended not only to the seizure and condemnation of American vessels and property, and to unusual personal severities; but even to the impressment of American citizens to serve on board of armed vessels, &c.—The answer of lord Grenville is dated August 1st, and candidly admits, that in so extensive a naval war no care could prevent some irregularities from taking place; but intimates his majesty's wishes to render complete and impartial justice to all the citizens of America; and adds, that the fullest opportunity should be given to all to prefer their complaints, and to obtain redress and compensation where due. With respect to the impress, lord Grenville assures Mr. Jay, that if in any instance American seamen had been impressed into his majesty's service, it was contrary to the king's desire, and must have arisen from the difficulty of discriminating between British and American seamen; but undertakes that every means of redress should be speedily employed, and orders issued to prevent a repetition of such irregularities.

From this period the negotiation appears to have proceeded in a train of amicable accommodation, and a treaty of amity and commerce has since been concluded between Great Britain and America.—But this is a subject, the detail of which it will be necessary to defer to our succeeding volume.

Immediately on the rising of parliament, some changes in administration took place, which, however they might surprise some persons at a distance from the scene of action, were fully expected by all who were at all conversant with the state of parties in the two houses of parliament. The remarkable unsteadiness of party-men is one of the predominant features of the present reign, and perhaps more than any other marks the surprising ascendancy which the great desire of emolument has acquired in the present times over the minds of men, in opposition to every other motive and sentiment. When Mr. Pulteney acceded to the party of the court, in the last reign, his apostacy was marked by the strongest disapprobation, and even by the execration, of all ranks of men. He who had been the idol of the populace, after this fatal step never appeared in public without the most humiliating marks of the popular detestation. The public mind is now unfortunately familiarized to coalitions; and the profligate axiom of sir Robert Walpole, "that every man has his price," appears no longer a subject of discussion and controversy.

Of the much celebrated coalition in 1782 the secret history is but little known, and its origin is far from being generally understood. We have good reason to believe that two great commoners, who have shared largely in the odium of that transaction, entered upon it only with extreme reluctance. It was the insatiable thirst for power and office, predominant in certain leaders of the whig party, which plunged the whole of the connexion in inextricable disgrace. The support which the minister has received since the beginning of 1793, from a considerable body of those who had long appeared hostile to his measures, was considered by many as a disinterested support, and the consequence of the alarm which had been excited concerning the progress of democratical doctrines.

The subsequent acceptance of certain offices by these persons was alleged to be, from the *pure* desire of partaking in the responsibility attached to measures which they entirely approved. Without wishing to attach blame to an action in itself indifferent, it is our duty to state the fact. The coalition of 1794 was effected by the same agency on the part of the whigs, as the coalition of 1782. It was, whatever might be the motive, the effect of *negotiation*; and before the commencement of the war with France, the accession of certain persons to office, whenever it could with convenience be effected, was undoubtedly stipulated. We do not affirm that the precise and specific arrangements were all actually made, or that no variations have taken place in the original plan; we do not say that all the parties were perfectly determined with respect to the share of "responsibility" which they would condescend to take, or that no hopes were entertained of inducting others to follow their example; but we have the best reasons for believing, that the general outline of the subsequent arrangements was long since agreed upon by the two parties, and that support was given to Mr. Pitt's measures upon compact.

The new appointments were not announced to the public before the day on which the parliament was prorogued, though it is probable the cabinet system had been settled for some time. On that day earl Fitzwilliam was declared lord president of the council, the duke of Portland one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, and Mr. Windham secretary at war. Earl Spencer was at the same time sworn into the privy council, and was on the 16th of July appointed lord privy seal. The earl of Mansfield was soon after created what a popular writer terms "a supernumerary member of the cabinet." Sir George Yonge was removed from the secretaryship of war to the mastership of the mint, and some inferior changes took place.

By this arrangement, it has been remarked, Mr. Pitt was left in a minority in the cabinet; but the error was rectified before the close of the year *, by the appointment of earl Fitzwilliam to be viceroy of Ireland in the room of the earl of Westmoreland. The earl of Mansfield was, at the same time, gratified with the substantial appointment of president of the council. Another alteration also took place in the course of the year; the earl of Chatham and earl Spencer having changed places, the latter being put at the head of the admiralty, and the former created lord privy seal. Mr. Dundas having frequently complained of the pressure of public business, by which he was overburthened, it was generally presumed that, on the duke of Portland's entering upon office as secretary of state, he would have resigned. No such event however has yet occurred, and his grace of Portland at this time occupies the office of *third* secretary of state, which he himself had laboured so strenuously in the year 1780 to abolish; and that under a minister whose appointment to office his grace had treated as an insult on parliament and the nation.

These appointments were accompanied by the creation of ten new peers. The important services of

* December 10.

the

the duke of Portland were also rewarded with a blue ribband, which the party writers of the day assert had been promised to earl Howe; but for the truth of their representations we cannot pledge ourselves.

The loyal part of the nation was in the month of July highly gratified by the splendid accession of an entire kingdom to the dominion of Great Britain. It is unnecessary to say, that this brilliant acquisition was the island of Corsica; and to add to its value, it was not the effect of conquest, but the imperial crown of that realm was conferred on his Britannic majesty and his successors, by the free election of the citizens of that country. After the glorious successes which had crowned his majesty's arms in that quarter, the whole island, except the town of Calvi, having been reduced in less than twelve months by lord Hood, letters of convocation were issued for the assembly of the general consult to be held at Corti, on Sunday the 8th of June; and in these letters the object of the meeting was distinctly specified, viz. "the union of Corsica with Great Britain, and the tender of the crown to his majesty." That wise and valiant veteran (so justly celebrated by the appropriate praises of Mr. Boswell) general Paoli was elected president; and we are officially informed, that "he opened the assembly by an excellent and eloquent speech."—After returning their thanks to general Paoli, the assembly passed two resolutions, the first of which declared the separation of Corsica from France, and the second its union with Great Britain. A committee was appointed to draw up articles of union; and we are informed, on the same official authority, that "it was declared, that *all who came* should have voices; and in fact several *persons* of *character* and *talents*, who were *not even members of the assembly*, were admitted, and took a share in the discussion of the committee."

Such was the first *representation* of the *people* of Corsica. The constitution which was thus framed, resembles more the French constitution of 1791 than that of Great Britain;—and it is distinguished by this fundamental difference, that it contains nothing equivalent to our house of lords *. Sir Gilbert Elliot, who with a solemnity becoming so great an occasion accepted the crown in the name of his Britannic majesty, was, in return for this important service, constituted the first viceroy, with a considerable salary at the expence of Great Britain. We learn also, from the viceroy's first speech to the assembly, that the whole of the civil and military expences of the island are, with the accustomed *generosity* of this nation, to be borne by Great Britain.

* The island of Corsica is about eighty-eight miles in length, and forty in breadth; that is, considerably larger than the Isle of Wight. The air is insalubrious, and the soil so stony that few vegetable productions can thrive in it except in some of the vallies. Of its population, trade, and revenue, we are not yet able to speak; nor have the inhabitants as yet been much distinguished by their progress in arts, manufactures, or science. Of its political importance also we are not

* See the Public Papers in this volume.

yet fully informed; but we may possibly be able to speak more satisfactorily in our succeeding volume.

The event of the famous Chinese embassy, from which so much was expected, afforded not equal satisfaction and triumph to administration. The wisdom of this measure indeed, and the principles on which it was undertaken, have been much questioned by those whose sentiments are hostile to ministers. "An embassy (it has been said) expensive beyond all precedent, accompanied with presents to an immense amount, and with a degree of parade which (if unsuccessful) must render the British cabinet ridiculous in the eyes of all Europe, appears to have been fitted out without the smallest intimation, or even any reasonable ground of expectation, that our ambassador would be received. The objects of the embassy (it is added) were also indefinite; and we are to learn at this moment, what lord Macartney was to have achieved had he even proved successful."

In the latter end of September 1792, lord Macartney with his suite took his departure from Spithead, in the Lion man of war of sixty-four guns, accompanied by the Hindostan India ship and the Jackall brig as tenders. The military guard consisted of about fifty men, and an immense civil establishment gave additional splendour to the embassy.

After touching at the Madeira islands, the ships anchored in Turon Bay, in Cochin China, on the 26th of May 1793, which they left early in June, and on the 21st of July reached Jangangfoe bay in the Yellow Sea, on the north-eastern coast of China, whence the ambassador and his train were conveyed in junks, or barges, along the river Tyen-sing; the guards belonging to the mandarin who conducted them marching constantly along the banks of the river to prevent their having any communication with the inhabitants; and at night pitching their tents exactly opposite to the station where the junks lay at anchor. On the 11th of August they reached the city of Tyen-sing. At this place some presents of silk, worth in England about eighteen-pence a yard, were distributed in a very frugal manner to the English visitors. They proceeded in junks, towed by men wherever there was a failure of wind or tide, to the city of Tong-tchew, which is about twelve miles from Pekin, where a temple was prepared for their temporary residence, and the usual precautions were employed to prevent their intercourse with the natives. From this city lord Macartney, sir George Staunton, and Mr. Plumb the interpreter, were conveyed in palanquins, and the rest in *covered carts* and waggons, to Pekin. As no alteration had been made in the common travelling dress of the ambassador's attendants, their appearance on entering Pekin, "both with respect to the shabbiness of their dress and the vehicles which conveyed them, bore a greater resemblance to the removal of paupers to their parishes in England, than the expected dignity of the representative of a great and powerful monarch*."

The embassy was not at first permitted to remain in Pekin, but were marched to a vacant palace of the emperor, about four miles distant from the city, where they

* Eneas Anderson's Narrative, p. 102.

were

were kept as prisoners under a strong guard, without being permitted to pass the gates of the palace. As this situation, in the midst of a marsh, was however remarkably unwholsome, they were removed in the latter end of August, at the earnest solicitation of lord Macartney, to a palace in Pekin, the property of John Tuck the viceroy of Canton, who was at that time a state prisoner in the same place on a charge of embezzlement.

On the 28th of August the British ambassador received notice of the emperor's commands, that the embassy should proceed to Jehol, the emperor's summer residence in Tartary, where at length his lordship was to be favoured with an audience. The same jealousy which they had hitherto experienced from the Chinese, accompanied them on the whole of their journey; and even some disposition was indicated to curtail them exceedingly in the article of provisions. On the 7th of September, after a journey of one hundred and fifty miles from Pekin, they arrived at Jehol. On the 14th the ambassador was favoured with a first audience of the emperor; but this proved to be a visit of mere form and presentation, and was performed (for what reason it is difficult to say) at the early hour of five o'clock in the morning. On the succeeding day the ambassador had a second audience, and all the persons engaged in the embassy were honoured with presents of silk, &c.

The emperor, who is generally considered as a wise, provident, frugal, and patriotic prince, appears to have acted with great propriety on the occasion. He treated the British ambassador with the utmost respect, and expressed the highest esteem for his nation. His coldness, however, and aversion to a written treaty, give, it must be confessed, some colour to the aspersion which has been cast upon ministers, that this was altogether "a random expedition," and the objects of it totally undefined. On this account, it is said, the emperor and his council appeared to regard the British embassy in a light almost equivalent to that of spies; and hence the watchful jealousy that was observed towards them on every occasion. The emperor is said even to have expressed his surprise at what could be the object of the British court on this occasion!—He declared his willingness to continue the trade which was carried on with the English nation, but could not conceive that the present system would admit of any alteration for the better; nor does it appear that the British ambassador was prepared to suggest any.

On the 21st of September the British embassy took their departure from Jehol, to return to Pekin, where they arrived on the 26th. The emperor himself followed in about two days; and on the 3d of October the ambassador had the honour of delivering the presents which had been sent from England for the emperor, and in the course of the week received several in return for their Britannic majesties.

As the whole end and purpose of the embassy appeared to the emperor to be answered by the acceptance of the presents, and the return of others, on the 7th of October the ambassador received an order to prepare for his departure from Pekin on the Wednesday following. It was in vain his lordship remonstrated, and requested that the period might be prolonged for a few days, in order to enable him to

make the necessary preparations for so long a journey. The emperor, with that firmness which is the characteristic of a strong and politic administration, refused to revoke the order; and, as one of the ambassador's suite expresses himself, they "entered Pekin like paupers; remained in it like prisoners; and quitted it like vagrants."

It has been said, that when the cannon and mortars which had been sent from England were presented for the emperor's acceptance, his astonishment was excited in no common degree; an astonishment not at the workmanship or ingenuity of the machines, but a surprise mingled with indignation at those who boasted of a pure, a mild, and benignant religion, employing these engines of destruction in the massacre of their fellow-creatures!

On the 9th of October the ambassador and his suite left Pekin, and proceeded to Tong-chew, whence they were conveyed in barges to Canton, where they arrived on the 18th of December, and in January embarked at Macao for England. His lordship arrived at Spithead on the 3d of September 1794.

The uncommon difficulty which ministers and their agents experienced in procuring recruits for the land service, produced in the month of September some extremely unpleasant events; but as the circumstances are recorded apparently with great fidelity by a gentleman who seems to have made it an object to inquire particularly into them *, we shall spare ourselves the disagreeable task of entering into the disgusting detail, and in this one instance take the liberty of transcribing from his interesting narrative.

"One of the great evils of war in a free country is the encouragement given to deceit, fraud, and cruelty in procuring recruits for the service. When the war is in itself unpopular, the bounties to recruits rise in proportion to the general reluctance to enlist. When the bounty money is at the highest, the more extensive and subtle is the system of turning it to account through all the subordinate gradations of the military brokers, from the commissioned officer down to the unfortunate recruit. He too often is seduced by the incautious acceptance of a scanty relict of the clipt and sweated bounty that at length reaches the hand for which it was originally intended full and entire. The recruiting houses in London, kept by crimps and kidnappers, were the general scenes of the enormities committed in this atrocious and inhuman traffic. Debauchery and intoxication, the general means of seduction into the engagement; force, cruelty, and sometimes perjury, the remedy against repentance in the moment of returning sobriety and reflection; these evils will ever exist as long as the present recruiting system is continued.

"In the neighbourhood of Charing-cross is a court called Johnson's court, notorious for disorderly and alarming scenes of debauchery and cruelty. Here one Mrs. Hanna kept for these purposes six houses, which were contiguous, and communicated by secret avenues with one another. She had frequently been indicted, and was at this time under actual prosecution, though her trial had for some unknown reasons been put off. The indignation and sympathy of the people were aroused by a melan-

* Plowden's Short History, p. 235.

choly

choly catastrophe in this court. The neighbourhood had for some days been alarmed by the cries of violence and murder in some of these houses: from the frequency of such occurrences, little notice and attention were paid to the alarm. In the morning, however, the unfortunate young man, who had so frequently cried out for mercy, was seen on the roof of the house in his shirt, in apparent great agony, as if closely pursued from within; and upon the approach of his pursuers, he threw himself in despair from the tiles, and was dashed to pieces on the flags of the court. The bruised and disfigured corpse bore every appearance of the unfortunate victim's having been in a genteel line of life. He was afterwards proved to have been at times insane. The mob however felt from what they saw: it was for others to examine how far his insanity was known, and would justify his detention as a recruit for his majesty's service. The people assembled, and began to give symptoms of alarming discontent: they called for vengeance against the persons to whose door they laid the untimely and shocking death of this young gentleman. The magistrates, who first arrived, made slight of the matter, and believed, or pretended to believe, that the youth had thrown himself out of the window in the delirium of a fever: they took no step to secure the persons who had him in care, charge, or detention; at which the mob became more outrageous. Curiosity had brought to the spot, amongst others, Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Grey: the former being in the commission of the peace somewhat appeased the mob, by signing a warrant to search the house of Jaques a notorious crimp, where they found an unfortunate wretch, in the height of the small pox, smothering in a loathsome cell: he was instantly removed with care, under the direction of a medical gentleman, and was found to be the son of a farmer near Maidstone. It is presumed that the other less disabled victims had been removed by Jaques, at the first appearance of the indignation of the mob. By the earnest entreaties of Messrs. Sheridan and Grey, the mob dispersed for the present, and appeared satisfied with their assurances that the business should be looked into, and full justice done. The coroner took his inquest upon the body of the deceased youth, and the jury brought in their verdict, *Killed in attempting to escape from a house of ill fame.*

"The mob collected again in the evening, but were prevented by the military from committing any outrage: they returned, however, the next morning, and entirely gutted the houses of these crimps, scattering the furniture, bedding, and feathers about the court. They cried out for justice and vengeance against the crimps and kidnappers. A detachment of the horse guards dispersed them, and carried six boys to the office in Bow-street. Alarming as were these discontents and murmurs of the mob, it must ever appear surprising, that no steps whatever were taken by government to bring forth the guilty causes of their complaints, in order to assuage or soften their just resentment and indignation at these practices of inhumanity. Serious is the duty of governors to attend to the complaints of real abuses. Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Grey, and several other gentlemen, who attended at the office in

in Bow-street, expressed their astonishment that no warrants had been issued to apprehend the parties concerned in the inhuman practices, which had in fact raised the mob, though Mr. Sheridan had on the preceding evening sent to the sitting magistrates a list of their names, as well as of such of their neighbours as were ready to give evidence against them. The magistrates declined acting without particular orders from government: Mr. Sheridan himself signed a warrant for apprehending Jaques, stating the place where he was then secreted. He however received previous intelligence of the warrant, and had escaped before the officer arrived. Such conduct from government was little calculated to suppress the new-fermented passions of the mob. The military constantly patrolled the streets, and different mobs began to form in different places, and perhaps upon different grounds: pity it is that they should have a *just* cause to murmur. This alarm continued for about six or seven days, in the course of which they attacked and pillaged or damaged several recruiting offices, in Holborn, Shoe-lane, Bride-lane, Long-lane, Smithfield, Barbican, Golden-lane, Moorfields, White-chapel, Clerkenwell, and Drury-lane. Some shots were fired, but generally no resistance was offered to the military; admirable was their temperate forbearance in the midst of such insult and provocation as will always happen from the actual assembly of an idle, curious, or malevolent rabble which they have it in charge to disperse. It is to be wished, that proper caution had been used to prevent provocation being given to the people, who will ever act more from feeling than from reason and judgment. Steps were taken to look into the nature of these abuses; though complaints were loudly made by some, that no efficient measures were pursued effectually to correct them. The spirit of riot subsided without any further consequences; and the horse guards ceased to patrol the streets. Thus the inhabitants of London exhibited an admirable example of steady moderation in stifling the vivacity of their emotions, and resisting the temptation or the snares laid for betraying them into acts of violence."

In the commencement of this chapter we had occasion to notice the apprehension of several persons charged with treasonable practices in promoting a parliamentary reform; but we did not think it proper to interrupt the chain of the parliamentary proceedings to introduce an account of a trial for a similar offence at a country assizes. As it is necessary, however, to notice the state trials which took place in the other parts of the kingdom, it will be proper previously to mention, that at the spring assizes at Lancaster Mr. Thomas Walker, a manufacturer of Manchester, who had greatly distinguished himself in defeating certain measures of the minister, which had been supposed injurious to the manufactures of Lancashire, and who had always been a strenuous advocate for a parliamentary reform, was indicted for conspiring with nine other persons to overturn the constitution by force of arms, and to assist the French in case of an invasion. The principal evidence against the prisoner was a spy, of the name of Dunn, who was afterwards convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury, and who confessed that he had been hired for the purpose by certain

tain persons. His evidence was however so contradictory and absurd, that the prosecution was even abandoned by the counsel for the crown, Mr. Walker was honourably acquitted without being put upon his defence, and the witness committed to take his trial for perjury. The whole transaction reflected great disgrace upon some gentlemen in Manchester, who, it appeared, had encouraged this man and others to become informers, and to institute prosecutions against such persons in that place as were obnoxious to ministry. It is a melancholy consideration, that the fervour of party had arisen to such an excess in this part of the kingdom, that, on the testimony of this infamous and perjured miscreant, Mr. Paul of Manchester was imprisoned for nine weeks on a charge of high treason, and Mr. Booth was condemned to two years imprisonment for speaking seditious words, although his evidence upon the trial at the Manchester sessions had been directly contradicted by that of a fair, honest, and unimpeached witness.

The persons who in the month of May had been committed to prison, on the charge of a democratic conspiracy to overturn the government, were kept in close confinement, without any notice of trial, to the month of September. With respect to the causes of this delay, we have no specific information, nor is it within the compass of our narrative to inquire into them. With respect to the motives which induced ministers to open the judicial campaign in North Britain, in preference to the southern part of the island, we are equally uninformed, nor shall we attempt to supply by conjecture what is wanting in evidence. Two prisoners had been committed at Edinburgh on a charge of high treason, Robert Watt and David Downie; and in the month of September a special commission was issued with great formality; and Mr. Anstruther, one of the minister's new converts from the whig party, and other gentlemen of the law, were dispatched from London to Scotland for the purpose of conducting the trials. On the 3d of September Watt was tried, and convicted of high treason. The principal charge in the indictment related to a plan which, it appeared, the prisoner had committed to paper, and communicated to several persons, and particularly to Downie, for seizing by force upon the castle of Edinburgh, upon the excise office, and the banks; also for seizing the persons of the lord justice clerk, the lords of justiciary and session, and the provost of Edinburgh; and for procuring and giving orders for arms to effect these purposes. The principal evidences against the prisoner were a person of the name of Taylor, who was afterwards convicted of felony at the Old Bailey, Alexander Atchison, Arthur M'Ewan, William Bonthorn, and John Fairley, members of different societies in Scotland for the promotion of a parliamentary reform. The production of the paper in question was fully proved; and indeed it appeared that Watt had made no secret of the business, but had proceeded in it with a degree of publicity which must have been fatal to any serious plan of conspiracy. It was further proved, that an order had been given by Watt for the fabrication of five dozen of pikes; but it did not appear that these measures had been received with approbation by any member of these associations: on the contrary, according to these witnesses,

witnesses, the utmost horror and opposition was manifested to proceedings which "might disturb the peace, or shed the blood of their countrymen."

Thus far, on the part of Watt, a *conspiracy to levy war* against the government was clearly proved, though a doubt was entertained by some persons in the law, how far a *conspiracy to levy war* could be construed into an act of high treason, as it is not the conspiring to do it, but the *actual levying of war*, which is specified by the act of Edward the third, and by sir Edward Coke, as constituting an overt act of high treason. But the most curious circumstance in the trial was the prisoner's defence. By the testimony of the lord advocate of Scotland, and by letters from Mr. secretary Dundas, produced and authenticated in court, it appeared that the prisoner had carried on a confidential correspondance with Mr. Dundas, and had actually been retained as a spy in the service of government, and had received money for his services. The prisoner's counsel therefore contended, that what their client had done was with no other view than to arrive more completely at a knowledge of the secrets of those persons whose conduct he was to observe, and, by appearing zealous in the same cause, to cover his real intentions of betraying their counsels, and bringing to punishment the enemies of his sovereign. This reasoning, however, had so little weight with the jury, that they returned into court with a verdict of guilty in about five minutes. Perhaps the circumstance most in proof of the defence of Watt, is one which is mentioned by Mr. Plowden, but which appears not to have been adduced in argument by his counsel, viz.—"Watt never became a member of any of these societies (for parliamentary reform), but procured constant admission to them, by false pretences and undertakings, for the base purpose of carrying information from them to government, and probably with the still more iniquitous view of working up grounds for such information."[p]

The crime of Downie appears to have consisted rather in being a silent auditor of the plans of Watt, than in any active measures which he had taken, except that it appeared that he had paid a bill for 15 pikes, which had been made by Watt's order. So little satisfied indeed were the jury with the verdict of *guilty*, which they brought in, that, "on account of certain circumstances," they unanimously recommended the prisoner to mercy; and he has since received *his* majesty's pardon.

On the 10th of September a special commission of oyer and terminer was issued for the prisoners confined on a charge of high treason in the Tower of London; and on the 2d of October it was opened at the sessions house, Clerkenwell, by the lord chief justice Eyre, in an elaborate charge to the grand jury; and in the course of their proceedings the jury found a bill of indictment against Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, J. A. Bonney, Stewart Kydd, Jeremiah Joyce, Thomas Wardell, Thomas Holcroft, John Richter, Matthew Moore, John Thelwall, R. Hodson, and John Baxter. John Martin, attorney, was afterwards indicted in a separate bill. Mr. Holcroft,

[p] Plowden's Short Hist. p. 247.

craft, who had not been previously in custody, at the same time voluntarily surrendered himself, and the prisoners were ordered to prepare for trial.

While these affairs were in agitation, a new plate was excited, and the sympathy of the people was interested by the sudden rumour of a detestable conspiracy to assassinate their sovereign. The circumstance occurring at this particular stage of the impending trials, has by some writers been converted to the disadvantage of ministry, and an invidious allusion has been made to the famous Oates's plot, which, it is asserted, bore a strong resemblance in every part to the present proceedings. We are far from countenancing such insinuations, and only mention them as illustrative of that virulent spirit of party which unhappily prevailed at this period. Of the plot in question, however, we must say, that a more ridiculous, inconsistent, and improbable tale never was invented, nor one more destitute of ingenuity and talents in the fabrication. The persons implicated in this charge were John Peter Le Maitre, a native of Jersey, and apprentice to a watch-case maker in Denmark-street, St. Giles's; William Higgins, apprentice to a chemist in Fleet-market; and a man of the name of Smith, who kept a book-stall in the neighbourhood of Lincoln's Inn. Their accuser was one Upton, an apprentice or journeyman to a watch-maker. Le Maitre, Higgins, and Smith were apprehended on Saturday the 27th of September, by a warrant from the duke of Portland, and were examined on Sunday the 28th before the privy council, the lords of which were summoned again to attend on Tuesday on the same important business. The charge, supported by the testimony of Upton, was to the following effect: An instrument was to have been constructed by the informer Upton, in the form of a walking-stick, in which was to have been inserted a brass tube of two feet long; through this tube a poisoned dart or arrow was to have been blown by the breath of the conspirator Le Maitre at his majesty, either on the terrace at Windsor, or in the play-house. The poison prepared was to have been of so *subtle* a nature, that if the point but glanced upon the king, it was to have produced instantaneous death.

It required the most consummate ignorance of every human art and science to be for a moment deluded by this ridiculous story. The sentiments of men are often evinced by the most trivial and common phrases; it may therefore serve in some measure to mark the contempt with which this imposture was generally treated, to observe, that it was commonly distinguished by the name of the *pop-gun plot*. We cannot but lament that the attention of ministers could be at all engrossed by such an idle tale; or that, by committing the men to prison, they should have given occasion to the malignancy of party to arraign either their judgment or integrity. It is however proper to add, that after a long and close confinement the men have been liberated.

The execution of Watt took place immediately previous to the trials of those who had been indicted in London. The evening before his execution he signed a confession, which was published, and which contained some extravagant accounts of the extent of the conspiracy, of which he was to have been the principal mover. "To keep up to the last," says Mr. Plowden,

Plowden*, "a consistency with his former character, he risked his fate upon the most impudent and incredible of all discoveries. It was nothing to confess what he had been convicted of, viz. that with forty-seven spears and six men he had taken some steps towards seizing the castle of Edinburgh, the justices and magistrates, and overturning the government of North Britain. Now, for the good of the nation, he discloses what had escaped the discovering furor of our inventive cabinet, eluded the covetous zeal of each mercenary Argus, and even baffled the busy patriotism of Mr. Reeves's two thousand associations. He had brought matters to such maturity, that there remained almost nothing to do for the execution of the whole, but a visit to England by intelligent and confidential persons. The first movement was intended to be made in Edinburgh, London, and Dublin, while every town throughout the three kingdoms was in readiness to act according to the plan, on the very first notice, which was to be given by couriers dispatched by express!!!"

It has been insinuated that the confession was not written by Watt, and that he declared at the place of execution, "that he had been duped and deceived to the last."—These are probably the forgeries of party, but as they have appeared in print, we think it proper to notice them here; but however these facts may be, we cannot but agree with the author, whom we have just now quoted, that the greater part of the paper in question "is a mass of falsity and deception, which probably was his last effort to escape the gallows." It would indeed be a severe censure on the vigilance and activity of government, if the confession of Watt was true, that not *one* of those numerous conspirators, who, by his account, were actually in a state preparatory to insurrection in Edinburgh, London, and Dublin, and in every town in the kingdom, could be discovered. If Watt moreover was able to communicate any further particulars, and to specify the persons concerned, with whom also he must have corresponded, had the fact been as he states it, it would have been a most criminal neglect of duty in ministers not to have made the fullest use of his testimony for their discovery and conviction. It is a remarkable fact, that so abhorrent to the mind of every British subject is the character of a *spy*, that the fate of this unhappy man appears to have excited no compassion in any party, and he died unregretted, as he had lived without respect.

On the 25th of October Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, J. A. Bonney, Stewart Kyd, Jeremiah Joyce, Thomas Holcroft, John Richter, John Thelwall, and John Baxter were arraigned before the special commission at the Old Bailey. Of the twelve who were included in the first indictment three were not in custody. When Mr. Tooke was asked the usual question of "How will you be tried?" with that expressive air and manner, which he is so able to assume, he fixed his eyes on the court for some time, and emphatically replied, "I *would* be tried by God and my country—But!" Mr. Bonney and Mr. Thelwall both pointed out errors in the indictment, which would have destroyed its validity with respect to them; but of these they declined to take any advantage. As the prisoners desired to be tried separately, the attorney general said

* Short History, p. 297.

he

he would try Mr. Hardy first. By some unaccountable neglect on the part of the sheriffs, when the jury came to be impanelled on the 28th of October, it appeared that many of them were not freeholders of Middlesex; of those who answered to their names, a number were challenged on both sides, and at length twelve were sworn*.

Whatever calumnies may have been unjustly cast upon the loyal associations in the beginning of 1793, it is a sufficient refutation of them to say, that most of the gentlemen who composed this and the other juries were members of these associations. Perhaps, indeed, a more respectable, impartial, intelligent, and attentive jury never was impanelled, than that which sat upon the present occasion. The indictment was unusually long, and stated nine overtacts of high treason. The first of these was, That the prisoner, with others, having formed an intention of traitorously breaking the peace and common tranquillity of the kingdom, and to stir up, move, and excite insurrection and rebellion in the kingdom, and war against the king, and in order to carry into effect such intention, did meet and conspire amongst themselves and other false traitors to the king, to subvert the government, and to depose the king.

The second overt act was, That these persons did write and compose divers books, pamphlets, letters, and addresses, in writing, recommending delegates to a convention.

The third overt act charged was, That they did consult on the means to form a convention, and on the place where it might be held, &c.

The fourth overt act charged was, That they did agree among themselves, and others, to meet, form, and assemble into a society, for the purposes aforesaid.

The fifth charged, That they caused to be procured to be made arms to subvert the government of this country, and to depose the king.

The sixth charged, That they conspired to raise and to levy war within the realm.

The seventh, That they conspired to aid the king's enemies, &c.

The eighth, That they did draw and compose certain books, pamphlets, letters, exhortations, and addresses, and did maliciously publish them for the wicked purposes aforesaid.

The ninth, That they did procure arms for the purpose of levying war against the king, and to excite rebellion, &c.

The opening speech of the attorney general endured for nine hours, and consisted chiefly in a recapitulation of the facts set forth in the reports of the secret committees; and some of the circumstances adduced by the attorney general were (it afterwards appeared) so ill supported, that they were not even brought into evidence. It is a remarkable truth, however, that all the facts which appeared in the least to countenance the charge, were *posterior* to the minister's declaration in the latter end of 1792, "that a conspiracy actually existed to overturn the government."

The written evidence consisted chiefly of advertisements, addresses, &c. published in the newspapers, and of some private letters which had been seized among the papers of the prisoners. Many of these

* For the names of the jurors on all these trials, see our "Principal Occurrences," papers

papers were in an intemperate and even indecent style with respect to ministers, and other persons in authority; but certainly none of them could, by any rational person, be construed into an act of high treason.

On the parole evidence the attorney general had drawn a very candid, and, as it afterwards appeared, a necessary distinction:—"Some of the witnesses (he observed) were above all exception; and some were persons employed by government to watch over the proceedings of these societies." From the witnesses of the former description, nothing was extracted in the least to criminate the prisoner; and the latter (among whom were the notorious Taylor, and one Gosling, who, on this very trial, was detected in swearing falsely) were found not to be deserving of the smallest credit.

It was a fortunate circumstance for Mr. Hardy, and the members of those societies with which he was connected, that all their proceedings were public and open.—"Those transactions which constituted the body of the proof were, (as Mr. Erskine observed in summing up the evidence) not the peculiar transactions of the prisoner, but of immense bodies of the king's subjects, in various parts of the kingdom, assembled without the smallest reserve, and giving to the public through the channel of the daily newspapers a minute and regular journal of their proceedings. Not a syllable (added that able advocate) have we heard read in the week's imprisonment that we have suffered (for the evidence for the crown lasted nearly a week), that we had not read for months and months before the prosecution was heard of; and which (if we are not sufficiently satiated) we may read again upon the file of every coffee-house in the kingdom."

The applications of these societies to the friends of the people and other associations to join them in strenuously promoting a reform in the commons house of parliament, upon the plan of the duke of Richmond, viz. universal suffrage and annual parliaments, and their application to Mr. Fox and Mr. Francis to present their petition to parliament, were insisted upon as strong arguments that a reform in the representation was their sole object. With this the evidence for the crown completely corresponded; nor could the whole process of cross examination extort from any of the members of the societies who were examined, any concession beyond this. The society in Sheffield was supposed to have gone further than any other in the kingdom; and yet the evidence of the persons from that place was perhaps among the fairest, and most consistent that ever was adduced on a trial of this kind. Camage the secretary, when the question was put to him—"I ask you, in the presence of God, to whom you will have to answer, had you any idea of destroying the king, or the house of lords?"—answered with a Spartan brevity, "God forbid!" The spies indeed enumerated several instances (some *true* and some *false*) of rash and inflammatory expressions used at different meetings of the societies, and particularly at Chalk Farm; but not one of these attached to the prisoner, who, it appeared, had always demeaned himself in a most peaceable and becoming manner, and had always been the first to reprove the contrary conduct in any individual.

The charge which at first appeared to bear most against the prisoner,

soner, was that of having excited the people to arm against the government. This was the charge which effected the conviction of Watt; and from which the most fatal effects were expected. This charge originated in a letter which was found in Hardy's possession, from Richard Davison of Sheffield, containing a proposal to manufacture pikes of a certain dimension, and at a certain price, to defend themselves, as the letter expressed, from the violence of the *aristocrats*. It also appeared that a person of the name of Edwards had inquired of Hardy where he could procure a pike; when he shewed him Davison's letter, which, however, he had communicated to no other person. It further appeared that one Williams, a gunsmith in the Tower, who bought shoes of Hardy, had asked him whether he wanted a gun? when he replied in the negative. As the mention of arms had originated in Sheffield, the charge was cleared up to the entire satisfaction of the jury, by the evidence of the Sheffield witnesses. From the testimony of Camage, Broomhead, and others from that place, it appeared that the whole had originated from an infamous hand bill, which had been circulated in the night previous to an intended meeting of the society, exciting the mob of Sheffield to assemble and maltreat the members. Several of the members therefore came armed to the meeting, and others afterwards provided themselves with pikes, as the most portable and convenient weapons of defence. A report that the same violent proceedings against the societies were likely to take place in London, occasioned the application of Davison to Hardy.

A pocket knife was also found in the possession of Hardy, which occasioned a long discussion. Upon the testimony of Groves (one of the spies) it was asserted, that one Green had procured these knives for a particular purpose, and for the use of the society. It however afterwards was proved, that Green had accidentally bought one dozen of these knives from a country rider, and, as he dealt in cutlery, had sold them openly, and exposed them for sale in his shop window.

It appeared also that an association had been publicly established at Lambeth by one Franklow a taylor, called "the Loyal Lambeth Association," for the purpose of learning the military exercise. But, besides that it was perfectly public, it appeared that the prisoner Hardy was not implicated in it.

The defence of Hardy, by Mr. Erskine, may be considered as a model of forensic eloquence; and after a number of witnesses had been called to substantiate Hardy's character as a peaceable and inoffensive man, the defence was concluded by Mr. Gibbs. The elucidations of the law of treason cited by these two eminent advocates will, we doubt not, hereafter be referred to as authorities, and remain as standing bulwarks against that most fatal of legal perversions, constructive treason.

An attempt was made to implicate Hardy in the crime of Watt; but it was proved that the former had never corresponded with him, nor knew of the existence of such a person before his apprehension: Mr. Francis also proved, that when Hardy requested him to present the petition of the corresponding society, he had voluntarily offered to come forward and produce all the books and papers of the society, to evince that there was nothing seditious in their conduct, and

that their object was purely a parliamentary reform.

The reply was made by the solicitor general Mr. Mitford, who began with confessing the difficulty he felt in following two such able advocates as Messrs. Erskine and Gibbs, and endeavouring to confute them. He observed that much of what had been urged tended rather to accuse the duke of Richmond, and others of his majesty's ministers (meaning, we presume, Mr. Pitt), than to defend the prisoner. He argued, that "the necessary and natural consequences of a national constituted assembly" must be the dethroning of the king. A letter from a society at Stockport to the prisoner, containing these words—"I am directed by the friends of *universal peace*, and the rights of man," was on that account considered as treasonable by the solicitor, because none but an enthusiast, like the fifth monarchy men in the reign of Charles the second, could profess himself a friend to universal *peace*. He admitted that very abominable abuses in government might belong to this country. "I will not dissemble (said he) that there *may* be such, and which, as far *as lies in my power*, *I* shall think it *my* duty to bring forward as soon as *I* can. In whatever situation a man may stand in a country, he has that interest in it which is far dearer to him than any thing else: and as may be said in a religious view, we are taught, what can a man give in exchange for his soul? so in a civil and political view it may be said, what can a man give in exchange for his liberty?"

Mr. Mitford proceeded to cite a supposed but almost impossible case from some of the casuists of antiquity, viz. "If two men were floating upon a plank in the sea, and the plank would support but one, it has been said that the stronger man would be justified in turning the other overboard."—Here Mr. Mitford burst into tears, and said he "was quite overcome by the dreadful alternative to which the other man was reduced." He asserted, that if representatives were to be paid by *their constituents*, (which was a part of the plan of the corresponding society) "it would lead perhaps to all the mischiefs of anarchy and confusion." He reprobated in strong terms a censure in one of the resolutions on the conduct of judge Jefferies, and pointed out an exceedingly treasonable toast—"All that is good in every constitution; and may we never be superstitious enough to reverence in any that which is good for nothing!"

What impression the eloquent speech of Mr. Mitford might make upon the jury we may not conjecture; but after some deliberation, they brought in a verdict of *not guilty*.

Perhaps the public never was upon any occasion so visibly interested in the trial of an obscure individual as on this. The hall of the Old Bailey was surrounded during the whole trial by a numerous mob, who every evening regularly drew Messrs. Erskine and Gibbs to their chambers amidst the loudest huzzas, and it was with difficulty they were prevented from maltreating the counsel on the opposite side. Lest, however, on so delicate a subject we should lay ourselves open to a charge of partiality, we shall insert the conclusion of the trial, as published by the short-hand writer to the city of London, from whose notes, and Mr. Gurney's, we have extracted the very short statement which we have

have been able to give of this impartial trial.

"Mr. Hardy's deportment thro' the whole of his arduous trial was distinguished by the most exemplary decorum—firm, temperate, and tranquil, he shewed throughout the conscious rectitude of his heart. There was no agitation, no arrogance, no disdain in his manner; no apparent uneasiness of reflection on his past conduct, and no emotion of alarm for its consequences. When the jury pronounced their verdict of *Not Guilty*, he addressed them in a few words of grateful acknowledgment, for the attention they had paid to the long trial, and for the just verdict they had pronounced; but the words were drowned in the low, but universal noise of joy, that filled the court.

"He was immediately set at liberty; and having left the court, Mr. Kirby, the keeper of Newgate, conveyed him through his house privately: but it was in vain for him to resist the impetuosity of his fellow-citizens who surrounded the place: they drew him in a coach to his house in Piccadilly, making the tour of Pall Mall and St. James's-street.

"He had been thus hurried along by the enthusiastic zeal of the multitude, and it was at length with difficulty that he was able to tell them that he was desirous of going to the house of his brother-in-law, in Lancaster-court, in the Strand. He was drawn thither; and having got out of the carriage, before he entered the house he went into the church-yard of St. Martin, and was shewn to the grave of his wife, from whose side he had been taken when first seized, and who had fallen under the shock. The multitude respected this feeling with a sympathy that did them credit. They kept at a distance, while his relation pointed out to him the grave. After this affecting scene, he went into his brother's house, and, in a short address, thanked his fellow-countrymen for the kind interest they had shewn in his favour; and he requested them, as they valued the cause in which they had displayed their zeal, that they would separate in peace, as, if mischievous spirits should take advantage of their joy to disturb the public peace, it would be artfully misconstrued to the injury of the other prisoners.

"The cry of 'Home! home!' was given, and, in three minutes, the multitude quietly dispersed.

"Mr. Erskine and Mr. Gibbs, whose glorious struggle upon this occasion will make them for ever dear to mankind, were eager to avoid the burst of gratitude that they expected from the multitude. They continued a very considerable time in the court after the acquittal; but the vigilance and patience of gratitude were not to be wearied. They were recognized, and conducted in triumph to Serjeant's Inn, where that incomparable defender of national liberty admonished them in a few words, in his own impressive way, to retire to their separate homes, confident, from the grand proof of this day, that they had the best security for the maintenance of their rights, in the love of justice, which the constitution had indelibly implanted on the English heart.—The honest jury of Thomas Hardy had shewn to mankind, that it would not be easy to make Englishmen forget the principles in which they were bred, nor surrender the security to which they were born.

"Mr. Erskine then retired from the

window; and the populace, after a few huzzas, retired with the exclamation of "Erskine and Gibbs for ever!"

Considering the state of parties in this kingdom at the time, we must remark that the joy on Mr. Hardy's acquittal was much more general than we expected. Even those who were evidently adverse to the societies in question appeared to partake in the triumph. There is a wide medium between the approbation of democratical, or even very popular principles, and that of constructive treason; and they probably were not insensible to the very judicious remark of Dr. Johnson, on the acquittal of lord George Gordon, as quoted by Mr. Erskine —"I hate lord George Gordon, but I am glad he was not convicted of this constructive treason; for, though I hate him, I love my country and myself."

Mr. Hardy was acquitted on the 5th of November, at four in the afternoon, for the trial lasted eight days. After an interval of eleven days, John Horne Tooke, Esq. was put upon his trial.—This gentleman's character and abilities are too well known to require any panegyric from us, nor would it be either decorous or proper to enter on the detail of character during the life of any man however distinguished. Mr. Tooke had been for a considerable period the warm and intimate friend of Mr. Pitt; and to that friendship many are of opinion, in the zeal and fervour of attachment, he sacrificed both candour and justice in the comparison which he has drawn between that minister and his truly illustrious rival Mr. Fox. In the ages of patronage, the portrait which he has drawn of Mr. Pitt, in the parallel to which we allude, would have secured him the highest honours and emoluments in the disposal of a minister; and a Richelieu or a Medici would have requited the compliment with a pension for life. The disinterested patriotism of Mr. Pitt, therefore, has been highly extolled by his adherents, who could sacrifice a friend and fellow-labourer in the cause of reform, when that reform became, in his opinion, dangerous to the state; who could prosecute with the utmost rigour the man to whom he was most indebted for his political reputation; and who could be so insensible to posthumous fame, as to disregard a panegyric, which, but for this alloy, must have handed down his name to posterity in a point of view, perhaps beyond both his merits and abilities.—Of this praise we do not wish to defraud Mr. Pitt.

It is much to be regretted that our limits necessarily confine us to a very brief abstract of these trials, and that we can neither give the arguments of the counsel, nor even the depositions of the witnesses, in that full and copious manner in which we make it a point to report the debates of parliament. Mr. Tooke's trial commenced on the 17th of November. After some conversation relative to a demand made by Mr. Tooke to quit the bar and sit at the table with his counsel, the court granted his request as an indulgence "on the score of health;" and on that principle it was accepted by Mr. Tooke, though he begged to be understood, that he did not change his ground, but conceived he had a right to this situation, though he was willing to accept it under the name of an indulgence, to save time. After the usual challenges were made, a deficiency of three persons appeared. Mr. Tooke then addressed the court, and insisted that the crown,

crown, by the stat. 33 of Edward the first, had no right to any peremptory challenges whatever; and after some altercation, the attorney general was compelled to abandon his challenges, and three of the jurors who had been set aside upon that principle were impanelled and sworn, to complete the jury.

The charge was opened by the solicitor general Mr. Mitford, who informed the jury, that the "distinct imagination of personal harm to the king formed no part of this charge;" and he contended, that "it was not material *whether* a *person* so charged *had, in his contemplation, all the consequences of that which he is about to do*; it is sufficient, if such are the *probable* and ordinary consequences." He confessed that he felt his own *insufficiency* for the task imposed upon him. He said, he did "not know what might be the consequence of this trial; whether that constitution, to which a great majority of the people of this country are attached, was to be defended by the law of the country, or whether those that have formed that attachment may be compelled to *rally round its standard, and defend it by their own arms and force**." He proceeded to cite various proceedings of the constitutional and corresponding societies, to prove that the leaders of these societies had formed a plan for the subversion of the constitution; and as, in his former address, Hardy the shoemaker was represented as the origin and main spring of all these proceedings, so in the present that part was transferred to the prisoner Mr. Tooke, whom he compared, in the conclusion of his speech, to lord Lovat and Judas Iscariot.

Some difficulties having arisen in the commencement of the trial concerning the identifying the hand writing of Mr. Tooke, he offered voluntarily himself to identify it, wherever it appeared, adding, "I protest I have never done an act—I protest I never have had a sentiment—I protest I never had a thought of any important political nature, which, taken fairly, I have the smallest degree of disposition not now to admit.—I am anxious that my life and character should go together, and I wish to admit all that I have said, done, or written."

The lord president observed, that he should prefer that the evidence should take its course. "I do not think (said his lordship), that any prisoner is quite cognizant to take upon himself to admit evidence that may be adduced against him."

Mr. Tooke replied, "If it was a libel I would not do so; but in a matter of high treason, where subtle arguments cannot take place, I have no fear in doing it; but, if they cannot, I desire to be the first man that dies upon that doctrine. I am old enough to wish to be the first man, because I shall be sure to be the last. I am not at all afraid either of the construction or of the consequences"

Some other altercations took place in the early stages of the trial; but the whole was soon converted into such a scene of pleasantry and good humour, as perhaps never occurred in a trial for a capital offence. It appeared on the evidence, that the minister had been more than usually terrified by a letter from Mr. Joyce to Mr. Tooke, which had

* This is literally transcribed from Blanchard's report of the trial, p. 32; and we transcribe it, to give the short-hand writer an opportunity of correcting it, as we earnestly hope there is some mistake, and that the solicitor made use of no such expressions.

been intercepted, and which was in substance as follows:

"Dear citizen,

"This morning citizen Hardy was taken away by an order from the secretary of state's office. They seized every thing they could lay hands on.—Query.—Is it possible to get ready by Thursday? Yours,

"J. Joyce."

The query, it appeared from the evidence, related merely to an extract which Mr. Tooke was to have made from the red book of the places and emoluments derived from the public by Mr. Pitt and his family, and which was to have been published in the news-papers. Immediately on the intercepting of this letter, it appeared a strong body of light horse was ordered to Wimbledon, and warrants were issued for the apprehension of Mr. Tooke and Mr. Joyce. On this and other parts of the charge the prisoner exercised his wit and raillery with such effect, that the judges themselves could not help joining in the ridicule. From various other evidence it appeared that Mr. Tooke was a man of such moderate principles, that even some of his majesty's ministers went much farther than he did on the subject of a parliamentary reform; that it had even been reported in the societies that he was pensioned by ministry; and that in a conversation with major Cartwright on the topic of a reform, Mr. Tooke made use of the remarkable expression—"You would go to Windsor; but I should choose to stop at Hounslow."

The defence by Mr. Erskine was masterly. The opening was remarkably forcible and impressive. "When," says Mr. Erskine, "I stood up here on a former occasion, I had, gentlemen of the jury, to contend against what I tremble to look back on—I had to contend with what no other man at any time in England ever had to contend with—I had to contend first of all as the representative of a poor, lowly, and obscure mechanic, known, of course, to persons equally obscure with himself only—I had to contend in his name and person against that vast, powerful, extensive, but, after the verdict which has been given, I will not say crushing influence of the crown of England; I say this with all that respect which belongs to its authority, for, in my opinion, the administration of government and law ought to be dear to every man. —I had, gentlemen, besides that, to struggle, from the nature of the cause, with that deep and solid interest which every good subject must take and ought to take in the security of the life of the chief magistrate, called upon by the law to execute the laws, and the reverence due to the authority of the constitution and government. I had to struggle with what is much more difficult than all, with that which is the characteristic of Englishmen, and which I hope ever will be, that general benevolence they must ever feel for every thing that is dear and interesting to the sovereign upon the throne, of whom, surely, personally, we have nothing to complain. This would have been enough, independent of other circumstances, at any time; but at what season had I to contend with it? I had to contend with it when there was a cloud of prejudices raised up against every person whose name is mentioned or thought of in the course of the cause, and against those societies, for only doing what their betters have done and approved of at other times; and who were, as I say, only actuated by honest zeal to demand what

what they might think belonged to them—I had to contend also against prejudices fomented by wickedness, which it is out of the power of human language to utter one idea concerning—That is not all, for prejudices in such a cause as this can go but a little way—I had to contend with this in a fearful season, when the face of the earth was drawn into convulsions, when various revolutions were daily rising up, and when some men, because they chose to pretend alarm, wished to turn the edge of that which has no concern with the business of others, to the utter destruction of those who happened to be engaged in the business long, long, and often proceeded upon, in other seasons.

"Gentlemen, when one reflects upon the stability of the law of England, and when one reflects upon the faithful administration of it, one might say, Yet this might be provided against, there still remains that which is even paramount to the law—that great tribunal which the wisdom of our ancestors raised in this country for the support of the people's rights—That tribunal which has made the law, that tribunal which has given me you to look at, that tribunal that is surrounded with an hedge as it were set about it; that tribunal which from age to age has been fighting for the liberties of the people, and without the aid of which it would have been in vain for me to stand up before you, or to think of looking round for assistance. But, gentlemen, in that quarter, which always has been the shield of the subject, was found a sword drawn to destroy him. The house of commons was the accuser of my client; the house of commons made up the brief for the counsel of the crown. I am making no complaints of the house of commons, but stating the fact; that the briefs, without which my learned friends, as they agree, could not have proceeded in the cause, were prepared by the commons of Great Britain, preceded by proclamations in every part of the kingdom, stamped by the highest authority, in order that the prejudices of that authority might be as extensive as the whole island.

"Gentlemen, this is a case altogether new; for when a man is impeached by the house of commons, he is not tried by a jury of his country—Why? Because the benevolent institutions of our wise forefathers forbid it; they considered, when the commons were the accusers, the jury were the accusers; they considered the commons at large as accusers and jury. Here one would think the commons had no sort of connection with the people of England, but that they were holding out a siege against those whose representatives they are and ought to be. In such cases the lords in parliament have been appointed as a court of justice, and an Englishman, a common man, is not forced before the house of lords when accused by the commons; but he goes there because it is the only place where he can stand for justice. But, gentlemen, the lords of England did not stand in that capacity; they too were accusers; they, to whom alone, under such an accusation, we could fly for protection, joined the commons in laying all this matter before you, which you have heard in the course of the cause. We had, besides all this, a mass of matter which the human understanding is not able to disentangle, which no human strength of body can go through the examination of, and which was therefore produced. I go along with the

the court in what it has decided, not waving any privileges of my client. I conceive the adjournment that took place, was founded upon that necessity which probably, if it had existed before, would not have been thus lately to be decided by their lordships; but if it be so, what shall we say of that case in 1794, after a constitution has existed for a number of years, in which we were obliged to catch at any device, indulgence, or consent, and at last the judges consulted to know how they should deal with a cause that had no parallel, and was nothing like what any man before had to encounter with?"

In the course of his speech Mr. Erskine had occasion to mention Mr. Paine's works, and related the following fact:

"The second part was published, and in every man's hands: it was prosecuted as a libel, and it was not determined till 1793, when it was brought on to trial. O shame! you will say, when I relate what I am about to do—that there was a conspiracy formed, that the author should not be defended; that was the clue to Mr. Horne Tooke's conduct; there was a conspiracy, that Mr. Paine was not to have the benefit of a trial; he was a poor man, and he could not defend himself; he was to have no counsel, and I, who speak to you, was threatened with the loss of my office, if I undertook his defence as an advocate, as I do in this place; I was told, Mr. Paine must not be defended; I did defend him, and I lost my office."

In the conclusion, he states in beautiful language a circumstance greatly to the honour of the prisoner.

"Now, gentlemen, I must conclude with saying, the part which this gentleman has acted in this cause has certainly entitled him to the greatest respect from me, because, undoubtedly, I was prepared to conduct it in a different manner, by a selection of those parts of the evidence, and by a minute attention to those particular entries, where I could have separated him from the rest. I could have made a defence which would have kept his vessel out of the storm; I could have brought him safe into the harbour of peace, while those men were to ride out the storm. But he would not suffer his defence to be made upon that; and though he has nothing to do with the conspiracy, he held out a rope to save them; he charges me to say, I will shew the other men had no such guilt belonging to them, and I rejoice in being the advocate to do it. I declare, my heart was never so much in a cause:—you must see, I am in a manner tearing myself to pieces by what I am doing; I have neither voice nor strength to pursue it, but I have the most perfect reliance and confidence in your justice: I am asking no favour of you; I am not endeavouring to captivate you by elocution; but I conclude this case, as I began the last, with imploring, that you may be inspired by that power, which can alone impregnate the human mind with true principles of truth and justice."

On the part of the prisoner, a number of witnesses of high rank, and connected with administration, were examined: among these were the duke of Richmond, lord Camden, Mr. Beaufoy, and Mr. Pitt. They all appeared to have drank most copiously of the Lethean stream, and Mr. Pitt in particular seemed literally to have forgotten all that he had formerly attempted in the cause of reform. On a letter being

being put into his hand, Mr. Tooke asked him, if that letter was his hand-writing? He owned it was. Upon lord chief justice Eyre's asking what that letter had to do with the case, Mr. Tooke declared, that he had never followed any other plan of parliamentary reform than that proposed by Mr. Pitt; namely, that which was necessary to the independence of parliament, and the liberties of the people.

Mr. Pitt being asked by his lordship, to what description of persons his letter was addressed? he answered, that he could only judge from the contents of the letter, to what description of persons it was directed; and he *thought* he must have sent it to some person who acted as chairman to a Westminster committee. He recollected *nothing more* about that letter. He said he recollected a meeting at the Thatched House tavern, relative to a motion for a parliamentary reform, which he had made in the house of commons, in May 1782. He could *not recollect* with certainty who were present; but he believed Mr. Tooke was present. Mr. Tooke asked Mr. Pitt, whether he had not recommended to endeavour to obtain the sense of the people throughout England, in order to be a foundation for a future application to parliament? He said he had no particular *recollection* of recommending such a measure: so far as he could *recollect*, it was the general sense of the members to recommend petitions to parliament in the next session, with a view to reform.

Mr. Tooke hoped that his lordship would now allow him to read Mr. Pitt's letter. This, however, his lordship refused; and it was therefore returned to Mr. Tooke.

Mr. Pitt, upon his cross examination by the attorney-general, said, that there was nothing passed at that meeting respecting bringing about a convention by delegates from different bodies of the people. There *never was such a thing agitated in his presence*. Mr. Tooke asked him, what that meeting was, but a convention of delegates, from different great towns and counties, sent by committees of those towns and counties of England? He said he had not sufficient *recollection* how that meeting was composed; but he did not consider it as a meeting that was authorised to act for any body but themselves. Mr. Tooke said, he would perhaps *recollect*, that it had been *objected in the house of commons*, to the very petition which they presented, that it came from persons in a delegated capacity? He said he had no *recollection* of any such thing. He did not *recollect* exactly how that meeting was composed; and, therefore, did not know but that some of those persons might have been deputed by others.

The evidence of Mr. Sheridan went almost to the direct contradiction of that which had been given by Mr. Pitt. He had met Mr. Tooke in 1780 at a convention or meeting of delegates, from different parts, who were to consider the best means of procuring a parliamentary reform, and to act for those who deputed them; he was himself a delegate for Westminster. The matter, he said, was notorious. He said they certainly did mean to *awe* the parliament, not by any illegal means, but by a proper and constitutional *awe*. Mr. Sheridan proceeded to enumerate the places where these meetings were held, and mentioned in particular Guildhall, and the duke of Richmond's at Privy Garden.—Here Mr. Pitt begged

begged leave to *correct* his evidence, and confessed that he was present at some meetings at Privy Garden, where there were delegates from different counties.

The evidence was commented upon in a most able and satisfactory manner by Mr. Gibbs, who insisted, "that the evidences for the crown had, of themselves, given a most complete verdict of acquittal." The reply of the attorney general went chiefly to infer the guilt of Mr. Tooke from his having conferred with Hardy, and corrected some of the publications of the corresponding society. The case, however, was so clear, that the jury had not retired above six minutes before they returned with a verdict of *Not guilty*.

A burst of acclamation filled the court, and was instantly followed by a shout from the populace assembled without. As soon as silence was restored in court, which it required some minutes to effect, Mr. Tooke addressed the court and the jury, to the following effect:

"My lord, and gentlemen,

"I now beg leave to return my sincere thanks to your lordship, and to you, gentlemen of the jury, for your conduct during this trial—give me leave to say, that the conclusion of it, which has given me so much satisfaction, and has given you satisfaction, will give as much satisfaction, and do a great deal of good to our country. I shall now tell you, what indeed I could have told you before, but what it was not regular, and therefore not fit that I should tell you before, which is the only reason why I now trouble you to hear me at all, in more words than are necessary to return my thanks. I have the pleasure to be confident you will never have the trouble of going through such a trial again. And now I will tell you, in as few words as I am able, the reason why his lordship entertained a doubt upon my conduct.—It arose entirely from my own abundant caution, and the care I took to preserve the regularity of the proceedings of this court.

"It arose incidentally also, from a circumstance which I could not possibly foresee, and which I had no means of guessing at until I heard the attorney general's reply. In that reply he thought fit to lay great stress on the alterations which appeared in the papers in my hand writing. He insisted that the word king being inserted here, struck out there, government struck out, and country inserted in its stead, &c. afforded strong presumption that I was concerned in the original framing of these papers. The truth is, that I had no hand in framing any of them, nor any connection with any of the societies from which they came. I do not even know at this hour any one individual member of the country societies; nor should I have known any thing whatever of the London societies, but from the circumstance of my having been candidate for the city of Westminster. In that character I visited them; and, to take care of a very honest, though not very able man, I perused such papers as he brought me, and, when I found that they were intended for publication, struck out what appeared to me to be libellous, and corrected what appeared to be bad English—a trifling favour which I never refused to any person who applied to me. I could say this of a gentleman who wrote a book against me; he shewed it to me in manuscript, and I corrected it as I did these papers.

"I protest

"I protest that I meant it entirely for the sake of the law, on which our lives and fortunes must all depend, and by which, I hope, they will be always protected, as mine has been this night. Having said this, I now declare in the face of this court, that no man ever came into it, or was discharged honourably out of it, who stood more free from the charge exhibited against him, than I did of that which the attorney general thought fit to make against me in his reply. Nothing of this was mentioned in the solicitor general's opening. It was not even alluded to till the mouths of the counsel who have defended me so nobly, and my own, were shut, and very properly, by the rules of the court. I was content to risk my life rather than once attempt to violate the established forms of justice. Upon this frivolous charge have I suffered prosecution for high treason, in which I have been defended so gloriously by Mr. Erskine and Mr. Gibbs; and I hope the manner in which I have been acquitted will plead my excuse for having detained the court after the business was over. I hope, my lord, you will accept my thanks; to my counsel I render my thanks; you, gentlemen of the jury, I hope, will accept my thanks; and the law, which I love and revere, which has been so gloriously asserted, will teach attornies general, in future, how to maintain the doctrine of treason upon construction."

The court was then adjourned till Monday se'nnight.

The multitude surrounded the court for a considerable time after the verdict, in order to pay their respects, as usual, to the counsel for the prisoner.—At length Mr. Erskine and Mr. Gibbs came to their carriage; the horses were instantly taken out; the people collected about it in considerable numbers, and with this escort they were drawn to Serjeant's Inn. In the same way, Mr. Sheridan being recognized in the carriage of a gentleman, the horses were taken out, and he was drawn to Mr. Erskine's house, while the streets blazed with the flambeaux which the people had prepared.

Mr. Erskine addressed the people, from his window, to the following effect:

"Gentlemen,

"My voice is so very much exhausted by the fatigue of the long trial, now so happily concluded, that I am afraid I shall not be heard by you;—but no voice could, at any time, express my satisfaction at the event of this day, glorious for the laws, nor my affection for your kindness to myself, and my learned and most excellent friend, Mr. Gibbs, who stands here, and who joins with me in the thanks so justly due to you. We now hope that you will retire to your homes, rendered more secure to you from what has passed; and as there are persons still within the walls of prisons, upon similar charges, connected with the imputation of violence and disorder, your peaceable deportment, even in the moment of zeal and triumph, will operate as a sort of evidence for the unfortunate prisoners, stamping credit upon the testimony by which the forms of a court of justice will, in due season, bring about their deliverance."

When Mr. Erskine had finished, the loudest applause followed; but there was a general cry for Mr. Sheridan to come forward before they separated.

Mr. Sheridan, in a short but pertinent

tinent addreſs, enforced the ſentiments of Mr. Erſkine. He paid a warm compliment to the exertions of the two learned advocates, Mr. Erſkine and Mr. Gibbs. He was not ſurpriſed at the enthuſiaſtic gratitude which theſe exertions had excited in the minds of the people. They rightly conſidered them not as the fee'd pleaders of Mr. Hardy and Mr. Tooke, but as the generous advocates of the cauſe and conſtitution of the people of England. He congratulated them on the firſt great conſequence which muſt reſult from the conduct and verdict of the juries in theſe trials. It muſt be clear to all the nation, that that moſt ſacred of all rights—the right of juries—was a bulwark too ſtrong to be aſſailed with ſucceſs, by the arts, influence, or power of any government.

Hence muſt ariſe this firſt ſecurity for all good government, a ſober and ſincere reverence for the exiſting laws. He concluded by enforcing Mr. Erſkine's exhortation to peaceable demeanour, and reminded them that their preſent excellent chief magiſtrate had undertaken to preſerve the peace and protect the courts of juſtice in the city of London, without having recourſe to the faſhionable, but moſt unconſtitutional, pretexts for military aſſiſtance. The only return they could make in ſuch times as theſe for ſuch a confidence, was to ſhew that they deſerved it. It was, therefore, doubly incumbent on them to make it manifeſt to the world, that at all times, and even in the moment of eager and honeſt exultation, an ardent love of freedom was compatible with a ſincere reſpect for order and the law, without which the triumph of liberty would ſoon ceaſe to be a victory.

In ten minutes this thronged concourſe of people were entirely diſperſed.

The jury on their return from the Old Bailey, after their verdict on the trial of Mr. Tooke, had a lane formed for them all the way to the London coffee-houſe. On their arrival there, the company, who amounted to about five hundred gentlemen, immediately aroſe, took off their hats, ranged themſelves on each ſide as they paſſed through, ſaluting them with the moſt animated and expreſſive tokens of applauſe. One of the jury, ſpeaking for the reſt, ſaid, it added highly to the gratification they felt in having conſcientiouſly diſcharged their duty, to find the verdict they had given ſo ſatisfactory to the public at large.

After the acquittal of Mr. Tooke, which took place on the 22d of November, the attorney general declined any further proſecution of the remaining members of the conſtitutional ſociety; and on Monday December the 1ſt a jury being impanelled *pro forma*, Meſſrs. Bonney, Joyce, Kyd and Holcroft were acquitted and diſcharged.

The trial of Mr. Thelwall commenced on the ſame day.

The charge was opened with great ability by Mr. ſerjeant Adair; but no new evidence was adduced upon the trial, except ſome intemperate expreſſions at the various meetings at Chalk Farm, &c. and at his lecture room, which were ſupported only by the teſtimony of the ſpies, Lynam and Taylor, whoſe evidence was afterwards rendered nugatory by that of two other witneſſes. The priſoner was defended by Meſſrs. Erſkine and Gibbs with their uſual ability, and this jury alſo brought in a verdict of *Not guilty*.

At the concluſion of the trial Mr.

Mr. Thelwall addressed the court and jury.—After so long a trial, he said, aided by so powerful a prosecution against a poor and unconnected individual as himself, without fortune and without friends; after suffering seven months confinement in a prison, and enduring, with the pain imposed upon his body, the more excruciating tortures of the mind; and after risking not only his life but his reputation, he could not hear the verdict which was then delivered without emotions too vast for utterance, and too sublime for thought. To the court, to the jury, to the people, he was indebted for candour, judgment, and patience, ever memorable. Yet although he might content himself with making this acknowledgment, nor longer intrude on the attention of the court, he conceived that he was honoured with a public trust, which it was incumbent on him to discharge. He confessed, that he had acted with imprudence, and had sometimes perhaps exceeded his intentions—but he had never acted with a criminal design. Of an irritable temper, and endowed with passions, it was hardly possible for him sometimes to repress that indignation, which was purposely provoked by his accusers to draw him into a snare. It was true, that he had written that letter, which was produced against him, addressed to a friend in America—but he said, that he had not only never sent it, but that he had never read it after it was written, or he should have consumed it in the flames.—He was ashamed of the bombastic and inflated language which composed it; but, for his lectures, as all who had attended them, except those who came in the character of spies, would testify, he said, they were calculated to support himself, by giving reasonable instruction to the people. He could have no personal enmity against his sovereign, nor had he conceived so horrible an intent as to depose him from his throne, or deprive him of his life. Far too from his thoughts were all treasons and conspiracies against the state, all projects of subversion, all provision of arms. Happily, he hoped, the time was arriving, or would arrive, when pikes and muskets would no longer be fabricated, and when each engine of destruction would itself be destroyed; when man would look on man as brothers, by one immortal parent, and an universal compact of fellowship and peace prevail. Though acquitted by the verdict of his country, however, at a seasonable time and opportunity he purposed, in moderate and lawful terms, to justify his conduct to the world.

The chief baron Macdonald, in very handsome terms, regretted that Mr. Thelwall had made the latter declaration, which was totally irrelevant, and not within their jurisdiction. Since he was acquitted, and acquitted too by the noblest and most public verdict, the verdict of his country, he advised him to reverence those laws by which he had been justified, to respect that people to which he was returned, and to conduct himself with such propriety as should not only be satisfactory to his own conscience, but ensure him eternal honour.

The other prosecutions were abandoned by the crown lawyers, and those who had been indicted were liberated from confinement.

On a candid review of these trials, we should feel ourselves guilty not only of falsehood, but of gross indecency, did we not heartily subscribe

subscribe to the radical justice of the verdicts. Of all the pernicious arts of tyranny, there is none so dangerous as that of *constructive treason*; and whatever grievances Englishmen may have to complain of occasionally in the administration of public affairs, they cannot solicitate themselves too strongly or too frequently on the wide distinction which exists between the administration of justice in this, and in all other countries of Europe. Even the forms of law, which in civil cases are productive of expence, and might perhaps be simplified with advantage, form in criminal cases a strong barrier against oppression and injustice. Woe to that nation which consents on any occasion to dispense with the forms of law; or allows any thing to the action of prejudice or passion in judicial proceedings. The whole of those black and guilty transactions, which have for ever stained the cause of liberty in France, may be resolved into this one principle, the neglect of legal forms, the disregard to evidence, and the condemnation or rather murder of men upon suspicion, rumour, and prejudice.

While, however, we congratulate ourselves and our country upon the event of these trials, we must add, that we are far from approving the proceedings of the societies in question. The idea entertained by some of them of annual parliaments and universal suffrage, appears to us, in the present circumstances of Britain, an extravagant idea. Reforms, to be salutary, must be gradual, and adapted to the moral state of man; and this, if ever it can be practicable, is certainly too violent a step to be attempted at once. But had their object been rational, was it the time to enforce it? In a time of alarm, of prejudice, of party spirit, and general ferment, was it a time to enforce schemes of reform and innovation?—The imprudence of the measure must be obvious on their own principles; and admitting the ministry to be what they have supposed them, crafty, unprincipled, existing only on the alarms and fears which they can excite in the nation, was it not obvious that advantage would be taken of these proceedings, to support and extend that system of delusion, which they had found already so much adapted to their purposes? Or, supposing the ministry not dishonest but timid, could any other consequences be expected than those which have ensued? It would certainly have been more prudent therefore to have pursued the advice of Mr. Horne Tooke, "to lie upon their oars" till prejudice should be dissipated, till the ferment of the moment should have subsided, and the minds of men be prepared for a dispassionate pursuit of those objects which might appear essential to the public interest.

The affectation of French phrases in these meetings was also greatly calculated to excite apprehensions in weak minds. It may, however, serve to calm the terrors, which false reports and the testimony of venal spies had generated, to learn from the evidence exhibited on these trials, that neither the numbers, extent, nor resources of these societies were such as they had been represented; but that their power, their numbers, and their influence were (as *we* have uniformly asserted) contemptible. These circumstances are delineated with such genuine humour, and yet in such true colours, by a distinguished member of the British senate, that

we

we cannot refrain from anticipating a little the debate on that subject by the insertion of his observations.—He remarked, that "during the course of the trials, he had heard the evidence of the spies of government, no part of which went to sanction the alarm which had been so industriously propagated. It followed, therefore, either that ministers were deceived by their spies, and had thereby shewn themselves unfit for the situations which they held; or that they had acted upon an alarm, which they did not feel, to answer the infamous purposes of their own ambition, and to delude the people to continue a wicked and ruinous war. At the time every body admitted that the measures of ministry were extraordinary; but something they said must come out. Papers, notoriously in the pay of ministers, even took upon them to mention the particulars of the plot, and to name the persons concerned. In the first of the trials, one pike was produced; that was afterwards withdrawn, from absolute shame. A formidable instrument was talked of to be employed against the cavalry; it appeared upon evidence to be no other than a te-totum in a window at Sheffield. These desperate conspirators, it appeared, had formed their encampment in a back garret; their arsenal was provided with nine rusty muskets; and this formidable preparation, which was to overturn the constitution, was supported by an exchequer containing nine pounds and one bad shilling, all to be directed against the whole armed force and established government of Great Britain."

CHAPTER VII.

Foreign Affairs.—Poland.—Perfidy of the King of Prussia.—His open Violence at Thorn.—Takes that City.—Protest of the confederated Poles.—Application to Russia.—King of Prussia takes Dantzic.—Publishes a Manifesto.—Further Partition.—Curious Manifestoes of Russia and Prussia.—The Diet claims the Mediation of Foreign Courts.—Further Proceedings of the Diet.—Diet besieged by the Russian Banditti.—Treaty extorted by Force.—New Constitution.—Termination of the Session.—Military Order revived.—Annulled by the Empress.—New Constitution annulled by the same Authority.—Orders from the Empress to disband the Soldiers of the Republic.—Appearance of Resistance to these arbitrary Mandates.—General Insurrection under the gallant Kosciusko.—Insolent Demand of the Russian Ambassador bravely resisted.—Russians defeated by Kosciusko.—Driven from Warsaw.—The Capital besieged by the Prussians.—Siege raised.—Retreat of the Enemy.—Artifices of the Court of Petersburgh.—Defeat of the Poles by the Russians.—Prussians defeated.—Unfortunate Defeat of Kosciusko, who is wounded and taken Prisoner.—Advance of Suwarrow to the Siege of Warsaw.—That Capital taken.—Horrid Massacre.—Submission of the Poles.—Reflexions.—Geneva.—Retrospect of political Events in that Republic from 1782.—Changes in the Government after the French Revolution.—Revolution there.—Tribunal established.—Violence of the Populace.—Seven Persons put to Death.—Restoration of Order.—Mountaineers disarmed, &c.—America.—

rica.—Insurrection in the Western Counties.—Wise Measures of the American Government.—Insurrection quelled without Bloodshed.—Indian War.—Defeat of Indians by General Wayne.—Dispute with the Government of Canada.—Happily terminated.—Meeting of Congress.

OUR last account of the affairs of Poland concluded with the melancholy overthrow of the patriots, and the subversion by a foreign force of the excellent constitution which they had framed. We had hoped that our present volume would present a more cheerful prospect in this quarter of Europe; we had indulged the pleasing dream that their second noble effort would be more prosperous than the former; and that brute and savage force for once might be compelled to yield to the glorious cause of liberty and virtue.—But, alas! our sanguine expectations proved but a dream, and we awake only to the disgusting contemplation of the gloomy triumph of fraud, violence and murder. Painful as is the task, we have now to enter on the detail of the blackest scene of perfidy and wickedness which the annals of Europe have to record: a detail disgusting in its progress; cruel and sanguinary in its catastrophe beyond all former precedent.

On the 6th of January 1793, the king of Prussia published a declaration respecting the march of his troops into Poland. In this, with unblushing effrontery, and in direct contradiction to the letters he had himself written, both officially and privately, to the unfortunate Stanislaus, congratulating him on the change of government in Poland in May 1791, he asserted that this change had been effected without the knowledge of the neighbouring *friendly* powers. The revolution had, his majesty added, been beheld with much displeasure by a great part of the nation, who had implored, and happily received, the gracious assistance of her imperial majesty of Russia, whose troops were co-operating with the confederated nobility for the suppression of innovation, and the restoration of virtue to the constitution. He pathetically lamented the disappointment of his hopes, that the troubles in Poland would have terminated without his interference, particularly as he was so deeply engaged in another quarter; but that the obstinate resistance of the *soi-disant* patriots, and the jacobinical proceedings, especially in Great Poland, put him under the necessity of taking effective measures on account of his own safety. He had therefore, he added, concerted measures with the courts of Vienna and Petersburgh, and, to anticipate designs so fatal to his interests, had resolved to send a sufficient body of troops under the command of M. de Mollendorf, general of infantry, into the territories of the republic, and particularly into Great Poland.

Whatever factions or tumults might have existed in Poland previous to the Russian invasion, we must remark that they have remained undiscovered to any eye except that of the penetrating monarch of Prussia. It has always appeared, to the rest of Europe, that the new constitution of Poland was received with acclamation by the unanimous voice of the nation, and produced real satisfaction amongst every rank of the people, except perhaps a few of the nobility

lity who were either basely devoted to the interests of the court of Russia, or whose ambition was disappointed by being precluded from the chance of succeeding to the throne. The Prussian troops however advanced to Thorn, and one of its detachments appeared under the walls of that city. The inhabitants, faithful to their duty, having refused entrance to the troops, experienced an open attack. Cannons were planted against the walls, the gates were broken open, the municipal guard were dislodged from their posts; a defenceless city exhibited the spectacle of a place taken by assault; and on the 24th of January the Prussian regiments entered it, while the air resounded with their triumphant acclamations. There were no soldiers of the republic in the city to make resistance, it depended for security upon public faith, and that faith was violated. Different Polish detachments dispersed throughout Great Poland were attacked at the same time, and driven from their posts by superior force.

Dantzic also in a very short time became completely subjected to the Prussians, and a garrison of 1,700 men was quartered upon the inhabitants. This city had already suffered very considerably from the oppressive conduct of its neighbours, and the consequent decay of its trade; it was further injured by the loss of several of its principal inhabitants, who, preferring emigration to living under a military government, retired to Hamburgh and other places. In the mean time the confederated Poles published on the 3d of February a protest against the violent entrance of the Prussian troops, in which they stated, that confiding in solemn engagements and the faith of treaties, they could never have imagined that they had occasion to apprehend a surprise or open violence, where every assurance had been given them that they were to find only friendship and assistance, and declared they would enter into no views which might tend to dismember any part of the Polish domains; but on the contrary were ready to sacrifice the last drop of their blood in defence of their liberties and independence. They concluded by *hoping* that even the two imperial courts and all other powers would not behold with indifference a manifest violation of the rights of nations, and the open invasion of the domains of a neighbouring and friendly state.

This confederation, which sat at Grodno, dispatched a note, dated the 6th of February, to count de Sievers the Russian ambassador at that place, requesting him to inform the empress his mistress, that the report of a new partition of Poland had diffused a general alarm throughout the nation; that a people so long the sport of misfortune is easily alarmed; that the recollection of past miseries excites its dread of future evils; that the confederation wait with confidence for new assurances from her majesty of *friendship* and good will, to quiet the alarms of the people, whose apprehensions were considerably augmented by the obstacles which M. Ingelstrohm the Russian general had opposed to the motions of the troops of the republic, and his prohibiting them from the use of artillery. They concluded by declaring, that the confederation had solemnly sworn to maintain the unity and indivisibility of the republic.

The troops of Prussia had no sooner entered Dantzic, than the inhabitants

inhabitants were insulted by a manifesto from the king of Prussia, dated February the 24th, in which he informed them, that the same motives which induced him to send troops into Great Poland had put him under the necessity of making sure of Dantzic and its dependencies: he charged the city, in addition to its continued unamicable dispositions, with the further atrocity of having become the seat of an audacious sect, and with having withstood his efforts to seize one of its leaders, whom he could not wrest from the hands of his protectors but by dint of—— remonstrances! This recent example, other abuses of a liberty ill understood, the close connection kept up between the rebels of France and Poland, and a party which by the boldness of its principles predominated over the plurality of well-disposed citizens, together with the supplies afforded by the inhabitants of Dantzic to the common enemy, ought to have drawn the king's notice to the city, and induced him to keep it within proper bounds, and to take care of the safety and tranquillity of the neighbouring provinces of Prussia. He had therefore, he added, after having agreed with other powers interested in this affair, charged his lieutenant general M. de Raumez to take possession of Dantzic and its dependencies with a sufficient body of troops, with a view of preserving *good order* and public tranquillity! The inhabitants were exhorted by obedience to gain the good will of this benevolent monarch, and the magistrates were requested to second his salutary views. On the 2d of April the burgomasters and council of the city of Dantzic assembled at the town-house, and, at the *kind* request of the king of Prussia, *ordered* every burgher and inhabitant to keep himself *quiet*, to follow his usual occupation, and to remain peaceably in his house when the Prussian troops should enter the city.

The further partition of this unfortunate country was now rapidly approaching. It was preceded by manifestoes from the royal robbers, justifying, or attempting to justify, this shameless division of their plunder by shrewd political pretences. The declaration of the emperor of Germany, which gently prepared the way, was dated from Vienna February the 14th, and was couched in terms of great forbearance, but contained an absolute injunction to the Poles resident within his own dominions, placidly to regard the impending dismemberment of their country. In March the manifesto of her imperial majesty appeared relative to the partition. Religion was as usual called in to sanction this atrocious act of rapine and injustice; and the empress humanely lamented the sufferings of the people of Poland, amongst whom it had been, for thirty years, her incessant endeavour to maintain *tranquillity*; and her grief was increased by considering them as descended from the same race, and professing the holy christian religion, which would be violated by the introduction of such dreadful doctrines as were propagated by some unworthy Poles, who adopted the detestable and destructive plans of the rebels of France. As an indemnification therefore for her losses, to provide for the future safety of her empire and the Polish dominions, and to prevent all future changes of government, she graciously made known her intention to take for ever under the sceptre of Russia those tracts of land, with their inhabitants,

tants, which lie between Druy on the left bank of the river Dwina, to Neroch and Dubrova, and following the border of the woiwodship of Vilna, to Stolpsay to Nesvig, and then to Pinsk; thence passing Kunish between Viskero and Novogreble, near the frontier of Gallicia; thence to the river Dniester, and terminating in the old border of Russia and Poland at Iegertie. In this partition the increase of the happiness of the inhabitants was avowed to be the *sole object* of her imperial majesty. What a religious regard to truth did the declaration of this pious and upright princess exhibit!

The declaration of the Prussian monarch, which was dated March the 25th, echoed many of the sentiments contained in the Russian manifesto, and avowed, that in order to preserve the republic of Poland from the dreadful effects of its internal divisions, and to rescue it from utter ruin, no means remained but to incorporate her frontier provinces into the states of Prussia, which therefore had determined to take immediate possession of the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, and the woiwodships of Posen, Gnesen, Kalish, and Siradia, the city and monastery of Czentochowa, the province of Wielun, the woiwodship of Lentschitz, the province of Cujavia, and of Dobrzyn, the woiwodships of Rawa and Plotzk, &c. The people were further exhorted to behave like loyal and obedient subjects to Prussia, and to renounce all connection with the crown of Poland. On the 9th of April the count de Sievers signed a further declaration on the part of Russia, in which the merciful Catharine, after detailing her repeated efforts for the preservation of order and tranquillity in Poland, states the ingratitude with which her interference had been received by those whom she was desirous to re-establish and secure in their native country. The invectives against jacobinism, which have been echoed through all the southern monarchies of Europe, were bestowed with profuse liberality upon the unfortunate opposers of despotism in Poland; and her imperial majesty further declared, that in conjunction with the king of Prussia, and with the assent of the emperor of the Romans, she and they had found no other remedy for preventing this fatal contagion reaching their own frontiers, than confining the republic of Poland within narrow bounds, which, in the same modest spirit with the whole of this manifesto, the empress asserts to be a measure the most conducive to the real prosperity of Poland.

In return to the declarations of the empress, the general confederation dispatched a note to M. de Sievers, in which they testified the utmost surprise at his avowal of usurping the provinces of the republic, and exculpated themselves from any share in the dismemberment of their country, which however they regarded as inevitable. The ministers of Berlin and Petersburgh delivered notes to the Polish diet, demanding the appointment of a deputation to sanction the intended division of the country, which produced violent altercations. It was agreed, in the sitting of the 26th of June, by a great majority, to claim the mediation of the foreign courts with those of Berlin and Petersburgh, to induce them to withdraw their troops, and to give up the provinces of the republic. It was afterwards moved, that the deputation demanded should be em-

powered to treat only with the court of Russia; and this motion was supported by the kings and carried by a majority of 107 voices against 24. On the 28th the question respecting the appointment of a delegation to treat with the courts of Petersburg and Berlin was again agitated, and opposed by almost the whole chamber, as inconsistent with the resolution formerly adopted by the diet; and an injunction was voted to the chancellors of Courland and Lithuania, to draw up answers to the notes delivered from those courts conformable to this resolution. The instructions prepared for the ministers at foreign courts, and for the conduct of the delegation, to treat only with the court of Petersburg, being read, it was proposed as an additional article, to call M. Ducache *chargé des affaires* from the court of Vienna to the negotiations, as the emperor had guaranteed the treaty of 1775. To give time for the examination of this amendment, the diet adjourned to July the 1st, when the debates on the delegation were renewed; and in order to get rid of this embarrassing discussion, it was further adjourned to the 15th.

On that day a second conference took place between the deputies and the Russian ambassador, to whom the former delivered a memorial remonstrating against the violence which had been committed against the deputies of the nation, many of whom had been forcibly arrested at their houses, and demanding their enlargement. It further remonstrated with the ambassador on account of his having intercepted the provisions destined for the use of the king; and of having sequestrated the estates of M. Tyskewiecz, marshal of the grand duchy of Lithuania, and insisted upon his countermanding these orders, and all of a similar import. This memorial the deputies requested him to transmit to the empress, which he haughtily refused, and in his turn addressed the diet in a note accompanied by menaces, insisting on the full ratification of the treaty of alliance and commerce between Russia and the republic. On reading this note the diet prorogued the sitting to the 30th, but refused acceding to the wishes of the Russian ambassador respecting the treaty of alliance. In consequence of their refusal, the count de Sievers, on the following day, sent a note equivalent to a declaration of war, threatening to lay the estates, &c. of the members of the diet under a military execution; and that should the king adhere to the opposing party, he would treat his domains in the same manner. During several successive days the diet was assailed with official notes from the Russian and Prussian ministers, filled with menaces, and pressing the signature of the treaty. At length M. de Sievers presented his ultimatum, which concluded with the following extraordinary expressions, "That he thought it of absolute necessity for preventing tumult to *order two battalions of grenadiers, with four pieces of cannon, to surround the castle*, and declaring his expectation that the sitting would not terminate until the demanded signature of the treaty was decided." Conformably to this threat, the Russian soldiers so closely surrounded the castle, that no person was suffered to leave it. Major general Runtenfield, with some of his officers, posted themselves in the senate, under pretence of guarding his majesty's person against conspirators. The king however sent a declaration to the Russian ambassador, refusing to open

open the session in the presence of the Russian officers; upon which they were all commanded to retire except the general, who declared publicly that no member should be permitted to quit the senate before the consent to the treaty was given. The debates were long and violent; and it was not till three o'clock in the morning, and after three successive divisions, that the diet came to a resolution on the 2d of September, in which they declared to all Europe, to which they had so frequently appealed *in vain*, that in *defiance* of the *faith* of *treaties* most sacredly observed on their part, as well as of that of the treaty entered into with his Prussian majesty, and *at his own desire*, in the year 1790 (by which the independence of Poland was guaranteed in the most solemn manner), being deprived of free-will, and at that moment surrounded by an armed force, and threatened with a further invasion of the Prussian troops, they were compelled to authorise a deputation to sign the treaty planned and amended under the dictation of the Russian ambassador. It was further declared in this extorted treaty, in the name of the king, that he would not give his ratification and consent in his own name and that of the diet, but upon condition that the commercial and every special article should be mutually agreed to, and definitively signed by both the high contracting parties, under the mediation and guarantee of the court of Russia.

The violences exercised on this occasion were exceeded by those which took place during the subsequent negotiation with Prussia, which was opened by the Russian ambassador on the 23d of September. Previous to the sitting, and early in the morning, he arrested four of the refractory representatives of the diet, and dispatched them immediately to the places they represented. He next stationed two battalions of grenadiers armed, with three pieces, in all the avenues to the castle, which was completely surrounded with a military force; and after these inauspicious preliminaries the sitting of the diet commenced. In vain was it pleaded by the members that a decree existed, which commanded that all deliberation should cease whenever any violent act should be employed against a member of the legislative body; and previous to the ambassador's notes being allowed to be read, two deputations were sent to him to demand the liberty of the arrested members. This was peremptorily refused. The house conceiving itself entirely in a passive state, from being subjected to foreign arms, and deprived of free deliberation, continued for some hours without proceeding to business; and in this degrading and melancholy situation they were insulted by the presence of the Russian general, who proudly paraded the senate in the presence of offended majesty, and alternately used menaces and persuasions to induce the members of the diet unconditionally to subscribe to the mandates of the king of Prussia.

After five hours spent in this humiliating scene, it was agreed, upon the motion of count Ankwicz, to make a solemn protest against the violent proceedings of the Russian ambassador on the 2d of September; and that to prove the total dissent of the diet, instead of expressing their sentiments by the customary mode of voting, or by acclamation, they should preserve a mournful silence when the subject in question should be proposed. In

this manner was terminated a negotiation unexampled in the annals of diplomatic history, and thus the treaty of cession of the Polish provinces was signed. The subsequent declaration of the diet was calculated to excite the most lively sentiments of compassion and indignation in every heart but those of the unfeeling and atrocious despots who occasioned it. It depicted the abject and outraged situation of the diet;—the pains which had been fruitlessly taken to obtain less rigorous terms—the insults they had received—the degraded and hopeless situation of a virtuous king—and, above all, the *neglect* of *other countries*; which, while they reprobated the violations which one country had committed against liberty, could see not only with apathy but even with approbation the outrages committed against Poland.

Depressed and despairing, the Polish nation, supposing its political existence to depend on a perpetual alliance with a powerful neighbour, put itself under the protection of Russia, which, in the treaty of alliance with Poland, had expressly stipulated that no change or infringement should take place in the form of government to be established, without the consent of the empress or her successors; so that Russia, without engaging for the perpetuity of the new form, became completely mistress of whatever government should be established in Poland. The act of the constitution contained the *pacta conventa*, and the fundamental laws. Another act passed towards the close of the session, which consolidated the last dismemberment of the republic, by establishing three commissioners for the demarcation of the limits agreeably to the treaty of cession. The treaty of commerce between the king of Prussia and this unhappy country met with considerable difficulties, principally on account of the commerce of Dantzic; which being the only sea-port of the former kingdom of Poland, puts the whole commerce of the country in the power of whoever is master of that city. It was however not allowed to impede the closing of the session, but was referred to the consideration of the new permanent council, jointly with the commission of the treasury.

Poland, thus reduced to one-third of her primitive force and extent, naturally lost a proportionate part of her revenues. In the session of the 23d of November, a plan was adopted of raising two loans under the guarantee of the empress of Russia: one of 27,000,000 of Polish florins, to discharge the private debts of the king; the other of 10,000,000, for the use of the republic. The finances of the republic were limited in future to 16,000,000 of florins a-year, ten of which were to be contributed by the wretched remainder of the Polish provinces, and six by the remnant of those of Lithuania. This sum was to defray the maintenance of the army, the expences of the civil list, and the support of the king.

The termination of the celebrated diet of Grodno was marked by turbulence and precipitation. The plan of the new constitution, though opposed in different parts by several of the nuncios, experienced very little alteration, and its acceptation was formally announced. The two last sessions were peculiarly tumultuous, and every effort was exerted, but in vain, by the party hostile to the court of Russia. A military

military order, destined for the decoration and reward of those officers who had signalized themselves in the service of Poland, had been abolished by the desire of the empress. Its re-establishment was now decreed; and an officer, decked with these marks of distinction, publicly thanked the king for restoring to the brave soldiers of Poland their ancient honours. He was followed by most of the nuncios, who pressed round the throne to kiss the hand of his majesty. The king, alarmed at a decree which he feared might incense the empress, blamed the disorder of this deliberation, and the confused return of thanks which were offered to him. The military order was however re-established, and the diet separated on the 24th of November.

The arbitrary Catharine, offended at the re-establishment of an order which the diet of Warsaw in 1791 had instituted solely to reward those who fought against her arms and interest, dispatched a courier to count de Sievers; after which it was reported that this minister was about to quit Warsaw without taking leave. The permanent council, much alarmed, immediately assembled, suppressed the offensive order, and dispatched a deputation to the gentle Catharine, to announce the reparation of the fault committed by *the late diet*.

As if the acts of the diets of 1788 and 1791 had not been completely annihilated by the new constitution, on the 7th of February 1794, the baron d'Ingelstrohm, who had succeeded the count de Sievers as ambassador at Warsaw, demanded a public annulling of those acts, together with the form of the constitution then established, and the surrender of every paper, whether in public records or private cabinets, respecting that transaction. The court of Russia soon afterwards issued its mandate for the reduction of the military force to 16,000 men. This was opposed by several regiments, particularly in South Prussia, where the insurgents, headed by the gallant Madalinski, a Polish nobleman, and brigadier of the national troops, peremptorily refused to disband. The spirit of resistance was widely diffused, and the capital assumed a military aspect. In this situation fifteen thousand Russian troops were sent into Poland; the ambassador was instructed to deliver to the permanent council an official document representing the danger which threatened the king, and requesting the commissioners of war to dispatch an army to oppose Madalinski; and the permanent council was desired to take into custody every suspected person. Both these requisitions were however refused; and it was pointedly replied to the latter, that according to the laws of the republic, no Polish nobleman could be arrested without being legally convicted.

The imperious conduct of the Russians, during their struggle for power, continued to harass the oppressed Poles, and to drive them to desperation. The peasants were compelled to lodge and board the Russian soldiers, and transport them from place to place, without receiving the least remuneration, or any other reward than brutality and insolence. The nobility and gentry were obliged to furnish every necessary for the army; for which, if paid at all, they were compelled to receive the price fixed by the Russians. Was it to be expected that a gallant and high-spirited people should tamely submit to a conduct which was calculated to rouse indignation and vengeance in hearts the most

spiritless? Or would it excite surprise that there should be an explosion, not proceeding, as was artfully and basely pretended, from a jacobin faction, but from a virtuous endeavour of a generous nation against the unparalleled oppression of an enemy who, not satisfied with the atrocities of which she had already been guilty, continued to plunge her poniards in the breasts of those whom she had plundered and degraded? A patriotic spirit was latent, not extinguished. It was roused into action by incessant sufferings, and by the continued efforts of the intrepid Kosciusko*, who early in February appeared at the head of a considerable body of Polish insurgents, attacked the Prussians who had taken possession of their country, forced them to retreat, and pursued them to a considerable distance. The Russian troops having evacuated Cracow on the 23d of March, Kosciusko entered that town on the night of the 24th, and next morning ordered the gates to be shut, and declared himself commander in chief of all the Polish forces. He then imposed an oath of fidelity on all the military in the city, took possession of the public treasure, and proceeded to measures of military sequestration. On the day on which he entered Cracow, he issued a proclamation couched in the most energetic terms, inviting the nation to shake off their disgraceful fetters, and to unite in forming a new confederation. The proclamation was received with unanimous applause, and "Long live Kosciusko!" resounded from every quarter. — He was conducted to the town-house, and presented to the principal nobility who had assembled there to receive him; and by them he was formally invested with the title of general. Every article for the support of his army was abundantly supplied. On the 26th, a revolutionary tribunal was established, composed of fourteen members, and every five houses were required to furnish one man armed and equipped for the defence of the

* This gallant commander is reputed to be about forty years of age, of middle stature and a penetrating aspect. Descended from a genteel but not affluent family, he learnt the military art in the school of the cadets, and was one of the four youths annually selected to travel into foreign countries for the purpose of perfecting himself in military tactics. Patronized by the king, he was sent to France with the best recommendations, and after studying four years at Versailles returned to Poland with the character of being a skilful engineer. He soon obtained the command of a company of artillery, and in this situation captivated the affections of a young lady descended from one of the first families of the state, whose friends rejecting his alliance, the lovers privately eloped. The breaking down of their carriage, however, allowed the father of the lady to overtake them, and a fierce rencontre ensued, in which Kosciusko was reduced to the dilemma of killing the father, or surrendering the object of his dearest affections. His humanity prevailed over his love; but much affected by the circumstance, he obtained leave of absence from the king, and departed for America, at the time when that country was engaged in a contest with this country. Kosciusko offered his services to general Washington, and was honoured with an important command. He returned with M. la Fayette to France, with the reputation of a gallant officer, to whom, according to Dr. Franklin, America was much indebted for her success. He afterwards distinguished himself in three battles under prince Poniatowski; but when the king was compelled to cease hostilities, Kosciusko again procured leave to enter into foreign service, and went to Paris, where he was introduced to several members of the convention, and treated with great respect.

consti-

constitution against the *usurping powers*. The different corporations then assembled under their respective banners before the town-house, whence the magistrates led them in procession to the church of the Holy Virgin, where the constitution of the 3d of May 1791 was publicly read with great solemnity, and an oath taken to defend it. The general immediately issued another proclamation, exhorting the Poles to respect the dominions of the emperor; and the Austrian commanders on the frontiers were informed from the same authority, that if any violences were committed on the persons or property of any subjects of his imperial majesty, the revolutionary government engaged to procure immediate and ample indemnification for such a violation.

In the mean time Warsaw was in a state of the highest fermentation. In that city and its vicinity there were not less than fifteen thousand Russian mercenaries, some of whom were quartered, to the amount of one hundred in a body, in several of the palaces. The most vigorous measures were adopted by the permanent council; a decree passed, declaring the insurgents rebels, and subjecting them to the most arbitrary punishments; and the police was charged to seize every person *suspected* of being inimical to the existing government, with the promise of military assistance. The unpopularity of his Polish majesty daily increased, and a guard of Russians was appointed for his *preservation*. About this time the unhappy monarch issued a proclamation exhorting his subjects to a peaceable acquiescence, and urging the danger and destruction which attended their resistance.

The Polish nobles had no sooner taken the oaths in the presence of Kosciusko, than they departed for their respective estates, in order to arm their vassals, and to assemble. Baron d'Ingelstrohm about the same time surrounded the diet at Warsaw with a military force, and demanded the surrender of the arsenal. This demand was spiritedly resisted; and notice of the affair having been sent to Kosciusko, he about the end of March took the route to Warsaw with his army, and a reinforcement of four thousand peasants armed with pikes, &c.—On the 4th of April he was met by a detachment of six thousand Russians, with a park of heavy artillery, on their march to reduce Cracow. A fierce encounter ensued. The Polish peasants being driven to desperation, a dreadful carnage of the Russian plunderers was the consequence. General Woronzow was taken prisoner, one thousand Russians were slain; while the Poles lost only sixty, and took eleven pieces of cannon, and all the ammunition. After the battle Kosciusko fell back with his army towards Cracovy, where he was joined by a very considerable body of disaffected Polish troops.

On the 16th of April, baron d'Ingelstrohm demanded the surrender of the arsenal, the disarming of the military, and that twenty persons of the first consequence should be arrested, and if found guilty punished with death. The king and council remonstrated against this; and prince Sulkowsky the chancellor was dispatched to the ambassador, by whom he was treated with the utmost contumely and insult. This occasioned a general alarm throughout the city, and the soldiers and other inhabitants prepared for what might be expected to ensue. Early on the 17th a commotion took place, which so much alarmed

alarmed the ambassador that he collected the three battalions, which were the only troops who had not been dispatched against Kosciusko, and acquainted his Polish majesty with the transaction. The king informed him that he had already been apprised of the affair, and earnestly requested the general to march his troops from the capital to avoid bloodshed, till the minds of the populace should be appeased. In the mean time general d' Ingelstrohm dispatched general Baner with a Russian detachment to seize the arsenal, and disarm the garrison. The burghers had however already taken possession of the arsenal, taken out the arms, and Baner and his whole detachment were taken prisoners. The citizens, provided with the arms procured from the arsenal, rushed forth, and gallantly drove the whole battalion of Russian infantry out of the city. The two other detachments, headed by Ingelstrohm, still however resisted, and continued to defend themselves in the street, though fired upon from the adjacent houses. After an incessant combat of thirty-six hours, the Russians gained the open fields, with the loss of one half of their force, and under the guidance of generals Ingelstrohm, Apraxin, and Suboro, effected a junction with the Prussian general Wolky and his small corps, at the distance of two leagues from Warsaw. The Poles set fire to several houses in Warsaw, in order to dislodge the enemy; and a dreadful slaughter and pillage ensued, which was in vain opposed by the most strenuous endeavours of the magistracy.

On the attempt of the Russians to seize the arsenal, a deputation was sent to inform the king, and to exhort him to vengeance. The monarch immediately replied to the petitioners, "Go and defend your honour." The situation of his majesty; after the contest became very critical; the regency kept no measures with the agents of Prussia and Russia, and the people were extremely jealous of every movement of the king. They compelled him to promise repeatedly, that he would not quit Warsaw, and, not satisfied with his assurances, insisted upon placing two municipal officers as a guard upon him; and he was desired frequently to exhibit himself to the people.

Solicitous to afford them every satisfaction, the amiable monarch complied with these requests; and entered with such ardour into the national cause, as to send one half of his plate to the mint, and a thousand ducats to the military chest. The other half of the royal plate was appropriated to the relief of the families of those unfortunate patriots who had perished on the 17th and 18th of April. The council having been solicitous to rebuild the walls of Warsaw, his majesty, in order to set an example to the people, presided at the repairs of the fortifications, and even assisted in the work with his own hands.

By the advice of Kosciusko, on the 29th of May the provisionary council at Warsaw was abolished, and a national council instituted in its stead, which was required to accept the advice and direction of the king, who expressed his firm intention never to separate his interests from those of the nation. Public congratulations were presented to his majesty from all orders of the capital. In the mean time the Polish army was daily increasing, and the empress became convinced, that what at first she conceived was

a partial storm, whose fury would soon be spent, was in reality a tremendous hurricane, which menaced ruin and desolation to her usurped authority on every side. Forty thousand Russians were therefore put in motion towards Poland, from the Ukraine, and sixteen thousand from Livonia. About the end of May, the corps of Kosciusko amounted to twenty-two thousand nine hundred and seventy men; that of general Kochowski to eighteen thousand; that of Jussinski to six thousand, which were stationed at Grodno; a corps of twelve thousand were stationed at Wilna, and another at Warsaw which consisted of eight thousand. The peasantry were not included in this calculation.

Several skirmishes took place between the contending parties, the events of which were in general favourable to the Poles. A Prussian army under general de Elsner was dispatched to the attack of Cracow, which on the 15th of June surrendered at discretion; Kosciusko being compelled to retreat, from his apprehensions of being placed between two hostile armies, if he made any motion for its relief. It is reported that, previous to this event, this general had offered to deliver Cracow into the hands of the Austrians, on condition of its being garrisoned solely by them till the end of the war; and that this requisition was acceded to by the court of Vienna, and five thousand men were to have entered the city on the 16th, if the Prussians had not received notice of the negotiation and anticipated the event. After the surrender of Cracow, Elsner joined his Prussian majesty, who on the 25th arrived at Killee, and effected a junction with the Russian forces. He now directed his course towards Warsaw, and encamped within a small distance of that city. The inhabitants, irritated at the approach of their enemies in every direction, resolved upon the immediate punishment of those delinquents who had been convicted of treason against the republic, but whose sentence had not been pronounced; and, in defiance of every exertion which could be made to the contrary, sacrificed several lives to their implacable fury; amongst whom were some persons of the most distinguished families. They were however at length calmed, and respited the other prisoners, whose number amounted to one hundred and sixty-nine.

To conciliate as much as possible the minds of the Russians, a liberal proclamation was issued, permitting to the members of the Greek church the full and free exercise of their religion. The Greek clergy were invited to unite their efforts in instructing the people in the genuine principles of liberty, and allured by the assurances of their persons and property remaining unviolated. Another proclamation was issued, stating, that as the Polish insurrection took place upon principles essentially different from those prevailing in France, it should be differently conducted; that all should be regarded as enemies to their country who formed clubs or particular societies; that the authorities should be respected, and the king should be treated with the deference and regard which was due to his rank. The execution of those unfortunate persons whose devotion to Russia had brought them to a premature end, was justified by an account found in the chancery of the Russian legation, by which it appeared that in recompense for their services to the empress (in all probability, particularly

larly those at the diet in Grodno) they received very considerable annual pensions from the Russian court.

About the end of June a manifesto was issued by the emperor on the occasion of his troops entering Poland. On the 12th of July the head quarters of the king and prince of Prussia were only three or four leagues from Warsaw, whence they issued a placard, stating that the enemy had fled before them in their progress. In the mean time, however, Kosciusko (who had eluded the Prussian troops) by a brave attack had defeated the forces which opposed him, and had thrown himself into Warsaw. On the 31st of June the Prussians began to attack the city by a heavy cannonade, and several hundred bombs were in the course of the day thrown into Warsaw; a dreadful fire was kept up on the besiegers by night and by day, and an incredible number of lives were lost. The king and the prince royal are both said to have been in imminent danger at this time. Four entrenched and connected camps, under the command of Kosciusko, Dambrowski, Zajaczeck, and Moknorowski were placed before Warsaw. The generalissimo was stationed at Mokatow, with the brave Madalinski; before him, at Czerniaco, Dambrowski was opposed to the Russians, who were near Villanow; Zajaczeck opposed the Prussians at Wola; and Mokronowski, with prince Joseph Poniatowski, was opposed to the Prussians at Gurce. The troops of the republic at Liebau, and at Kerzniniec in Volhinia, obtained about this period some considerable advantages over the Russian troops.

On the 2d of August his Prussian majesty, whose hopes of success had probably been a little damped, attempted to open a negotiation with the king of Poland for the surrender of the capital, which was rejected. About the middle of this month accounts were transmitted to the Prussian camp of insurrections having arisen in South Prussia (formerly Great Poland), of which his Prussian majesty had taken possession the preceding year. The Poles had imprisoned the Prussian soldiers stationed there, plundered the military chest, and thrown down the Prussian eagles, which they impiously trampled under their feet, or hung up on gibbets erected for that purpose. The insurgents spread themselves over the country, and compelled the magistrates and inhabitants to take the oath of fidelity to the republic, and to the constitution of 1791. On the 22d general Marawsky marched into South Prussia with 10,000 men. The provinces of Posnania, Gnesen, and Kassich took up arms in his favour, and success attended the Polish arms in almost every distant quarter. Near Warsaw, however, the Prussians had carried several Polish redoubts; but so little were the inhabitants of the city affected by these circumstances, that they lived much at their ease, and answered the summons of the king of Prussia to surrender, by saying, That they neither would nor ought to receive any propositions of this nature, while they had a respectable army to defend them, an army which they invited him to beat and disperse *if he were able*. Meat sold in the city at the price of nine Polish pieces per pound, which is equivalent to fourpence-halfpenny English.

On the night of the 5th of September the Prussian and Russian forces abandoned the siege of Warsaw, after a fruitless attack of two

6 months,

months, much weakened by the diseases and desertions which prevailed in their camps, and disabled from the want of provisions and ammunition. The king of Prussia left his sick and wounded at the mercy of the enemy, and retreated in three distinct columns towards his own dominions. The Russian corps, to the number of 10,000, retreated to Lublin, where it was expected they would be joined by general Ferfen, with a body of 20,000 men commanded by the sanguinary general Suwarrow, who had been infamously distinguished by his cruelties committed on the Turks during the late war, and particularly by the shocking massacre of Ismael. Had the Prussian monarch received the reinforcements which had been promised by the empress, his retreat must have been unnecessary. But the artful Catharine attains her end equally well by the destruction of Prussia or of Poland; and while he was waiting his forces in the fruitless siege of Warsaw, the generals of the empress are said to have received orders to amuse him by skirmishes on the frontiers, or in Lithuania; and, previous to raising the siege of the capital, a very polite message was delivered to his majesty from prince Repnin, stating that the resistance of the Poles in Lithuania was so obstinate, that it was not in his power to co-operate in the reduction of the city.

The most satisfactory intelligence was received at Warsaw, early in September, of the success of the insurgents in Lithuania. But about the same time the Russian grand army consisting of 20,000 arrived in Poland, and on the 18th a severe engagement took place near Brzesc, in which the Poles lost very considerable numbers, and were compelled to retreat across the Bug. This bad success on the part of the Poles was however in some degree counteracted by a successful battle against part of the Prussian army at Kamiona, and the continual increase of the insurgents in South Prussia. Bomberg was taken by the gallant Madaliniki; and not only Dantzic, Thorn, &c. appeared on the point of being restored to the republic, but there was reason to apprehend that the Poles would penetrate as far as Stettin. Kosciusko next turned his views to Lithuania; but on his route, hearing of the defeat at Brzesc, and that general Suwarrow was marching to attack Warsaw, he determined to march with 20,000 men and give battle to the enemy before he should approach the capital. In the mean time he was informed of the intended junction between Ferfen and Suwarrow, to prevent which he advanced with 6000 men to intercept the former.

On the 10th of October a dreadful engagement took place between the Russians under general Ferfen and the troops under Kosciusko. The Russians advanced twice to the attack, but were repulsed by the Poles, who however, unfortunately, not contented with the advantages they had gained, abandoned their favourable position on the heights, and pressed on to the attack in their turn. This movement threw the troops into some confusion; and the Russians forming themselves anew, the rout soon became general. The battle, which began at seven in the morning, did not end till noon. Kosciusko flew from rank to rank, and was continually in the hottest part of the engagement, in the course of which he had three horses killed under him At length he fell; and a Cossack, who did not know

know him in the peasant's dress which he constantly wore, wounded him from behind with a lance. He recovered, and advanced a few steps, but was again knocked down by another Cossack, who was preparing to give him a mortal blow, when his arm was stopped by a Russian officer, who is said to have been general Chrnozazow, to whose wife Kosciusko had a short time before politely given leave of departure from Warsaw to join her husband. The unfortunate Kosciusko implored the officer, if he wished to render him a service, to allow the soldier to put an end to his existence; but the latter chose rather to make him a prisoner. The Polish infantry defended themselves with bravery proportioned to that of their general, and fought with a degree of valour almost approaching to fury.

This important defeat has been attributed to the misconduct or treachery of prince Poninski, who was posted with 4000 men to defend the passage of the Vistula, but suffered the Russians to cross the river, without any attempt to molest them; and at the time when the generalissimo was unexpectedly attacked in a quarter where he thought himself secure, he withheld his assistance. The loss of the Poles was computed at 3000 men killed, wounded, and captured. The Russian army was so much exhausted at the same time, that, instead of pursuing its original destination to Warsaw, it retired to Lublin.

The disasters of the Polish army excited universal sorrow at Warsaw; notwithstanding which the supreme council published a spirited manifesto, exhorting the people to remember their motto "Liberty or Death," to preserve their spirit of union, and to redouble their efforts, in which the council promised to concur. A letter was at the same time dispatched to the unfortunate general from the council, paying him that tribute of praise which his patriotism and valour so justly merited. Soon afterwards a trumpeter arrived with a letter from the generalissimo, which spoke in high terms of the treatment he received from general Fersen, and the care that was taken of his wounds. A very insolent letter was about the same time sent to the king of Poland from general Fersen, reminding him of the late defeat—demanding the liberty of all the Russian prisoners, not as a favour but a right, and expressing his hopes that he should soon have an opportunity of paying his personal respects to the king, and requesting him in the mean time to accept his *anticipated* homage. His majesty replied with calmness and dignity, that however painful the events which had recently taken place might be, they could not shake the firmness of men who had solemnly sworn either to die or to conquer for liberty, and refused to surrender the prisoners on any other terms than an exchange. The Russians under general Fersen soon afterwards summoned Warsaw to surrender; and on being refused, after the junction of the different corps under Fersen, Dernfeld, Denisow and Suwarrow, they proceeded on the 4th of November to attack the suburb of Prague. In the mean time the generals Madalinski and Dambrowski threw themselves into Warsaw, and prepared for resistance. The suburb of Prague, separated from Warsaw by the Vistula, was defended by more than a hundred pieces of cannon disposed upon thirty-three batteries. Little intimidated however by so formidable a force,

a force, the ferocious Suwarrow commanded his soldiers to mount to the assault in the same manner they had done at Ismael, where the Russians entered by climbing over the dead and wounded bodies of their comrades as well as of their enemies. His further orders were, that they should fight only with the sabre and bayonet. The Russians sprang to the charge with almost inconceivable impetuosity. They eagerly began to climb the works, and the six Russian columns, by singular good fortune, presented themselves at the same moment before the lines at Prague. Thus surrounded, the Polish generals found themselves unable to oppose with 10,000 soldiers, which was the whole of their force, the united attack of 50,000 men; and, to add to their distress, the fire which they immediately commenced, from the darkness of the night was so ill directed as to pass over the heads of the assailants. The cry raised by the successful columns penetrated to the entrenchments on the other side the Vistula, and added to the consternation of the Poles engaged with the other part of the Russian force; and they endeavoured to find safety by retiring into Warsaw, over a bridge. In their retreat they were met by another body of Russians, and a dreadful carnage ensued, in which a great part of the garrison of Prague was miserably slaughtered. After a severe conflict of eight hours, the resistance on the part of the Poles ceased; but the massacre by the detestable Suwarrow, who from his habitual cruelty was selected for this service, continued for two hours longer; and the pillage lasted till noon on the following day. Five thousand Poles were computed to have been slain in the assault; the remainder were either imprisoned or dispersed. The citizens were compelled to lay down their arms, and their houses were plundered by the merciless Russians, who, after the battle had ceased nearly ten hours, about nine o'clock at night set fire to the town, and again began to massacre the inhabitants; nine thousand persons, unarmed men, defenceless women, and harmless infants, perished either in the flames or by the sword, and nearly the whole of the suburb was reduced to ashes. In the whole of this siege it is computed that not less than 30,000 of the Poles were inhumanly put to death. In this exigence count Potocki, the chief of the insurrection, proposed to treat with the Russians, and repaired to their head quarters with propositions of peace, in the name of the republic. He was received with extreme haughtiness by the infamous Suwarrow, who observed, that the empress was not at war with the republic; that his only object in coming to Warsaw was to reduce the refractory subjects of Poland to obedience; and he intimated, that he should not treat with any insurgent, but only with such as, invested with legitimate authority, should come to speak in the name, and on the part of, his Polish majesty. Deputies were then dispatched from the magistracy of Warsaw to the Russian commander, who returned, after having been constrained to surrender the city at discretion, under the single condition of securing to the inhabitants their lives and property. The general insolently observed, that there was another article which without doubt they had forgotten to ask, but which he would accede to them, which was *pardon for the past.*

In consequence of this arrangement,

ment, the firing which had been kept up in the suburb of Prague ceased, and all the inhabitants of Warsaw were requested to surrender their arms. This was refused by the soldiers in the city, and their chief Wawrzecki, with many others of the supreme council, refused to take part in the capitulation. This impeded the close of the negotiation; but the military, who refused to lay down their arms, were allowed to leave Warsaw, not however without a declaration from Suwarrow that they might be sure of not escaping, and that, when taken, no quarter would be granted. On the morning of the 7th the supreme council with the generalissimo Wawrzecki remitted into the hands of the king the authority they had exercised. On the 9th the Russian general made his triumphal entry into Warsaw, in which the streets were lined with his troops, and the inhabitants, shut up in their houses, observed a melancholy silence. The chief magistrate delivered him the keys at the bridge of Prague; after which he received the compliments of the king, and on the 10th went with much pomp to the castle, to pay his respects to his majesty. To complete the whole of this execrable scene, ostentatious and solemn blasphemy was called in; and the 11th of December was set apart for a day of solemn thanksgiving, and *Te Deum* was sung, for the triumph of powerful oppression over persecuted virtue, to the God of all mercies, whose altars had been stained by the blood of the innocent and helpless; and "whose praises were chanted by the voices of murderers amidst the shrieks and groans of the victims."

The Polish patriots, to the number of 30,000, who refused to accede to the capitulation, took their route to Sandomir, under the command of Wawrzecki. By the efforts of the Russians and Prussians they were soon forced to disband, and lost their ammunition and arms. A corps of 6000 men under Wawrzecki, and accompanied by Madalinski, Dambrowski, &c. took the route to Gallicia. A very powerful military force was stationed in Warsaw and the suburb, and cannon was pointed at the city in every direction, to keep it in subjection.

In the mean time Kosciusko was under surgical care, at Nozcylack, where the utmost attention was paid to his recovery, particularly by madam Chrnozazow. He was afterwards sent to Petersburg, under a very powerful military escort; and is said to be confined in a dungeon, near the Russian capital. On the 20th of December a courier arrived from the empress, demanding the arrestation of count Ignatius Potocki and several of the other patriots, whom she ordered to be sent to Petersburg. The same messenger brought a command from the empress to the unhappy monarch of Poland to repair to Grodno, who, in obedience to the summons, set off from his capital on the 7th of January 1795.

The melancholy recital of the unprecedented misfortunes of this gallant and virtuous nation cannot fail to suggest some reflexions, not only to the christian, but to the politician also. Abhorring as we do from our hearts the atrocities of the detestable Robespierre and his party in France, we cannot forget that the whole sum of cruelty, oppression, perfidy, and injustice which has been exercised in that country, is not to be compared with those which were practised in Poland by the very persons who were

were declaiming against the cruelties of the French; we cannot forget that, while the former had a specious excuse (false as we believe it in some instances) arising from the necessity of defending the independence of their country against foreign hostility and domestic treason, the monarchs of Russia and Prussia were without the shadow of a plea for their atrocities; we cannot forget too, that more innocent persons were massacred in one day by the barbarous Russians; than have been sacrificed during the whole of the French revolution by the infamous revolutionary tribunals. God forbid that we should ever countenance the detestable maxim, that one wicked action justifies another! But we must observe, that such proceedings were not well calculated to reconcile the French to the restoration of monarchy; and we cannot blame them, if these transactions excited an abhorrence (as they certainly did) of falling into the hands of Prussia, Austria, and Russia, and if in the fate of the unhappy Poles they seemed to anticipate their own.

As Englishmen and as christians, we will not dissemble that we sincerely regret that any political connexion should exist between this country and savages who have disgraced the name of christian. We do not countenance the charges which the democratical party have from these occurrences insinuated against the British ministry. They have alleged, that it is evident that a grand combination was early formed throughout Europe against the very name of liberty, to which our present ministry have afforded but too ready a countenance; that Poland, France, and even America were to have been swallowed up in the vast gulph of despotism, and the principle of freedom eradicated from the face of the earth; that the wealth of Britain, wrung from the hard hands of the labourer, has been lavished to supply the despots of the continent, and to enable them to enslave and massacre the innocent and brave inhabitants of Poland. We do not wish to countenance these insinuations; we rather conceive that our unsuspecting ministry, whose talents certainly do not appear equal to the difficulty of the times, have been unfortunately made the dupes of the continental powers. We however cannot but regret, that by unfortunately engaging in a war, which could produce no profit or advantage to us, we have lost (perhaps for ever) that pitch of eminence which rendered us the arbiters of the world, and which might have enabled us to arrest by a single word the progress of injustice, and to preserve the balance of Europe.

We have never disguised our political sentiments. They are precisely those of the old whig party, which seated the house of Brunswick on the throne of these kingdoms, and under which this country was happily governed for more than half a century. Consistently with these sentiments, we do not regard with levity the balance of Europe; and we suspect the time will arrive, when this nation will have to regret the cession of Poland to the rapacious empire of Russia, and when we shall view with well-grounded fear the astonishing and rapid progress by sea and land of that dangerous power. But certainly, whatever chimeras may be indulged on the subject of the balance of Europe, if the possession of a mud fort on the borders of the Black Sea was a serious object of apprehension, the

seizure of the whole kingdom of Poland, the granary of Europe, the emporium of naval stores, cannot be a matter of light consideration.

Such is the present unhappy and distracted state of the European world, that a cheerful and pleasing prospect scarcely presents itself in any quarter; and from the perfidy of courts we have next to turn to the no less distressing scene which is presented by the intrigues of demagogues, and the turbulence and folly of the people.

That the little republic of Geneva should continue unmoved amidst the agitations which have nearly shook to their foundations the surrounding countries, would be a phenomenon little to be expected in the political world. Particularly connected as it is with France, it is not surprising that it should partake in the vicissitudes of that government; and the existence of two contending parties within itself, always ready to seize the opportunity of strengthening the aristocratic or democratic parts of the constitution, as occasion might offer, was a circumstance which was certain to involve this little state more or less in the revolutions of its more powerful neighbours. In 1782, the popular party in this country was completely subdued by the count de Vergennes, who, determined to crush democracy at Geneva, first resorted to intrigues; but as those were ineffectual, he dispatched into the town a body of the veteran troops who had served in America, and who, in direct opposition to the cause which they had been supporting there, drove out the popular party, and established a government entirely aristocratical. Such however was the aversion with which this measure was regarded by the majority of the Genevese, that it required the constant support of a foreign force. In 1789, sentiments of liberty pervading France, an extension of the popular privileges succeeded at Geneva; and the principles of freedom were still more widely diffused in 1791, when a tolerably popular government was established. For all common purposes the executive power was lodged in two councils: the little council, which consisted of 28 elected members, who held their situations for life; and the great council, which was composed of 250 members elected for seven years, and who went out in rotation. The administration of justice was entrusted to the little council, under the direction of four presidents or syndics annually elected from its body, whence an appeal lay to the great council: but the supreme authority was vested in the general assembly of the nation, which was composed of such as, either by descent or purchase, were entitled to the appellation of citizens. The descendants of foreigners who were not entitled to the municipal privileges, were termed natives, in distinction from the title of citizens; but by a law passed in 1791 they also were admitted to the rights of citizens upon the payment of about six guineas, and by this measure a very prevalent cause of discontent amongst the inhabitants of Geneva was destroyed. This sovereign body possessed the legislative power of the state, and elected the magistrates and officers of state, and the members of the two councils. It made peace or war, imposed taxes, and ratified treaties with foreign powers. Its authority was however checked by the salutary restriction of being convened only by the councils, which appointed the business on which

which the assembly was to deliberate; and it had no power but of simply assenting to or dissenting from what was laid before it, without modification or debate. This government was sufficiently popular to satisfy the wishes of all those inhabitants, who desired not an absolute equality of rights; and the situation of Geneva under it is represented as uncommonly prosperous.

The French had scarcely, under the Brissotin party, resolved to attack the king of Sardinia in 1792, before the Genevese were alarmed by the intelligence that general Montesquiou had received secret orders of a nature very hostile to their new constitution. They applied for immediate assistance from the Swiss Cantons, and obtained a reinforcement of 1600 men. Montesquiou, the day succeeding that on which he entered Savoy, advanced to Geneva. Deputies were dispatched to the general to inquire into the reasons for this conduct, who were answered, that the Genevese had insulted the French republic by calling in the assistance of the Swiss to repel an attack which was never intended; and that the magistrates were, though perhaps unknowingly, the abettors of the enemies of France, and had permitted some of the emigrants to pass through, and others to settle in their country. The Genevese justified the steps they had taken, on the ground of a letter from the French minister, previous to their application to the Swiss Cantons, informing them of the resolutions taken against them, and on the ground of repeated precedents; and reminded the general that they were the only foreign state which had acknowledged the French republic, and also that they had further assisted the French by provisions and arms. These arguments were supported and enforced by general Montesquiou to the French ministry; and after several negotiations, on the 22d of October an amicable adjustment took place, the French army consenting to retire to the distance of ten leagues, and the Genevese dismissing the troops of their allies. This compact however the convention refused to ratify, and Brissot strongly enforced the necessity of effecting a revolution in Geneva; in which he was assisted by a clamour raised against the title of citizen, by which all were distinguished who sat in the general assembly, and which was therefore branded as being aristocratical and hereditary.

The milder language afterwards used by the convention of France, and the certain information, which they had learned from other sources, that the French had no intention of taking the city by force, greatly conciliated the popular party in Geneva. In imitation of the French they assumed the red cap, chanted the songs of liberty, and adopted the language and manners of the convention. The magistrates published a proposal for admitting all the inhabitants of the republic, whether aliens or natives, into the general assembly. It was however necessary that that assembly itself should sanction this measure before it could be enforced; but in the mean time the natives resolved not to accept that as a favour, to which they conceived themselves entitled as a right. On the 4th of December 1792 therefore they appeared in arms, and insisted that, in order to secure their privileges, every department of the state should be filled by individuals of their own party. Uni-

versal suffrage soon took place; the members of the great and little councils voluntarily resigned their places to the new chiefs; the arrangements were formed with the utmost order and quietness, and a convention similar to that of France was formed, consisting of 120 members. It met on the 25th of February 1793. One of its first acts was to abolish the great council, and to transfer a portion of the power of the little council to the general assembly. These measures were censured by the opposite party, as destructive of that equilibrium which subsisted in the ancient constitution between the executive and legislative branches; but it is universally agreed, that in the laws that they framed the utmost regard to personal security was evinced; and this convention claims the honour of having presented to its country that invaluable bulwark against despotism, that sacred ægis of liberty, the glorious trial by jury. The measures taken by the members of the new *constitutional government* were indeed so popular, that it was formally adopted in a general assembly on the 5th of February 1794, by 4200 votes against 200, and the new offices were entirely filled up by its avowed friends.

In the mean time some visionary doctrines respecting the equality of rights, and perhaps of property, were industriously disseminated at Geneva, at first by Genest (who afterwards travelled as a missionary in the same cause to America), and next by the abbé Soulavie. The sentiments of these two men, who were dignified with the title of residents from France, were echoed by two clubs formed out of the refuse of the popular party, who, under the appellations of the marseillois and the mountaineers, adopted the principles and practice of the jacobin club at Paris. Their views were still more effectually promoted by an advocate of the name of Bousquet, who during his stay in Paris, where he had been sent upon public business, deeply imbibed the principles of jacobinism. His first object was to detach the people from placing any confidence in the members of the *constitutional government*, by insinuating their attachment to the rich and powerful. The powers held by this assembly he was solicitous to vest in the hands of a few of his own partisans, under the title of a *revolutionary government*. A revolutionary tribunal was also to be erected, and *terror to be made the order of the day*. As an additional assessment of property was soon to take place, in which there was no doubt of the entire concurrence of the rich, it was necessary for Bousquet to lose no time in effecting his intentions. He began the execution of his plan by spreading the report of a counter-revolution, declaring his disbelief of the concurrence of the rich in the intended assessment, and asserting that, should they comply, there were means of relieving the miseries of the people much more efficacious, which were the complete eradication of the power and influence of their superiors, and assuming the government themselves. The night of the 18th of July 1794, which was the evening of the day on which the new assessments were to be proposed, was selected for the execution of the plot. Bousquet and about a hundred of the lowest of the people ran to arms, seized the artillery, entered the houses of the citizens, and disarmed such as they conceived were inimical to their

their views. They then plundered whatever was most agreeable to them, placed seals upon what they could not carry away, and hurried all the victims of their resentment to the different prisons. The plan had been so well concerted, that the whole of these proceedings were executed in a few hours. The mob who had at first followed Bousquet, were, as may be naturally expected, joined by every person of unsettled principles or desperate fortune; and it was further augmented by many who flattered themselves with the hopes of averting by their influence many of the evils with which the state was threatened. Bousquet, collecting together all his associates, addressed them by the title of the *revolutionary nation*, and proposed that a daily allowance should be distributed to these distinguished patriots. He represented the severities exercised in France as indispensable to the existence of her freedom, and as reconcileable to pure morality as well as to sound policy; and added, that both in their principle and effects they fully justified those with which he proposed commencing the reign of virtue and liberty in Geneva. The constitutional government was then formally suspended, and the executive and legislative power committed to a *provisional revolutionary* tribunal, of which Bousquet was the president. The number of prisoners amounted to near 600, amongst whom were most of the magistrates who had been deposed in 1792, and almost the whole of the clergy; many of whom were torn from the churches. In vain did the distracted female relatives of the imprisoned Genevese collect in a body of two thousand to intercede at the revolutionary tribunal for their liberation; the brutal judges ordered out the fire engines to administer what they profanely termed the rite of *civic baptism*. The appearance and paraphernalia of this self-erected judicature were conformable to this specimen. The tribunal sat in the town hall. The sleeves of the judges were tucked up, their legs and breasts naked, while drawn sabres lay at their feet. Of the eight persons however who were at first brought before them, the tribunal convicted capitally only two; but the members of the marseillois and mountain clubs, incensed at this moderation, proposed an immediate massacre of all the prisoners; and the judges on the following day reversed the sentence, and condemned to death seven out of these eight unfortunate persons. An appeal was immediately made to the revolutionary nation, which was still in arms; and a decided majority appeared in favour of the ex-syndic Cayla, the ex-counsellor Pievost, and the advocate de Rochemont. This decision was regarded by the revolutionists as the effect of aristocratical influence and aristocratical principles. They sent armed deputies to the tribunal, who insisted upon the annulling of the sentence, and declared that, if this request was refused or delayed, they would repair to the prison, and become the executioners of their vengeance themselves. Intimidated by these menaces, and still more by the arms and ammunition in the hands of the revolutionists, the tribunal reversed the sentence even of the people, and delivered up the seven prisoners to the hands of the executioners.

The next step of the predominant party was to lower the interest of money, and to annul all leases. They renewed also their domiciliary visits, leaving only twelve ounces of

plate to each individual; and those Genevese who happened to be absent at the time of the last revolution were summoned to return, or condemned to have their property confiscated. All persons whose fortunes exceeded 800l. were required to give in an account of them within a week, in order to their being assessed. The usual service of the church was considerably reduced, and the ceremony of marriage and the rite of baptism were ordered to be performed by the civil magistrate. Not satisfied with the blood already spilt, the revolutionary tribunal cited before it four other victims, three of whom had been magistrates. The eloquence and arguments of Naville Gallatin, one of these unfortunate persons, were such as to shake the firmness of one of his sanguinary judges; and the revolutionists, who had given up their right to review the sentences of the tribunal, manifested an earnest wish to resume this function in favour of Naville. But the tribunal disappointed their intention, first by promising that no execution should take place in the night, and then contriving that the executioner should come and demand him at midnight; when he was shot, with the ex-syndic Fatio, on a remote part of the ramparts. Many saved themselves by well-timed presents to their judges, one of whom is represented to have suddenly become favourable to a prisoner against whom the populace were much irritated, and having addressed them gravely in the following shocking terms, *If God had told me this morning, Thou wilt spare that aristocrat, I should have answered, That cannot be; and yet from his defence I find myself obliged to acquit him.* This tribunal sat a fortnight, during which it tried no less than 503 persons. Eleven however only suffered death out of 37 who were condemned, as the other 26 did not appear. The majority of the remaining prisoners were condemned either to exile, to forfeiture of their property, to confinement for a limited time in their own houses, to imprisonment, or to reprimands, and 21 were acquitted.

The sanguinary spirit imbibed from the disciples of Robespierre soon began to evaporate at Geneva, and a milder system prevailed. Too much attached to their country to endure its being incorporated with France, or from more personal motives, the friends to the revolution in 1792 united themselves to the new revolutionists, and endeavoured to obtain an ascendancy. Their first object was to deprive the French resident of his influence; and the fall of Robespierre, whose creature he was, favoured their designs. The syndics and council lodged a complaint against him with the French ministry. In this situation Soulavie availed himself of the discontents of the marseillois and mountaineers, arising from the discontinuance of the daily allowance which had been distributed for about three weeks among the clubs, and cost the state 300 louis a day. They complained of having been deluded with the hopes that, as soon as the new division of property should take place, every patriot would have a comfortable subsistence; and as it was impossible either to sell or let the splendid houses which had been confiscated, they insisted upon their being divided into shares. In these circumstances they readily joined with the French resident, and loudly talked of re-establishing the revolutionary tribunal, and bringing about five or six hundred culprits to trial.

These

These threats revived the dormant courage of the members of the constitutional government, who resolved to arm themselves, but without receiving any pay, and to revive of themselves the revolutionary tribunal; which however they determined to direct against those who, under the delusive mask of patriotism, were introducing a degree of confusion which menaced the independence of the country. By the exercise of much prudence and caution they detached the marseillois from the mountaineers, whom they then disarmed and imprisoned. It was not however the wish of the tribunal to punish such of the mountaineers as had distinguished themselves in effecting the revolution; but they were loudly called upon to proceed to judge those prisoners amongst whose papers had been found the plan of an address to the people to bring about a third revolution. This address, which has been ascribed to Soulavie, was calculated to force the Genevese into the arms of France. In the mean time the destruction of the French tyrant and his adherents afforded the Genevese minister in France an opportunity of defeating the designs of the resident. He was recalled with marks of displeasure; his conduct at Geneva was disavowed by the successors of the tyrant; and the convention gave a full and solemn acknowledgment of the independence of Geneva, and allowed its minister the same honours as had been granted to the minister of the United States of America. "In the official correspondence of the Genevese minister," says a contemporary writer, "he took care to inform his constituents that the successors of Robespierre had adopted a line of conduct exactly the reverse to his; *that the principles on which they meant to act were those of justice, humanity, and moderation; and that their intention was to shew themselves not more the foes of aristocracy than of anarchy and insubordination.*" The tribunal proceeded to arraign the mountaineers, four of whom were sentenced to death, on a charge of a plot to deliver the city of Geneva into the hands of the French. The ruin of the mountaineer faction was very soon afterwards completed. Some time after this the tribunal proceeded to the trials of 343 persons, who were accused of not defending the rights of the people, or of having defended them with too little zeal. There were however no executions in consequence of this measure. Six were sentenced to death for non-appearance, and eighteen banished for life; several were condemned to short imprisonments in their own houses, or to a temporary suspension of their political rights, and seventeen were reprimanded and discharged.

On the 7th of September the French convention entered into an engagement, in which they solemnly avowed their intention of taking no step which could in the smallest degree affect the independence of Geneva. The government, thus delivered from the fear of its external enemies, proceeded to those measures which it conceived best suited to its safety. As a measure of absolute necessity, they levied a very heavy assessment upon all property; but, in order to quiet any clamours which might arise upon this account, instituted an extraordinary commission to inquire into and punish all applications of any part of the public property to the use of individuals. The [illegible]rsal or suspension of several of the sentences of the revolutionary tribunal took place; and in a procla-

mation issued on the 5th of December 1794, the syndics and council peremptorily forbad the citizens called aristocrats and indifferents, as well as those called mountaineers, to form themselves into clubs or societies, and insisted that, for the preservation of public tranquillity, such citizens as were desirous of giving their sentiments to the public would not abuse the liberty of the press, to spread discontent by declaiming on the necessity of restoring confidence and union, under pain of punishment.

Such is the best account we have been able to collect of a transaction which is still in some degree mysterious, and of which we derive our information from sources too partial to be implicitly trusted. Whatever part M. Soulavie might take in promoting the measure, it is still proper to observe, that it was not effected by any military aid from the French republic, as there were no French soldiers within the Genevese territory. It is still possible, that the whole might proceed from the turbulent spirit of the French resident, united with that of men of similar dispositions within the Genevese republic, without even the participation of Robespierre, or any other of the French anarchists. If however the plot originated from that faction in France, we shall not long want satisfactory information on that subject, as the present party in the convention are certainly not disposed to shew much favour to the memory of Robespierre, or to conceal his atrocities. We shall also hope for the perfect re-establishment of order and tranquillity in Geneva itself, when doubtless a rigid inquiry will be made into all the circumstances; and the result of this we shall not fail carefully to report as soon as proper information can be obtained. In the mean time we shall not deface the page of history by vague conjecture, but shall direct the attention of our readers to some events not wholly uninteresting in another quarter of the globe.

The revolutionary spirit which had been so active in Europe extended in the course of the present year beyond the Atlantic; and in the peaceful plantations of North America broke out into actual insurrection. However unexpected such a circumstance might be to those who observed only the general happiness and prosperity of those states under their present wise and provident administration, to those who consider the internal circumstances of America such events will scarcely be a matter of surprise. In so extended a country, the same union of sentiment, and indeed of interest, can scarcely exist, as in smaller states; and where free discussion is indulged in the amplest extent by the civil constitution of the country, it may reasonably be expected that local questions will sometimes arise, and partial views be occasionally indulged, to the manifest prejudice of the general interest. The insurrection, to which we at present allude, took place in the four western counties of Pennsylvania, a tract of territory chiefly settled since the peace of 1783, and inhabited by emigrants from different countries, and especially from Ireland and the west of Scotland.

Among the different modes which have been adopted for defraying the expences of the state, perhaps there is none more commodious, under certain restrictions, than that of an excise; and yet none has ever been less acceptable

to the people in general. Most of our readers will recollect the opposition experienced by sir Robert Walpole on this account; and indeed, still lately, when the influence of the crown has been so firmly established as to bid defiance to all opposition from the people, an excise bill has seldom passed without exciting disturbances of an alarming nature. Of one principle, which has been latterly introduced into these bills, we must, as Englishmen, ever testify our abhorrence; and that is the summary mode of administering justice on excise questions, and the direct violation or rather annihilation of the *trial by jury*, which our present financier has been so studious to introduce on these occasions! yet, independent of this circumstance, the taxes themselves have been seldom objectionable. By fixing the duty not on the raw material, but on the manufactured commodity, the capital of the trader is less deeply involved, and the price is commonly rendered less burthensome to the consumer. In other cases the excise laws might operate as excellent sumptuary regulations; and in the case of distilled liquors, so injurious to the health of the common people, the excise system appears not merely proper and salutary, but even necessary. Yet such was the idle and absurd pretext for the Pennsylvanian insurrection. Among the different objects of taxation which presented themselves to Congress during the session of 1790, none appeared more proper than the distilleries throughout the United States. But how is a revenue to be derived from this source? Only by an excise. An excise therefore was adopted; the duty was light, and the object unexceptionable; and yet this reasonable measure, among these ignorant and turbulent people, was made a pretext for riot and rebellion.

It was insinuated by some of the anti-Anglican party in America, that the discontents were secretly fomented by the agents of the British cabinet, and that the insurrection in Pennsylvania, the encroachments of governor Simcoe on the Miami, the accommodation between Algiers and Portugal to the manifest injury of America, the talk of lord Dorchester to the Indians, and the unwarrantable capture and detention of American vessels, were all parts of one great system for the extinction of liberty in America, and for the revenging of the old quarrel, had the efforts of the allies succeeded against France. That the variable conduct of the British ministry did indeed afford too much colour for these assertions, we must in candour allow; but the same candour forbids too hasty an assent to the conclusion. The concurrence of these circumstances appears rather the effect of accident than of design; besides that there has been no proof alleged of the supposed agency; and it is our maxim, where no proofs of collusion can be collected by the utmost diligence of the executive government, to withhold our belief of its existence. No measure of importance was ever yet entrusted to a number of men, without being discovered sooner or later. The probability therefore is, that the inhabitants of these newly-settled countries, still cherishing their ancient prejudices against the excise system, and expecting more from American liberty than was consistent with rational government, withstood the tax upon some mistaken principle of patriotism, and apprehended that resistance in one quarter would

would excite the same effect in another, and reduce the legislature to the necessity of a repeal.

The opposition to the tax commenced in these counties early in the summer, and petitions for its repeal were presented to congress. In the month of August a general meeting was held at Pittsburgh; a strong remonstrance was drawn up to be presented to congress; committees of correspondence for the counties of Washington, Fayette, and Allegany, were appointed; and a resolution was entered into against having any intercourse or dealings with any man who should accept of any office for the collection of the duty. In the mean time the marshal was ordered by government to proceed by legal process against all rioters and delinquent distillers who should be found to resist or evade the tax. But no sooner was he understood to be engaged in this duty, than the vengeance of armed men was aimed at his person, and the person and property of the inspector of the revenue. They fired on the marshal, arrested him, and detained him some time as a prisoner. The house and papers of the inspector of the revenue were burned, and both these officers were obliged to fly to Philadelphia.

The American government, on this emergency, conducted themselves with that wisdom which has always characterised their councils. In most cases of insurrection, a single defeat is fatal to an established government; and force should never be employed till it is certain to be effectual. The first step therefore was to dispatch commissioners to confer with the leaders of the opposition in the disaffected counties; but the conference was unfortunately without effect. A committee of sixty persons was chosen to confer with the commissioners; but a small number only voted in favour of the conciliatory propositions. The others threatened that, if the tax was not repealed, the people of the western counties would place themselves under the protection of Great Britain: and this threat unfortunately gave countenance to the suspicion that they were instigated by that court. The conduct of the populace was still more outrageous. They surrounded the house where the commissioners resided, broke the windows, and treated with the grossest insult the messengers of peace, who were compelled to depart without effecting any thing; and in a short time after, not less than five thousand insurgents appeared in arms at Pittsburgh to oppose the government.

Nothing therefore remained but to repeal the tax, or reduce the refractory counties by force. As the former was not judged prudent, or indeed safe, and as a trifling force would have been ineffectual, if not mischievous to the cause, a general levy was made from the regular forces; and the militia of all the adjacent states was embodied, and the different detachments, amounting in all to fifteen thousand men, were ordered to rendezvous at Carlisle, the principal town of Cumberland county. Thither the governor (formerly general) Mifflin, marched in the middle of September, at the head of six thousand volunteers; and in the mean time a proclamation was issued by general Washington, exhorting to peace and subordination. In the beginning of October the president, in person, joined the army at Carlisle, of which governor Lee of Virginia was appointed commander in chief, and

and governor Mifflin fecond in command. From Carlifle the army proceeded to fort Bedford. In their route they experienced no oppofition, and feveral of the leading infurgents were apprehended. On the approach of the main army, amounting to 7000 men, who expected hourly to be joined by a reinforcement of 6000 from Cumberland, the infurgents fuddenly difbanded, and their leaders difappeared. On the 25th of October, a refpectable meeting of the principal planters and inhabitants of the weftern counties was held at Pittfburgh, where they entered into a folemn refolution to fubmit to the laws of the republic, and to promote order and good government by every means in their power. Though every appearance now manifefted the return of peace and good order, general Wafhington judged it prudent to ftation a fmall force for a certain period in the difaffected counties. Thefe meafures had the defired effect; the infurgents, who were taken, we have underftood, were all pardoned; and thus, by a happy mixture of firmnefs with moderation, an infurrection which, under a rafh and intemperate adminiftration, might have had the moft fatal effects, was quelled without bloodfhed, and almoft without violence or lofs.

While the American republic was diftracted in fome meafure by thefe domeftic diffenfions, a part of the weftern territory was ravaged by a defperate incurfion of the Indians. To repel this unprovoked attack, major-general Wayne was difpatched with a moderate force early in the fummer; and about the middle of Auguft he penetrated to the Miami river, where the Britifh had lately re-occupied a fort within the boundary of the United States, which, according to the treaty of 1783, decifively belonged to the American States. To his great furprife general Wayne found a number of the Canadian militia and Britifh fettlers of Detroit in arms, and ftrongly encamped with the Indians without the fort; and he afferts in his correfpondence, that he had difcovered that "colonel M'Kee the Britifh Indian agent was the principal ftimulator of the war between the United States and the favages." Though the army under general Wayne amounted to no more than 900 effective men, and the enemy were full 2000, the American general determined not to retreat; but previous to the attack he thought it right to make a laft overture for peace, which was however rejected. The ground which was occupied by the Indians and their allies was extremely advantageous, and it was alfo unfavourable to the advance of the American cavalry. Notwithftanding thefe circumftances, general Wayne, on the 20th of Auguft, determined on the attack. On approaching the poft, the advanced guard was thrown into fome diforder by a moft fevere fire from the enemy, who were fecreted in the woods and high grafs. General Wayne immediately gave orders to the fecond line to advance and fupport the firft; and directed the firft line to charge with trailed arms and rouife the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up to deliver a clofe and well directed fire upon their backs, followed by a brifk charge, fo as not to allow them time to reload. The legionary cavalry were at the fame time ordered to turn their left flank. But fuch was the impetuofity of the charge by the firft line of infantry, that the Indians and

and Canadian militia and volunteers were driven from their covers by so instantaneous an effort, that the rest of the army could scarcely arrive in time to participate in the action. The savages and their allies were completely routed and dispersed, leaving the Americans in full possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the guns of the British garrison.

A curious correspondence commenced here between major Campbell (who commanded at the fort) and general Wayne, the whole of which was not published in the London Gazette.

The letter of major Campbell contained in substance an inquiry into the views and motives of general Wayne, in making so near an approach to a garrison occupied by the troops of his Britannic majesty. General Wayne replied, that the most satisfactory answer that could be given to this inquiry, was that which was announced from the muzzles of his small arms on the preceding day, when he drove a horde of savages from an unwarrantable encroachment on the American territory. The next letter of the major deprecates any act of hostility, as he knows of no war existing between the king of Great Britain and the United States. The American general in his reply asserts also his total ignorance of any war existing between the parties, and adds, "that the only act of hostility that he knows of, is that which he (the major) is now in commission of, i. e. by recently taking post within the acknowledged limits of the United States, and erecting a fortification in the heart of the Indian tribes, now at war with the United States." The general concluded by a peremptory demand to withdraw the troops to the next post occupied by his Britannic majesty at the peace of 1783. Major Campbell returned a polite answer to what he could not but consider as a summons from the American general. He informed him that he was stationed in this post merely as a military officer, by the command of his superiors, and therefore could not enter into any discussion relative to the right of occupancy, nor relinquish the post; but expresses his confidence, that the right would be amicably determined by the ambassadors of their different nations: and on this assurance it appears that general Wayne with great prudence and propriety retired. The noted Joseph Brant was said to have been killed in this action with general Wayne.

The occupation of the fort on the Miami by governor Simcoe, united with some other circumstances, particularly a talk between Mr. Panton of Pensacola and the Creek Indians, from which it appeared that he had endeavoured to provoke them to engage in a war against the Americans, while the Indians candidly advised him "to mind his trade," and some communications to the same purpose from the Seneca Indians, produced in the American government strong apprehensions that the British ministry seriously meditated hostilities against the United States. A long correspondence succeeded between Mr. Randolph the American secretary of state and Mr. Hammond the British minister; but it is with sincere pleasure we add, that the whole of the dispute has been amicably terminated by the mission of Mr. Jay.

The American congress assembled on the 19th of November; but happy is that state whose legislative council

council find but few objects for their discussion! The better organization of the militia, the defraying the expences of the Indian war, and the reimbursing of some trifling losses in consequence of the riots at Pittsburgh, together with the prosecution of the salutary measures adopted by congress for the redemption of the national debt, were the principal subjects that presented themselves for their considerations, and these were canvassed and discussed with their usual candour and prudence. But to report minutely the proceedings of congress would exceed our present limits both of time and space; we therefore hasten to that busy scene, which has more powerfully, than any other, and perhaps more deservedly, excited the curiosity and interested the attention of Europe.

CHAPTER VIII.

France.—Unfavourable Prospect there to the Friends of Liberty.—State of Parties in France.—La Vendée.—Defeat of the Royalists.—Dreadful Executions.—Preparations for the Campaign.—General Jourdain succeeded by Pichegru.—Defeat of the French at Maroilles and Aelbecke.—Conference of Colonel Mack with the British Ministry.—Treachery of the Allies.—Duke of Brunswick desires to be recalled.—State of the French Armies.—Note of the Emperor to the Diet.—Opposition of the King of Prussia.—Artful Conduct of that Monarch.—His Demand on the Empire prudently refused.—Complied with by Great Britain.—Subsidiary Treaty.—Opening of the Campaign.—French repulsed at Cateau.—Cut off some of the Hessian Out-posts.—Council of War at Ath.—Inauguration of the Emperor at Brussells.—Landrecy invested.—Movements of the French and Allies.—French defeated at Cæsar's Camp.—Grand Attack on the Part of the French.—Clairfait defeated at Moucron.—Courtray and Menin taken by the French.—Surrender of Landrecy.—Beaulieu defeated near Arlon by General Jourdain.—French repulsed at Tournay.—Clairfait forced to recross the Heule.—French repulsed by General Kaunitz.—Total Defeat of the Allied Army.—French repulsed near Tournay.—Incursion of Beaulieu into Bouillon.—French defeated by General Kaunitz and at Keyserslautern by Mollendorf.—Successes of Jourdain in Luxembourg.—Defeat of the Prince of Cobourg.—Charleroi taken.—Clairfait defeated thrice in five Days.—Ypres taken.—Duke of York's Retreat from Tournay.—Emperor quits the Army in Despair.—His unsuccessful Endeavours to draw Assistance from the Netherlands.—His Sincerity suspected.—Successes of the French in Spain.—In Italy.—Losses of the French in the West Indies.—Martinico, St. Lucia, and Guadaloupe taken by the English.—Losses in St. Domingo.—A Bribe offered to a French General.—Successes of Lord Hood in Corsica.—Bastia taken, &c.—Calvi taken.—Splendid Victory of Lord Howe.—French Convoy saved.—State of France at this Period.

THE campaign of 1793 had unexpectedly terminated in favour of the French republic, and the brilliant successes of her arms were sufficient to relieve the apprehensions of the most timid for the safety

safety and independence of the nation, as far as it had been endangered by foreign interference. Yet the cause of freedom had hitherto gained little by the change; and the success as far as regarded that object might be considered as merely negative. The present must have presented but little cheering or satisfactory to the real patriots of France; and their views of the future must have rested on a hope, the accomplishment of which might be distant, and perhaps by some regarded as utterly improbable. The nation was still agitated by faction, and assailed by treachery; and the party which was for the moment predominant, had exercised a tyranny more despotic in some instances than the worst of their former monarchs, and had satiated their vengeance with a cruelty only to be paralleled by the sanguinary proscriptions of the Roman triumvirate.

The utility of history depends upon the accuracy with which causes and motives are investigated, and the springs of action laid open to the inspection of the reader. By these means posterity is guarded against error; and, as all human knowledge is experience, the speculative politician is furnished with materials for the establishment of systems, and the improvement of the science of government. It has therefore been our great aim, not merely to detail facts, but to distinguish their causes, and, as far as our information has extended, to explain the principles upon which these amazing events have depended. In our preceding volume we endeavoured to expose the errors into which the constituent assembly had fallen, and which appeared to be the real sources of the succeeding calamities.

From the first moments of the Gallic revolution, the theoretical politicians of that nation appear to have indulged expectations too sanguine, and to have sought in human nature a degree of perfection which is perhaps not to be attained, but which certainly could not be the production of an instantaneous effort. We have been uniformly of opinion, that a monarchical government, limited nearly as it was by the constituent assembly, was well adapted to the state of France, and would have been ultimately productive of happiness and prosperity. We also gave it as our opinion, that whatever might be the designs of the court, there was sufficient energy in the nation, and in the constitution, to counteract these designs, however prejudicial they might be. If the court was treacherous, the leaders of the opposition should have waited for more decisive proofs of its treason. The evidence should be strong indeed which justifies violence and bloodshed, if they can be justified at all.

From the few errors committed by the constituent assembly, particularly their removal to Paris, and the unfortunate decree which prohibited the re-election of the members of that body, the republican party was enabled to overthrow the monarchical constitution. From the fatal catastrophe of the 10th of August proceeded the still deeper horrors of the 2d of September, the sacrifice of the king, and a long catalogue of crimes. The massacres of September were, we are still persuaded, the effects of a sudden movement of indignation and revenge in those who had suffered in their connexions and their friends in the preceding tumult; the same impulse led the sanguinary multitude to demand the life of the degraded

graded monarch; and the party of Robespierre, by flattering the passions of the populace in these instances, gained an immediate ascendancy over their more moderate opponents. Nothing is so difficult to stop as the current of popular insanity. The Gironde, who partly from private ambition, and partly perhaps from public motives, had promoted the deposition of the king, wished to have rested there; but the populace, who had been their instruments in that transaction, and who had afterwards found leaders more suited to their minds, were disposed to grant a more extensive range to their passions. It is no easy task to reduce a multitude, who have been accustomed to rule, to habits of subordination. The Gironde had given arms to the people, and those arms were shortly after turned against themselves. Robespierre and Danton in the mean time, who had commenced by being the slaves of the populace, and who gained their ascendancy by a compliance with all that their passions demanded, were thus enabled in return to make the people slaves to them, and to convert their movements to the destruction of their adversaries.

Robespierre and his party assumed the supreme direction of the public affairs in dangerous and difficult times. It was after the defection of Dumouriez, after the armies of the republic had been defeated in every quarter, and while the hostile forces had broken the barrier, and penetrated into the country; it was in the moment that a fatal rebellion overspread the most flourishing provinces of France, that these daring adventurers assumed the reins of government. Greater ability was perhaps never displayed than in the course of their administration. The immense resources of France were instantaneously called into action; generals were appointed of the most consummate talents; the vigilance and activity of Cromwell were surpassed by Robespierre, and his indefatigable colleagues Barrere and Danton. At home, rebellion was crushed, faction extinguished; and abroad, their enemies were every where defeated, and the nation freed from the harassing apprehensions of foreign vengeance and foreign domination.

The power which the jacobins had acquired by craft, was retained by the confidence which was inspired by their abilities and their success. The people regarded them as their saviours, and on them reposed every hope of protection. It is to be lamented, that this confidence was grosly abused. Free from the imputation of corruption, the hands of Robespierre and his associates were stained with cruelty and blood. The tribunals were oppressed with the multitude of proscriptions and accusations, and the scaffolds were crowded with victims. Some sacrifices might be demanded by the imperious necessity of the times; but many were doubtless the victims of a sanguinary revenge, or a diabolical jealousy: and if undebased by the meaner passion of avarice; cruelty, the vice of tyrants, was undoubtedly too characteristic of this party.

In the concluding part of our last volume, we mentioned the defeat and dispersion of the insurgents in the department of La Vendée. By the report of Carriere presented to the convention the 22d of February, on his return from his mission into the rebellious departments, it appears that "there had been sixteen districts in full revolt, and the inhabitants

bitants of the whole country between the Loire and the sea, from Painbœuf to Saumur, a space of more than forty square miles, in arms.

"The rebels were divided into several columns. Whenever they wanted reinforcements they sounded the alarm-bell and set the mills a-going, whose sails served for signals, and immediately a large force was collected.

"In the month of August the rebels had 150,000 men in arms; but the victories of Mortagne and Chollet were so fatal to them, that the reporter had passed over fourteen leagues of country entirely covered with their dead bodies.

"After these defeats they passed the Loire, to the number of 50,000, women and children included. On the left side of the Loire, Charette still remained with an active army in the heart of La Vendée. The generals Dutruy and Hoye were charged to pursue him without intermission, and they obtained over him fifteen successive victories."

Yet the rebels were still far from being totally subdued. The forests, mountains, and all those natural recesses with which that romantic country abounds, still afforded them asylums. The party which escaped to the isle of Noirmoutier did not however make that desperate stand which their critical situation appeared to require. Though the town was remarkably well calculated for defence, yet they surrendered at discretion on the 3d of January, even before the republican troops had arrived within reach of their batteries. In the reduction of the island 500 of the royalists were killed, and 1200 were taken prisoners; 50 pieces of cannon, 8000 stand of arms, and 30,000lb. of powder also fell into the hands of the republicans.

The most dreadful executions succeeded these defeats of the royalists. At Nantz, on the 15th of February, 500 of them were shot. From the numbers that fell, we may well conclude that the trials were of the most summary kind, and there is reason to fear that many persons entirely innocent of the insurrection suffered. Even the guillotine was considered as an instrument of too slow an operation; and numbers were shot with grape shot discharged from artillery, or were confined within barges, which were scuttled and sunk; it has been said that upwards of 4000 were drowned in one pit.

The royalists being thus apparently for the present subdued, the republic was enabled to enter upon the most vigorous preparations for the ensuing campaign. General Jourdain was removed from the command of the northern army, and succeeded by general Pichegru, whose uncommon military talents proved him deserving of this confidence. As general Jourdain was permitted to retire without disgrace, and indeed, in the express words of the decree, with honour to himself and with the gratitude of his country, his retirement was but short, and he was afterwards appointed to command the army of the Rhine.

In the latter end of January, the French established several redoubts in the environs of Maroilles, and the fire from these works considerably annoyed the advanced posts of the allies. They were however not long permitted to retain their post; for they had scarcely completed their works before a division of the combined army crossed the Sambre, attacked the redoubts, killed

killed a considerable number, and took 500 prisoners. The republicans were equally unsuccessful in an attempt made on the 20th of the same month upon the post of Aelhecke. The French proceeded from Waterloo with 900 infantry and 100 cavalry, and by their impetuous onset at first compelled the enemy to retire; but the Austrian outposts assembling without loss of time, they attacked the republicans in flank, and compelled them in their turn to retreat. The loss of the French on this occasion was 22 men in killed and wounded, that of the Austrians inconsiderable.

These skirmishes were only the preludes to that scene of devastation which was shortly to open on the continent, and for which both parties were engaged in the most vigorous preparations. The project of the French, it is said, was to penetrate with a strong column through the country of Namur and the district of Liege; and to attack with a still stronger column the Austrian cantonments in the vicinity of Tournay, and to blockade Condé, Le Quesnoy, and Valenciennes. This plan was betrayed to the allies by an officer who deserted. In the mean time the preparations of the combined powers were not less vigorous. In the month of February the duke of York and the celebrated Austrian adventurer colonel Mack proceeded from the continent to London, for the purpose of holding a conference with the British ministers relative to the operations of the campaign. The emperor, it is said, on this occasion proposed to send a reinforcement of 31,000 men, and it was recommended that the Prussian force should be augmented to 80,000.

It was however an evident truth that there existed among the allies a fund of treachery and distrust, which must weaken all their exertions, and in the end conduct only to discomfiture and ruin. The strange circumstance of having abandoned the lines of Weissembourg, and the raising of the siege of Landau, without risking a battle, appear to have completely disheartened the duke of Brunswick; and in evident disgust he resigned the command. General Wurmser, in consequence of these omissions, was displaced by the court of Vienna; but still suspicions were entertained concerning the cordial co-operation of that court. The duke of Brunswick's letter to the king, entreating his recall, is a singular document, and evinces at once his judgment and his loyalty. It is dated January the 6th; and the duke states as the principal reason for desiring his recall, "the unhappy experience, that want of connexion, distrust, egotism, and a spirit of cabal had disconcerted the measures adopted during the two last campaigns, and still disconcerted the measures of the combined armies. Oppressed (he continues) by the misfortune of being involved by the error of others, in the unfortunate situation in which I find myself, I feel very sensibly that the world judges of military characters by their successes, without examining causes. Raising the siege or the blockade of Landau, will make an epoch in the history of this unfortunate war; and I have the misfortune of being implicated in it. The reproach will fall upon me, and the innocent will be confounded with the guilty." He proceeds to urge that the objects of one campaign were lost, and that there appeared no hope that a third would offer a more favourable issue. The same reasons, he asserts, still divided the powers which had hitherto

therto divided them. "When a great nation," adds his highness, "like that of France is conducted by the terror of punishments, and by enthusiasm, an unanimous sentiment and the same principle ought to prevail in the measures of the coalesced powers. But when, instead thereof, each army acts separately and alone of its own accord, without any fixed plan, without unanimity, and without principles, the consequences are such as we have seen at Dunkirk, at raising the blockade of Maubeuge, at the storming of Lyons, at the destruction of Toulon, and at the raising of the blockade of Landau. Heaven preserve your majesty from great misfortunes! but every thing is to be feared, if confidence, harmony, uniformity of sentiments, of principles, and of action, do not take place of the opposite sentiments which have been the source of all misfortunes for two years past. My best wishes always attend your majesty, and your glory will be my happiness."

With this representation of the duke of Brunswick the state of the armies entirely corresponded. The French at this period had no fewer than 780,000 effective men in the field, and this force was distributed as follows:

	Men.
The army of the north	220,000
The united armies of the Rhine and Moselle -	280,000
The army of the Alps -	60,000
The army of the eastern Pyrenees - - - -	80,000
The army of the south -	60,000
The army of the west -	80,000
Total	780,000

It is also to be noticed, that this immense swarm of troops was brought into the field without having recourse to the men of the second requisition.

On the other hand, without reckoning the forces of Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, or Naples, we find the following statement of the combined forces brought into the field to act against the French in the north and on the Rhine, viz.

	Men.
Army under the prince of Cobourg - - - -	140,000
Ditto under the duke of York - - - - - -	40,000
The Dutch army - -	20,000
Austrian army on the Rhine	60,000
Prussian ditto - - -	64,000
Troops of the empire -	20,000
Emigrant corps under the prince of Condé - -	12,000
Total	356,000

The exhausted state of the resources of Austria loudly called at this period for extraordinary measures. The members of the Germanic body appear themselves to have been divided in their opinions with respect to the probable success of the war; and indeed no party in Europe seem to have been very sanguine in their expectations but the ministers of Great Britain. In the month of February the Austrian envoy at the diet of Ratisbon delivered a note on the part of the emperor, to demand the sense of the Germanic states, respecting the necessity of arming all the inhabitants on the frontiers of Germany, and the furnishing of a triple contingent, on the part of the said states.

In this note the emperor observes, that all Europe knows the manifold and just grounds which have compelled the Germanic empire, united under its supreme chief, to declare a general war, for the

the maintenance of the strictest covenants and the most sacred treaties; for the preservation of all social order from a wild, destructive, and most anarchic tyranny, falsely called freedom; for the defence of an acknowledged religion from pestilential atheism; for the support of the constitution of the empire against an arbitrary, horrible, and universal revolutionary power:—that the deliverance of the Netherlands from invasion may be numbered among the many advantages achieved by the valour of the German troops: that notwithstanding the glorious conquests of the last campaign, the violent decrees of the French convention, compelling the people to rise in a mass, have given additional force to their measures, so that their efforts were successful at last, after repeated, daily, and most violent attacks (notwithstanding the most gallant resistance on the part of the Germans), in retaking, by their superiority of numbers, a part of the conquests—a loss which in all probability would not have ensued, if the contingents of the empire had been properly forwarded.

From the motives urged in this note, the emperor requests the consideration of his co-estates respecting a plan for the general arming of the Germanic frontier—in other words, for the people rising *in a mass*; and respecting the means of coercion to be employed against such members as have not fulfilled the decree of the diet of the 23d of November 1792, for the effectual furnishing of their contingents threefold, agreeably to the mode regulated in the year 1681.

That no movement of consequence took place amidst this immense preparation, was publicly attributed to the reluctance of the Prussian court to the contest in which it was engaged. It is indeed not improbable that a cabinet, which has ever regulated its politics upon a system completely selfish, might be strongly influenced by the representations of so experienced a general as the duke of Brunswick; and as it evidently entered into the contest with no other view than that of sharing the spoils in case of a partition of France, when that object appeared no longer attainable, we cannot be surprised that it should be the first to meditate a secession from the grand alliance. The time was however not yet arrived for the king of Prussia to throw off the mask. He thought it necessary therefore openly to contradict the suspicions which had been insinuated against him, and in his name a declaration was delivered to the states of the Germanic circles assembled at Frankfort. The tenor of this declaration was, That his majesty the king of Prussia could not but hear with the highest displeasure, that designs were imputed to him of secularizing bishoprics and chapters, and of appropriating to himself certain cities of the empire, in order to indemnify himself for the immense expences which he had been put to for near two years, to carry on the war against the French, and to defend against them the Germanic empire and his illustrious allies—That his majesty, being confident that his designs were pure, would have passed in silence over such rumours, and would have contented himself with the conviction that they would find no belief on the part of the well-disposed states of the empire; but that to give the most abundant of satisfaction, and to confound the malevolent, who invented similar stories purposely,

and, perhaps, with a design to excite distrust, baron Hochstetter had orders formally to declare, that while his majesty made war upon the French, he had never any views but the defence of the Germanic empire, and the maintenance of the constitution—That it never was his majesty's design to make conquests for himself; and that if *conquests were made from France, the empire would have its share*—That he never conceived the most remote idea of indemnifying himself at the expence of the empire, whose constitution had always been sacred to him, and for whose maintenance he had already made so many sacrifices—That his minister, baron Hochstetter, was empowered finally to declare, that his majesty would never deviate from those intentions in future, and that he would be always ready to secure and guarantee to the Germanic empire its territory and constitution, and to the states in particular, both spiritual and temporal, their rights and possessions—in a word, the inviolable maintenance of the whole Germanic body—provided that the empire, and, above all, those six circles which were most exposed to danger, would co-operate as much as the constitution and patriotism required of them.

Specious however as these professions might appear in the eyes of those who were desirous of being deceived, some circumstances soon occurred, which to thinking men left little doubt of the insincerity of this monarch. The plan of arming the people in a mass was openly opposed by his envoy at the diet, and the king even threatened to withdraw his troops should it be attempted. The reasons which he has urged against this measure are unanswerable, it is true; but as the usual mode of warfare had completely failed, it is not difficult to perceive that the Prussian cabinet despaired of the contest. The reasons urged by this monarch against raising the people in a mass are founded however in sound policy; and the last in particular is so very weighty and forcible, that we will venture to affirm that no *statesman*, when he considers it attentively, will ever attempt so absurd and destructive a measure, as that of putting arms into the hands of the common people. His majesty observes, 1st, That by employing the husbandmen and yeomanry against the enemy, agriculture will want hands. 2dly, That it is difficult to arm such a mass of people. 3dly, That it is impossible in reasonable time to accomplish them in the manual exercise. 4thly, That it requires troops well disciplined to oppose the French; and, 5thly, *That it is infinitely dangerous, at a time like the present, when the French are eagerly grasping at every opportunity to insinuate their principles, to bring together a body of men in arms, whose ideas upon government must be various, and among whom discussions may arise, disastrous in their consequences to the constitution.*

Independent of these public transactions, there were some of a more private nature, into which inquiry ought to have been made. In the month of February a negotiation was carried on at Frankfort, between the king of Prussia and certain commissioners from the French republic. The professed object of the negotiation was an exchange of prisoners, but there was too much reason to suspect that the conference had a much more extensive aim, and subsequent events have justified the suspicion. The commissioners of France entered Frankfort

sort in considerable splendour, in one of the state carriages of the late king, decorated with the cap of liberty and other republican emblems. Their conference with M. Kalkreuth (the officer supposed to be most in the confidence of his majesty) was secret, and not conducted in the usual mode of negotiation for an exchange of prisoners. It was therefore an unpardonable act of weakness and incapacity in any men calling themselves statesmen, whose interests might be implicated in these measures, not to be well informed respecting their object. Would a Walpole, a Pelham, a Chatham, or a Shelburne, have been uninformed of the real object of these negotiations, and have voted an immense subsidy to this prince, while it is evident to common sense, that the foundations of that treaty, which has appeared in 1795 between the French republic and the king of Prussia, were laid at the conferences at Frankfort in 1794?

From this period therefore a good understanding was probably established between France and Prussia; but there was yet another object to be achieved by this crafty cabinet, and that was a reimbursement of expences. In the month of January the King had attempted, through the elector of Mentz, to exact a sum for "the provisioning of his army;" and he had endeavoured in vain to alarm the six frontier circles into a compliance with his demands. The German powers were too *wise* to become the dupes of his artifices, and he now applied successfully to a quarter where he expected less opposition. Whether the conclusion be fair and true, we pretend not to decide; but it is well known, that his Prussian majesty does not consider the British minister as a statesman. He justly conceived therefore that he had only to threaten him with a secession from the alliance, and whatever he might demand would be most readily complied with. Field marshal Mollendorf succeeded the duke of Brunswick in the command of the Prussian army. The first step therefore of the king was, to acquaint the prince of Cobourg that he had ordered that officer as well as general Kalkreuth to withdraw with their armies from the environs of Mentz, and to march to Cologne. This declaration was followed on the 13th of March by a proclamation, addressed to the German empire, announcing his Prussian majesty's secession from the grand confederacy. The proclamation stated, that the present "war was not a war with a civilized nation, and with disciplined armies, but a contest with a delirious and never-diminishing swarm of men—with a highly populous nation, provided with every resource for war—a set of men, who did not fight merely for victory, but who sought, by fire, sword, and the poison of their pernicious doctrines, to subvert the whole social edifice of Germany." His majesty proceeds to state the incredible efforts he had made to oppose "this almost unconquerable enemy."—That he had made every possible sacrifice to the common cause which the natural strength of Prussia would permit, and had not hesitated to expose even "his sacred person." For this object alone, he continues, so much Prussian blood had been spilt—for this so much treasure drained from his dominions: and he concludes this part of his representation by declaring, that he is able "no longer to take an active part from his own means, without utterly ruining his

own dominions, and entirely exhausting the property of his subjects."

His majesty proceeds to state the means which he had employed to obtain from the circles of the empire the necessary support. He censures in unqualified terms the insane proposal of arming the peasants—"a measure, he says, obviously inefficient against an enemy, who presses forward with irresistible fury, *skilled in tactics*; and with a numerous artillery!"—"a measure *dangerous*, because when the peasant is armed, and *brought away from his ordinary mode of life*, the enemy may become his most dangerous seducer." He concludes therefore with declaring his resolution to withdraw his troops from the protection of the empire, and to order them instantly to return to his own dominions.

The king of Prussia's declaration was no sooner made known to the British ministry than it began to operate in the precise manner his majesty intended. How far Austria might be in the secret, and how far the court of Vienna might agree to co-operate in the extortion, it will not be easy to determine. Certain it is, that colonel Mack was sent express to increase the terror of the British ministers, and it was directly through his means that the negotiation was carried on for a subsidy to Prussia.

On the 19th of April a treaty was signed at the Hague, by which Great Britain and the States General agreed to take into pay 62,400 Prussians, *to be commanded by a Prussian officer*; for which the enormous subsidy of 50,000l. sterling a month was agreed to be paid, besides the sum of 300,000l. to be *paid immediately*, to defray the charge of completing the said army; and 100,000l. to bear their expences home; and besides the sum of 1l. 12s. a month per man for bread and forage, amounting to the enormous additional sum of 100,000l. per month, or 1,200,000l. per annum. To the whole of this expenditure the States General were only to contribute 400,000l.

It has been remarked by a foreigner conversant in diplomatic affairs, "that every article in this treaty betrayed the folly and incapacity of the British ministry; and the circumstance alone of the army being commanded by a Prussian was sufficient to render it totally inefficient, provided his Prussian majesty chose that it should be so." How far the remark was justified by experience will be perceived in the sequel.

By these various negotiations the opening of the campaign was delayed till a late period. On the 5th of March the duke of York arrived on the continent to take the command of the British army; on the 17th he proceeded with general Clairfait to Valenciennes, where a council of war was held with the prince of Saxe Cobourg, after which the generals returned to their respective head-quarters. Towards the latter end of March the French made their appearance in West Flanders; and on the 29th of that month they attacked the Austrian out-posts at Cateau, Beauvais, and Solesmes, in the vicinity of Landrecy. The posts were carried; but a large body of Austrian cavalry coming up, the French were obliged to retreat with the loss, it is said in the London Gazette, of 500 men. The Austrians, according to the same authority, lost 120. About the same period, a party of French having succeeded in surprising the Hessian posts at Tenbreuil, between Werwick and Ypres, got in the

the rear of the Hanoverian pickets, and cut them off. Upon the appearance however of a considerable body of troops approaching from Menin, the French, who appear to have effected the entire object they had in view, hastily retreated, and crossed the Lys, carrying with them 3 officers and 143 men prisoners.

It is one of the great evils of war, that inaction is commonly not less destructive than the most hostile operations. While nothing was effected towards the great objects of either party, the ravages of disease were fatal in the extreme. Of the mortality in the French armies we are not informed, but those of the allies we are well assured suffered extremely. The general return of the sick and wounded in the Austrian army in Brabant alone, at this time, was 23,000 men.

It was not, however, by the common chances of war that the combined powers were weakened. They unfortunately resembled too much the French republicans in one instance. They were divided by faction, and undermined by treachery. A general council of war was convened at Ath about this period, and the arrangements of the campaign, as settled by the court of Vienna, were brought forward by general Haddick. A part of these arrangements was, that general Clairfait was to command the advanced army over the duke of York. To this plan, it is asserted, his royal highness objected; and his opposition has been, we believe unjustly, attributed to some trivial sense of etiquette, to some ambitious claim of precedence and rank. It would give us sincere pleasure were we possessed of that full information which is necessary to do complete justice to his royal highness, whose conduct, as an officer, we have seen reason in many respects to approve. Our information of political transactions is necessarily limited, and as we receive much of it from private and confidential communications, it is not always either honourable or right to publish the sources of it. Those however who wish to form just opinions of the politics of the times will hesitate before they form any conclusion in this instance to the disadvantage of the duke of York. The military talents of general Clairfait are unquestioned; but his royal highness's objections might not lie against the *man*, but against the source of his authority. We affirm it, upon the best foundation, that the duke of York had received too many proofs of the gross duplicity, not to say treachery, of the cabinet of Vienna, not to be cautious of acting under its dictates with too implicit a confidence. Not to enter more deeply into a delicate subject, let it suffice to say, that in this council the warmest altercations arose, nor could the utmost exertions of prince Charles of Austria, and lord Elgin, terminate the contest. The duke of York, it is said, declared that the British troops should not act till he had consulted his court. By the cabinet of St. James's, in concert with that of Vienna, a compromise was at length effected, and it was determined that for the present the emperor in person should nominally command, while his advisers and tutors, it was well understood, were general Clairfait and colonel Mack.

In the beginning of April a solemn piece of pageantry was performed at Brussells—the inauguration of the emperor as duke of Brabant. The emperor arrived at that city on the 9th at five in the afternoon. The states in a body presented his imperial majesty with the

keys of the gate of Louvain, the inscription upon which will excite a smile in all who consider either the object of the panegyric, or the events which almost immediately succeeded.

"Cæsar adest, fremant Galli!"

A number of children, decorated with white scarfs, drew the imperial state coach solemnly along. At the church of St. Gudula *Te Deum* was chanted, and congratulatory verses were presented to his imperial majesty. A few substantial reforms would have had more effect in conciliating the affections of the people, than this idle pageantry. Man, taken in the general, is not an animal to be extolled for his wisdom; but yet the meanest understandings can distinguish between the passions of wonder and of esteem; and that sovereign who despises state, and whose grandeur consists in acts of beneficence, liberality, and patriotism, will find more real respect on visiting his people in a plain carriage, than he who emulates the pomp of oriental despotism, and makes his solemn entry under triumphal arches which he has never deserved.

From Brussells the emperor proceeded to Valenclennes, and his presence diffused at least the appearance of joy through the allied army. On the 16th of April the army was reviewed by the emperor on the heights above Cateau; and on the following day proceeded in eight columns to invest Landrecy, a small but well fortified town in the province of Hainault. The first column, composed of Austrian and Dutch troops under prince Christian of Hesse Darmstadt, advanced upon the village of Catillon, which was forced after some resistance. The second, under lieutenant-general Alvintzy, forced the French entrenchments at Mazinguer, Oisy, and Nouvion, and took possession of the whole forest of Nouvion. The third column, led on by the emperor and the prince of Cobourg in person, after carrying the villages of Ribouville and Wassigny, detached forwards the advanced guards, which took possession of the heights called Grand and Petit Blocus. The fourth and fifth columns were entrusted to the duke of York; and the first of these was under his own immediate direction; and the latter was commanded by sir William Erskine. The objects of these columns were the redoubts and village of Vaux; and the strong entrenchments of the French in the wood called Bois de Bouhain. As the position of the French army was evidently strong, the duke determined, if possible, to turn their right, and for that purpose ordered the whole column to move forwards under the cover of the high ground, leaving only sufficient cavalry to occupy their attention. The fire of the republicans was at first severe; but finding the position no longer tenable against the superior force of the British, they retreated as soon as the latter approached to a close engagement. A part of them were cut off in their retreat through the wood, and the remainder continued to retire through the village of Bouhain to the main army. Sir William Erskine was equally successful with his column.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth columns under the hereditary prince of Orange were not engaged, being only a corps of observation on the side of Cambray. On the morning of the 18th the prince of Orange's advanced guard was attacked by a small party of French, who however were easily repulsed. In consequence of these successes the siege of Landrecy was immediately formed,

ed, under the direction of the hereditary prince of Orange.

From this period little of consequence occurred till the 21st, except the reduction of an entrenched camp and a redoubt at the village of Eloqnes by the hereditary prince of Orange. On the 21st, the French attacked two detachments of the prince of Coburg's advanced guard at Blocus and Nouvion. At the former, by the aid of the duke of York with five battalions of Austrians and sir Robert Lawrie's brigade of British cavalry, they were repulsed; but at the latter they succeeded in forcing general Alvintzy to retreat. At the same time the duke of York received information from general Wurmb, who commanded a detached party at Denaing, that he had been vigorously attacked by the French on the 19th.

While such were the movements of the allies, the French had assembled in considerable force at the camp of Cæsar, in the vicinity of Cambray. On the 23d of April the duke of York dispatched general Otto with a detachment of cavalry to reconnoitre them in this position; but finding them too strong, the general was compelled to wait for a reinforcement till the following morning, when he succeeded in forcing them to retreat in great confusion to Cambray, with the loss of 1200 men and three pieces of cannon. The loss of the allies was also considerable; and on the following day the duke of York was attacked on all sides by the republican troops, who however were repulsed after a short but severe conflict, with the loss of their general Chapuy who was taken prisoner, with 350 officers and privates, and twenty-two pieces of cannon. The French are reported to have left 1200 men dead on the field of battle. The loss of the allies was also very considerable; but as no return is made in our Gazettes of any but the British forces, we lament that on this and many other occasions we are unable to ascertain the numbers.

This action may be considered as the commencement of the campaign on the part of the French. The attack is appears extended along the whole frontier from Treves to the sea. That part of the allied army commanded by the emperor was attacked at the same time by three columns, but these were also repulsed. At one point of attack the French were however eminently successful; and indeed it is probable that these actions, which have just been related, were no other than feints to cover the most important movement. At the post of Moucron, general Clairfait with some battalions of Austrians had joined the Hanoverians, and was waiting only to be joined by six battalions more of Austrian infantry to commence offensive operations. The vigilance and activity of general Pichegru prevented the design of the Austrian commander. On the 29th of April the French general attacked the post, which he carried after an obstinate conflict. The town of Courtray was taken at the same time by the republicans; and by this event Menin, being deprived of every hope of succour, fell into their hands; the garrison, which consisted of four battalions of Hanoverians and four companies of loyal emigrants, having forced their way through the victorious army, and made good their retreat to Ingelmunster, but with some loss, as they were continually harassed during the whole of their march.

For

For the loss of Menin the allied powers found some consolation in the surrender of Landrecy. The whole of the siege, after the opening of the trenches, lasted scarcely ten days; yet the bombardment was so severe that not more than three houses were left standing. Two hundred of the inhabitants and 1200 of the garrison lost their lives. The remainder of the garrison, which surrendered prisoners of war, consisted of 4400 men.

On the side of Treves, the republican army of the Moselle was also successful. Early in March, the committee of public safety had commanded this army to advance from Longwy near Arlon, in order to cut off the communication of the counties of Treves and Luxemburgh with those of Liege and Namur. This movement was spiritedly executed by general Jourdain. On the memorable 19th of April, when the grand attack was made by the French along the whole line, the Austrian general Beaulieu was completely defeated by the French commander. The conflict, according to the account of general Jourdain, lasted for two days, and the loss of the Austrians must have been considerable. Arlon fell into the hands of the republicans, but being untenable was soon after abandoned. The French obtained also some advantages over general Melas, near the Moselle and the Saer.

The beginning of May was distinguished by some severe but indecisive actions. On the 4th of that month, the French attacked a small party at Roussalaer under colonel Linsinghen, but after a bloody conflict were repulsed with the loss of 200 men. On the 10th the duke of York was assailed near Tournay by the republican forces in different columns, to the amount of 30,000 men. The attack began at day-break, when the French attempted to turn the right flank of the combined army; but were driven back by the Austrian regiment of Kaunitz, which was posted in a wood to cover the army on that side. The French then directed their efforts against the duke's centre, upon which they advanced under a heavy cannonade with great resolution. An occasion however soon presented itself of attacking them in their right flank, when they were compelled to retreat. In this engagement the French are computed to have lost 3000 men, an estimate probably over-rated. For the reasons already assigned, we are incapable of giving any account of the loss on the part of the allies.

On the Sunday following, general Clairfait, who in the course of the preceding night had crossed the Heule, was again attacked by the republicans. The Austrian general is said to have repulsed the assailants, and driven them back into the town of Courtray; but in what manner this is to be reconciled with his precipitate retreat first across the Heule, and afterwards behind the river Mandel, we shall not presume to decide. The present war, among many singular phenomena, has more than once exhibited the victorious commanders of the combined forces flying before the beaten and discomfited republicans. General Clairfait, it is allowed by all, must have suffered considerably in this engagement; and being still closely pursued, found himself under a necessity of continuing his march to Thieldt, where at length he was enabled to take a position to cover Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend.

It

t was nearly about this period the French army of the north ed the Sambre, and, accord- to their own report, seized the n of Binche. General Kaunitz forced to retreat, and take a tion between Rouveroy and che, in order to cover Mons. h that impetuosity which has nguished their whole military , the republicans did not long mit him to continue unmolested s situation. They attacked him the 14th of May; the conflict s long and bloody; but the nch were completely repulsed, d obliged to recross the Sambre th the computed loss of 5,000 n and some pieces of cannon.

From this unexpected success, the emperor was persuaded that he had perfectly secured that part of the country. He determined therefore to march without delay to the assistance of the duke of York, who still retained his position at Tournay. Here the grand attack upon the French lines, which was to clear the whole of Flanders of the invaders, was concerted; and the army under Clairfait was ordered to co-operate with the forces under his imperial majesty and the duke of York. By some unaccountable treachery on the part of the allies, the French in Lisle were made acquainted with the whole plan in sufficient time to take the most effectual measures to disconcert it. On the night of the 16th the allied army moved forward in five columns; two of which on the left were to force the passages of the Marque, and, by a vigorous attack on the French posts along the river, to cover the operations of the three remaining columns. These columns however forced the passages so late, and were so fatigued with their march, that they were not able to accomplish the remainder of the proposed plan. The column on the right under general Beache was equally unfortunate; for, finding the republicans at Moucron in much greater numbers than he had expected, the general was obliged to relinquish his object, and retreat to his former position at Warcoing. Lieutenant-general Otto was more successful with his column; he drove the French from Waterloo, and pushed forward to Turcoing. The column commanded by the duke of York was also successful in its first movements. After a short cannonade his royal highness forced the enemy to evacuate Lannoy, and proceeded to Roubaix. This post also, after considerable resistance, was forced: but having received no intelligence of the two columns on his right and left, he did not think it prudent to advance further. Having acquainted the emperor however with his intentions, the necessity of co-operating with general Clairfait induced his imperial majesty to order the British forces to proceed to the attack of Mouveaux. The French entrenchments here were carried by lieutenant-general Abercromby, after an obstinate contest, and the day of the 17th concluded with some prospect of success to the allies. But a sad reverse was shortly to follow.

Early on the morning of the 18th, the French attacked the post of Turcoing, where colonel Devay commanded; and the duke dispatched two battalions of Austrians to make a diversion on that part, with express orders to fall back upon the main army if hard pressed; but by some mistake these battalions joined colonel Devay at Turcoing. From this circumstance an opening was left on the right of the

the duke of York's corps, of which the French commander immediately availed himself. At this period a column of 15,000 men appeared advancing from Lisle; and another corps having forced general Otto's position near Waterloo, attacked the British in the rear. The few troops that remained with his royal highness soon gave way, nor was it possible to rally them. The duke himself was obliged to fly, accompanied by a few dragoons of the 16th regiment; and join general Otto, with whom, from the disastrous state of his own army, he was obliged to remain. After this separation, the very difficult task of extricating the British forces devolved upon generals Abercrombie and Fox; and they performed this duty with great firmness and address. It has been said, that the allies on this occasion did not act with that vigour and spirit which was expected; but the Austrian official details seem to cast a principal share of the blame on the Hanoverians, who they assert "were the first to retreat. They created the greatest confusion; for their cavalry not only destroyed the foot, but threw the whole army into such disorder, that they became a helpless prey to the pursuing enemy." Of the loss of the allies we have no authentic return, but one account states it at 3000; and it must have been very great, since the British troops alone lost upwards of 1000 men, and forty-three pieces of cannon. Two columns of the imperial troops, which were brought up by the emperor and the prince of Saxe Cobourg, were also obliged to retreat with loss. The army of general Clairfait, being still separated by the Lys, was unable to co-operate.

This unfortunate conflict may be said to have decided the fate of the Netherlands. Consternation and dismay overspread the whole face of the country. The allied forces collected as speedily as the desperate state of their affairs would admit, and resumed their former positions near Marquain, Templeuve and Leers; while the emperor in vain endeavoured to cheer the drooping spirits of his subjects by proclamations. Fortunately for the allies, the impetuosity of the French soon afforded a more substantial subject of consolation, and convinced the trembling multitude that they were not invincible. On the 22d they renewed the attack; and a force estimated at 100,000 was brought against the right wing of the combined army, with the intention of forcing the passage of the Scheldt and investing Tournay. They at first succeeded in driving in the out-posts; but a reinforcement being sent under the command of general Fox, the skill and intrepidity of that officer enabled the allies to maintain their position. The conflict continued from five in the morning till nine at night; an instance almost unprecedented in the modern annals of war. The French, finding it impracticable to accomplish their object, withdrew their forces during night, and fell back upon Lisle. They are reported to have sustained the incredible loss of nearly 12,000 men; an account which however the duke of York does not give as authentic. Five hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the allies, of whose loss we have, as usual, no account whatever. That of the British was somewhat more than 100. The French were commanded in this action by general Pichegru, whose arrangements were made with such judgment, that though the attack was unsuccessful,

cessful, both the wings and the rear of his army being covered by a wood, they could neither be turned nor assailed by cavalry.

About the same period in which these desperate conflicts took place, another partial success occurred in favour of the allies. General Beaulieu made an incursion into the duchy of Bouillon, defeated a considerable body of republicans stationed in that canton, took the town by storm, which (on the plea of the inhabitants having fired upon the Austrians) was delivered up to be pillaged. About 1200 French are said to have been killed upon this occasion; 300 prisoners were taken, and six pieces of cannon. Another victory was obtained on the 24th by general Kaunitz over the French, who had again crossed the Sambre, and taken a position with their left to Rouveroy, and their right to Fontaine l'Evêque. As general Kaunitz had advanced upon the republicans by surprise, they were obliged to abandon their cannon, amounting to fifty pieces. The French are also said to have lost 2000 men in killed and wounded, besides 3000 prisoners. The loss of the Austrians was inconsiderable. Marechal Mollendorf on the same day surprised the French in their entrenchments at Keyserslautern, and defeated them with considerable loss.

This gleam of success on the part of the combined powers was again of short duration; for while general Beaulieu was amusing himself with his incursion into Bouillon, the duchy of Luxembourg was invaded by general Jourdain with a force of 40,000 men, who obtained immediate possession of Arlon. General Beaulieu was therefore obliged at once to abandon his conquests by a precipitate retreat, and to fall back on Marche, in order to cover Namur.

Encouraged by this career of success, the French prepared to invest Charleroi, having already cut off the communication between that place and Brussells. They were however attacked on the 3d of June by the prince of Orange, who compelled them to raise the siege, and recross the Sambre with considerable loss. But this momentary success was not attended with any permanent advantage; for in the course of a few days they recrossed the river to the amount of 60,000 men. On the 14th they destroyed a strong redoubt which had been erected by the besieged, and on which they had apparently placed much dependance. The imminent danger to which this important place, as well as Brussells itself, was exposed, determined the prince of Saxe-Cobourg to make one grand effort for its relief. In compliance therefore with the solicitations of the prince of Orange and general Beaulieu, he marched with the greater part of the combined army, leaving only the British and Hanoverians with the duke of York at Tournay. On the 21st he reached Ath; and on the 24th effected a junction with the prince of Orange and general Beaulieu, at Nivelles.

The main body of the French army under general Jourdain was posted at this time at Templeuve, Gosselies, and Fleurus, for the purpose of covering the siege of Charleroi. On the morning of the 26th a general attack was made on all the French posts. The conflict continued till late in the afternoon, and was unusually severe. The allied army was defeated in every part, and forced with immense loss to retreat to Halle, thirty miles distant

distant from the field of battle. The French did not fail to take advantage of their victory; they pushed on towards Brussells without loss of time, and forced the prince of Cobourg to retreat from Halle, leaving Brussells to its fate. Charleroi, it afterwards appeared, had capitulated on the evening of the 25th.

In the mean time Ypres, which is considered as the key of west Flanders, was besieged by 30,000 French, supported by a covering army of 24,000. The great importance of this place induced general Clairfait to hazard the whole corps under his command for its relief. On the 13th of June he attacked the republicans. He drove them from their first position; but presently experienced a melancholy reverse. In the course of five days, it is said, this intrepid officer experienced three defeats in attempting to raise the siege, and was at length obliged to retire in great confusion to Ghent, where he had the mortification to find the communication between that place and Oudenarde entirely cut off. Ypres surrendered, after a most gallant defence, to the French general Moreau, on the 17th of June, and the garrison were allowed very honourable terms.

The defeat of general Clairfait was attended with the worst consequences to the allies. General Walmoden found himself no longer able with his small force to maintain his position at Bruges. the magistrates of that place, therefore, on the 24th opened their gates to the French, and signed a formal submission to the armies and sovereignty of the republic; and in the mean time the Hanoverian general fell back to Landmark, and united his corps to the right flank of general Clairfait's army.

The retreat of the Austrian general rendered also the duke of York's position at Tournay, which, since the departure and defeat of the prince of Cobourg, had always been extremely hazardous, no longer tenable. His royal highness therefore on the 24th of June marched to Renaix, in order to support Oudenarde, which was already invested, leaving only a small garrison for the defence of Tournay.

Previous to these events, the emperor and colonel Mack in utter despair of success had left the army. The force of the allies, which in the beginning of the campaign had amounted to 187,000 men, was now reduced to less than half the number. It was in vain the emperor issued repeated proclamations, calling on the inhabithants of the Netherlands to rise in a mass. They answered him with fair but delusive professions, while their conduct evinced a strong attachment to the cause of the French. In the mean time the sincerity of the cabinet of Vienna itself was greatly doubted by some of the allies; and in a letter dated the 23d of June from the camp at Tournay, we find the following remarkable passage:

"We have long suspected the Austrian policy respecting this country. From the beginning of the campaign the emperor was greatly deficient in the number of troops, which by treaty he was bound to keep in western Flanders, and now the deficiency amounts to more than sixty thousand. This has been the real and original cause of all our want of success this campaign. Three weeks ago he began removing all his military stores from Brussells into Germany; and the manœuvres of the Austrians within these few days have completely opened

pened the eyes of the most unsuspecting to the real situation of the British army here.

"On finding that the duke of York prudently refused to garrison Tournay for them, which would most likely have been attended with the capture of the army; on their leaving this for Charleroi, they removed all the bridges of communication over the Scheldt, which has left us no mode of retreating over the river, but through Tournay, which in case of attack may occasion the loss of the army. We are now trying to make some bridges, which, considering we have no pontoons belonging to the army, is no easy matter. Added to this, the navigation of the Scheldt is completely blocked up a few miles below us, by several large barges being sunk by the enemy some time ago, which the Austrians have prudently taken care shall not be cleared away; so that great part of our military stores, which are lying in barges here for want of waggons, cannot be carried off; but must be either left to the enemy, or sent up to Condé and Valenciennes, and committed to the charge of the Austrians."

On the side of Spain the armies of the republic were eminently successful. In the beginning of February a battle was fought near St. Jean de Luz, which terminated in favour of the republicans; three regiments were dispersed or taken prisoners, and the Irish regiment of Ultona was cut to pieces. A similar victory was obtained on the 5th of the same month near the same place. In the eastern Pyrenees, the armies were not in motion so early in the campaign. In the month of April, the Spaniards were compelled to evacuate Boulon and the camp of Ceret. The city of Urgel soon after surrendered to general Dagobert; but, as the citadel was still in a condition for defence, and the Spaniards had broken down the bridge which communicated with the town, the general retired to Puycerda to wait for reinforcements, where he was killed by a cannon ball. He was succeeded at first by general Doppet, and afterwards by general Dugommier. On the 1st of May a considerable victory was gained by the republicans near Ceret: 200 pieces of cannon were taken, with the Spanish camps, magazines and equipage, and 2000 prisoners. About the same period the main army of the Spaniards was totally defeated near Collioure, and the whole of the baggage and artillery fell into the hands of the conquerors; and such was the sense which the convention retained of the importance of this victory, that it was decreed that a column should be erected near the spot with an inscription—"Here seven thousand Spaniards laid down their arms before the republicans." On the 23d of May St. Elmo was evacuated by the Spaniards, and Port Vendies capitulated to general Dugommier.

In Italy, to use the singular and inflated style of Barrere, "victory was also in a state of permanence." Early in April the post and city of Oneglia in Piedmont submitted to the republican forces. As this post was situated on the Mediterranean, and very near the southern departments, it proved extremely noxious to the commerce of those parts by the number of cruizers which it regularly sent out. To attack it with effect, the French were obliged to march through a part of the Genoese territory; but previous to this step the representatives Robespierre and Sallicetti published a proclamation, promising the strictest regard to the neutrality of the Genoese.

The

The circumstance, it appears, did excite some apprehensions in the inhabitants of that little republic, who had already suffered by their adherence to a pacific system; but the order and discipline observed by the French army appears to have dissipated their alarm. This success was immediately followed by a considerable victory, in which 500 of the enemy, the greater part Austrians, were killed. Ormea on the Tanaro, and the county of Nava, immediately submitted; so that the whole communication between Turin and the sea, except through neutral countries, appears to have been cut off. Immense magazines, a superb manufactory of cloth, and large quantities of provisions, cannon, and ammunition fell at the same time into the hands of the invaders. In the beginning of May, Dumerlion, the provisional commander in chief of the army of Italy, possessed himself of the forts Saorgio, Belvedere, Rocabiliere, and St. Martin. The enemy were also obliged to abandon their famous camps of Fouche and Raous. On this occasion the French took sixty pieces of cannon, and an immense quantity of provisions, with 2000 prisoners. The loss of the Piedmontese in killed is also said to have been considerable. The French lost 60 in killed, and had about 250 wounded. This was immediately succeeded by another victory, in which Dumerlion drove the enemy, amounting to 8000, from their entrenchments near the village of Tende, and took 200 prisoners, and a great quantity of military stores.

About the middle of May, Dumas, commander in chief of the army of the Alps, obtained a most decisive victory at Mont Cenis. On this celebrated mountain the Sardinians had doubled their forces; and on this account the French generals who seem to have acted with great ability, formed a system of vigorous diversion, extended over all the line. On the night of the 10th, the fort Mirabouk was attacked by Caire, commander of the chasseurs, and the garrison capitulated, leaving 20 pieces of cannon, and a considerable quantity of provisions and stores. At the moment of taking fort Mirabouk, the general himself proceeded with 3000 men to the rich vallies of Bardonnack; all the posts of the enemy were forced, and the French succeeded in establishing themselves at Oux. The general next proceeded across the precipices of Gollibier, in order to proceed to Maurienne, and immediately to execute the attack upon Mont Cenis. From Lenebourg they ascended the mountain; amidst volumes of fire they carried all the redoubts with fixed bayonets. The left column, under general Bagdelaune, made their way over frightful precipices, and turned the enemy. The junction of the columns was no sooner effected, than the Piedmontese abandoned their well-appointed and numerous train of artillery, their equipage, and magazines. The French pursued with unabated ardour three leagues beyond Mont Cenis. The carnage was great; between eight and nine hundred prisoners were taken, and yet the loss of the French amounted to only eight killed and thirty wounded.

The success of the republic on the continent of Europe was in some degree counterbalanced by the dismemberment of their foreign possessions; since in the course of the summer almost the whole of their West India islands were subjected by the invincible navy of Britain.

Britain. The British fleet and army, under sir John Jervis and sir Charles Grey, rendezvoused early in the year in Carlisle bay at Barbadoes, whence they sailed on the 2d of February to the attack of Martinico. Before the 16th of March the whole island was in possession of the English, except forts Bourbon and Royal; and these surrendered by the 23d. At the former of these general Rochambeau (the son of that respectable commander who in conjunction with general Washington made earl Cornwallis prisoner in America) commanded; and such was the gallant defence made by the garrison, that sir Charles Grey remarks in his dispatch, that "in the fort there was scarcely an inch of ground untouched by the shot and shells of the besiegers." The terms granted to general Rochambeau were on the whole honourable. The French troops engaged not to serve against the allies during the war; a commodious vessel was to be allowed for the general and his suite, and other vessels to the soldiers of the line, to return to France. On the policy of one article some doubts may be entertained. General Rochambeau particularly requested the freedom of those slaves whom he had previously liberated; but the British general insisted that they should be returned to their owners. It might perhaps have been more consistent with policy not to attempt to reduce to slavery men who had once experienced the blessings of liberty; a compensation might perhaps have been equally acceptable to their owners; and the slaves, who could have no interest in the quarrel, further than the advantage of obtaining their personal freedom, might possibly have been induced to incorporate with the royal forces. In making this observation, we have not the slightest intention of casting any reflection on that excellent commander, who certainly (as far as war can be conceived lawful in a religious view, of which however we entertain strong doubts) performed his duty to his country most honourably and gallantly; and, considering the small force with which he was entrusted, literally performed wonders. The instructions of sir Charles Grey might not extend so far as to allow him to make compensation to the owners; and he might naturally conclude, that to grant liberty to the slaves without a compensation, would greatly tend to alienate the minds of the planters from the British interests.

About the same period cape Tiburon in St. Domingo was reduced by lieutenant colonel Whitlock, and a considerable quantity of ordnance and stores was taken. The parishes of Jean Rabel, St. Marc, Arcahayé, Roncasin, and Leogane, in the same island, submitted also to commodore Ford. Shortly afterwards the post of L'Acul, six miles from Leogane, which was garrisoned by about 600 men, was taken by storm by colonel Whitlock. It is well known that the French convention have uniformly asserted, that the conquests of Britain have only been made by the agency of gold. We should be sorry to credit such an insinuation; not only because we have abundant proofs of the bravery of the British forces both by land and sea, but because we do not know a greater censure that could attach to our present ministry than such a circumstance. It is ever a sign of weakness, not to speak of want of principle, in a minister

ruffer to attempt to conquer by any other than fair and open warfare; such as the customs of nations have authorised, and such as real statesmen have uniformly practised. It is a further impeachment of this mean and contemptible mode of carrying on hostilities to say that it never succeeds; and our readers must recollect, that, in the late war a bribe offered to one of the members of congress did more mischief to the British cause in America, than the utmost military misconduct could have effected. Even an enemy should be convinced that he has honest and honourable men to deal with. It is therefore with pain that we record any fact which tarnishes the honour of Britons, and occasions a gallant nation, through the mistakes of her ministers, to be held up to the eyes of Europe as an assemblage of usurers or sharpers, who must descend to the most contemptible arts to achieve success. As Englishmen our spirit revolts at the imputation; and by expressing ourselves warmly on the occasion we feel we are doing a great act of justice to our country, which ought not to be chargeable with the misconduct of its ministers. In the month of February a correspondence was entered into between colonel Whitlock and the French general Layaux, who commanded at Port au Paix in St. Domingo. That we may not be accused of misrepresentation, we cite the proposal and the answer at length. In a letter dated the 9th of February colonel Whitlock expresses himself in the following terms:—"I now, therefore, in the name of his Britannic majesty, do hereby offer to you the same protection, on condition that you shall first deliver the town and forts of Port de Paix and its dependences into the possession of the British government; which being complied with, the officers and soldiers serving under your command shall enjoy the same favours as have been granted to those of the Mole, leaving it to the bounty of his majesty to grant to yourself the rank he shall judge proper. I further add that as a reward for the confidence which I demand of you in the name of the government which I serve, the sum of five thousand crowns (ecus) Tournois shall be paid to you in person, or deposited in the bank of England, payable to your order, on your delivering the town of Port de Paix, with the forts, artillery, ammunition, provisions, &c. &c. without any damage or devastation having been committed on them, into the hands of the officer whom I will appoint to receive them, as also the ships of war which may be in the same port. I shall be at Leogane next Wednesday, where any flag of truce you shall please to send me shall be received and respected."

The answer of Lavaux reflects great honour upon his character: that part of it which is in reply to the above proposal is as follows:—"Permit me now to complain to yourself of the indignity you have offered me in thinking me so vile, so flagitious, so base, as not to resent an offer of five thousand crowns Tournois. In this you have wronged yourself. I am a general; hitherto I have been worthy to command the army. You have endeavoured to dishonour me in the eyes of my comrades; this is an offence between you and me for which you owe me satisfaction; I demand it in the name of honour, which must exist among all nations: therefore, [illegible] precious

revious to any general action, I ffer you a single combat till either f us falls, leaving to you the choice f arms either on foot or horseack; then, if victorious, I shall ave proved myself worthy to comand republicans: if I fall gloously, the republican army will ave another leader still more forridable, and every individual in the rmy will imitate my example.

"Your quality of enemy in the ame of your nation did not give ou a right to offer me a personal ifult; as a private person I ask safaction for an injury done me by n individual.

"I must tell you that the English apers you send me are not eonormable to the news we receive rom France. Our two nations ave often made war with each ther, but always with equal weaons: cease then to attack us by enders of money. Let us be qually generous, let us contend in honourable hostility, and let us scorn the arts of seduction.

"The enemy made prisoner of war with arms in his hands commands respect, as he merits esteem. The universe has its eyes upon us; the universe will say, there still exist men who preferred death to dishonour; we shall serve as examples to all military men, and your country itself will testify its approbation. We have always before our eyes the proverb which says, the treason pleases us well, but the traitor is detested."

It is an act of justice to the character of colonel Whitlock, as a soldier and a gentleman, to add, that the proposal does not appear to have originated with himself. Besides the use which he has made of his majesty's name, it is not probable that he would make himself answerable for such a sum being *lodged in the bank of England.* It is evident therefore that in this instance the colonel acted only agreeably to his orders, and probably with reluctance obeyed the disgraceful instructions of ministers.

To the uncommon activity of sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis their brilliant success must be chiefly ascribed. They scarcely afforded time to their enemies to put themselves upon their guard; and before the conquest of one island could, according to all common calculation, well be accomplished, they appeared in full force at another. The reduction of Martinico was no sooner effected, than without the loss of a moment the troops, ordnance, &c. were re-embarked; and the fine island of St. Lucia was completely subjected to the dominion of Great Britain on the 4th of April. The ordnance and stores which were captured were considerable; but the reduction of the island was happily effected without much slaughter on either side. Major general Dundas on this occasion, as well as at Martinico, greatly distinguished himself.

After leaving colonel sir Charles Gordon to command at St. Lucia, the indefatigable general re-embarked with the troops on the very day the conquest of the island was achieved, and returned on the 5th of April to Martinico. Here, on the 6th and 7th, he shifted the troops from the king's ships to the transports, took on board the ordnance, stores, and provisions, and sailed on the morning of the 8th. Four ships, viz. the Quebec, captain Rogers, the Blanche, captain Faulkner, the Ceres, captain Incledon, and the Rose, captain Scott, were detached to attack the small islands called the Saints, which they executed with great

gallantry and spirit, and carried them all early in the morning without loss. The Boyne, the admiral's ship, on board of which was the commander in chief, and the Veteran, anchored off Point-a-Petre in Guadaloupe on the morning of the 10th, and some more of the fleet in the course of the afternoon. Without waiting, however, for the arrival of all the troops, the British general made a landing at Gosier-bay at one o'clock on the morning of the 11th. The landing was covered by lord Garlies in the Winchelsea, who placed his ship so close to the batteries on shore, that the soldiers could not stand to their guns, and the batteries were soon silenced. In effecting this service, his lordship was slightly wounded. At five o'clock in the morning of the 12th, sir Charles Grey carried by storm a strong post, which was called fort Fleur d'Epée: the troops being ordered not to fire, but to execute every thing with the bayonet. This success served to put them in immediate possession of Grande Terre; which was followed on the 20th by the surrender of Basseterre by a capitulation, which included the whole island of Guadaloupe, with Marie Galante, Desirada, and all the dependencies of that government. The terms were the same as those granted to general Rochambeau at Martinico.

From a return found among the French general Collot's papers, it appeared, that the number of men able to carry arms in Guadaloupe was 5877; and that the number of fire-arms actually delivered out to them was 4044. The French lost 232 men killed, wounded, and prisoners at fort Fleur d'Epée: the loss of the English at the same place was about 80; and at Basseterre only 11. After these glorious successes sir Charles Grey returned to Martinico, leaving general Dundas to command at Guadaloupe.

The progress of the British arms in the Mediterranean was not so rapid as in the West Indies; yet, on the whole, since the evacuation of Toulon, they may be considered as successful. After leaving Toulon, lord Hood cruized for some time off Hieres bay; and early in the month of February proceeded for Corsica, which was in a state of revolt against the authority of the convention. The tower and garrison of Mortella surrendered on the 10th of that month: the tower of Tornelli was abandoned by the republicans on the 17th; and in two days after they evacuated St. Fiorenza, and retreated to Bastia; whither they were followed as soon as possible by lord Hood. The number of persons capable of bearing arms in Bastia originally amounted to no more than 3000 men. The fortifications were not in the best state, and the garrison but indifferently provided; yet they made a most gallant defence against the united efforts of the British fleet and army, joined by a considerable corps of Corsicans, which Paoli had collected and dispatched thither; and resisted till the 19th of May, when lord Hood, "in consideration of the very gallant defence made by the garrison of Bastia, and from principles of humanity," offered honourable terms to the commandant Gentili; which in the situation of the garrison it would have been desperation to reject. In consequence of this negotiation, the garrison on the 24th marched out with the honours of war, and Bastia was taken possession of by the English. The loss of

of the French has not been ascertained on this occasion; that of the English was not considerable.

In consequence of this success, the whole island submitted to the British arms, except the town of Calvi; and the arrangements which have been already noticed, were made with respect to the annexing of Corsica to the British crown.

Of the importance of this island to either party, we profess ourselves not qualified to form a correct estimate. That the old government of France considered it of some consequence, is evident from the efforts which were made for its reduction in 1768. The loss of the island on the present occasion is certainly to be attributed in part, if not chiefly, to the execrable system of terror introduced under the usurpation of Robespierre. General Paoli is well known in England; and though not remarkable for talents, he has been ever considered as a well-meaning person. It would be a conclusion most uncandid and illiberal, both to him and to the British ministry, to say, that when he resigned the pension he enjoyed from the British government, and returned to his native country under the sanction of the constituent assembly, he acted not from a regard to the principles of liberty, but in concert with the British ministry, and for the base purpose of provoking his countrymen to rebellion against the government they had accepted. The more rational conclusion is, that he acted under the influence of a natural apprehension, excited by the severities of the revolutionary government, and consulted his personal safety in negotiating with England. Of all systems of government, that of *terror* is not only the most unjust and detestable, but the most unsafe and unpermanent. The man whose obedience is only secured by his fears, will undoubtedly embrace the first opportunity of withdrawing his allegiance, if allegiance it can be called: and such we have little doubt was the case with Paoli and the Corsicans. With respect to the constitution which they have adopted, the people of that country have certainly no reason to object to it, if the people of Great Britain are equally satisfied. If the former can enjoy all the advantages of freedom, while the latter defray all the expences of government, there cannot, on one side at least, be much room for complaint. In this constitution we could have wished that the glorious and inestimable privilege of *trial by jury* had been established in civil as well as criminal cases.

The town of Calvi resisted under the gallant Casabianca till the 10th of August, when it surrendered on terms of capitulation. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and were transported at the expence of Great Britain to Toulon.

That the military force of Britain is inadequate to the maintenance of a contest on the continent of Europe with so populous, enterprising, and warlike a nation as France, must be evident to every man conversant with modern history; and experience should have taught our statesmen, that but little reliance is to be placed on that mercenary aid, which is procured solely by the influence of money from the treacherous courts of Germany. It is, however, a truth equally obvious, and ought to be consolatory to Englishmen, that no circumstance has ever yet occurred to lessen our confidence in the ma-

ritime superiority of Britain: and, indeed, according to all human probability, in the most prosperous circumstances of France, a series of years must elapse before that nation can possibly support a serious contest with us at sea. The British ministry and the French convention have therefore been equally guilty of error: the former in diverting the wealth and resources of the state from their natural channel to the ruinous purpose of a land war; and the latter in attempting to shake by a feeble, shattered, and ill-appointed navy, the well-established empire of Britain on the sea.

The conduct of the war on the part of Great Britain should have undoubtedly been to leave the contest on the continent to those powers who were more interested in it, when it is probable their exertions would have been more sincere and more vigorous. A strong line of posts might have been drawn to defend the Dutch frontier, with a much smaller force than Great Britain employed: and in the mean time the foreign dominions of France might have been attacked with a moral certainty of success by sea; her ports blocked up, and her trade annihilated. On the other hand, while France continued to send out only detached cruizers and small squadrons, the trade of England was dreadfully harassed. In the month of May, 99 ships were taken by the French; and only one, a frigate of 38 guns, was made prize of by the English: ten of the above were outward-bound, and four homeward-bound West India ships; and one the Lisbon packet, with a large sum of money on board.

In the month of May, the French were induced to depart from this system of naval hostilities, which was certainly the only mode in which they could distress an enemy so powerful at sea as Great Britain; and, anxious for the fate of a large convoy, which was hourly expected from America, conveying home the principal produce of their West India islands, the Brest fleet to the amount of 25 sail of the line ventured to sea, under the command of rear-admiral Villaret, with the representative of the people Jean Bon St. André on board the admiral's ship, La Montagne.

As the British admiral lord Howe was not uninformed of the expected convoy, he had proceeded to sea early in the fame month, with 26 ships of the line, in the hope of intercepting it. On the 19th, as his lordship was cruizing off Brest, he received information, that the French fleet had a few days before put to sea; and he received on the same evening advices from rear-admiral Montague, who was cruizing in those seas, which made it proper, if possible, to form a junction with the rear-admiral, which would have given the British a very great superiority; but, on the 21st, he again received certain intelligence that the French were but a few leagues to the westward, and the British admiral was obliged to alter his course accordingly.

Early in the morning of the 28th, the French fleet was discovered by the advanced frigates far distant on the weather-bow of the English admiral. They came down for some time in loose order, as if unapprized that they had the British fleet in view. After hauling to the wind when they came nearer, they were some hours before they could completely form in regular order of battle; and this circumstance

circumstance afforded time for the detached part of the British fleet commanded by rear-admiral Pasley to be placed advantageously for effecting an impression on their rear; and in the mean time the whole of the English fleet was making a nearer approach.

In the report of Jean Bon St. Andre, he observes, that while the two fleets continued manœuvring, one of the ships, Le Revolutionnaire, from motives not understood by the rest of the fleet, slackened its sails on the approach of the English; and admiral Pasley, taking advantage of this circumstance, led on his division, and attacked this vessel. In the conflict, the British rear-admiral had his topmast disabled. Assistance was therefore immediately ordered; and lord Hugh Seymour in the Leviathan pushed up also to attack the Revolutionnaire, and was supported by captain Parker of the Audacious. The captain of the Revolutionnaire was killed, and the vessel greatly damaged. The English accounts add, that she struck to the Audacious. Night, however, put an end to the conflict; and in the morning a French ship (L'Audacieux) fell in with the Revolutionnaire, and towed it into Rochefort.

The two fleets continued within sight of each other during the whole night; and on the morning of the 29th lord Howe gave the signal for the fleet to tack, with an intention of making some further impression on the rear of the French. On this manœuvre, the French also wore from van to rear, and continued edging down in a line to engage the van of the British. Lord Howe then made the signal for passing through the enemy's line; and a very severe action commenced. The Cæsar, the leading ship of the British van, however, not keeping to the wind, the movement of passing the French line appeared likely to fail of the proposed effect: the Queen Charlotte therefore (the admiral's ship) was immediately tacked, and (followed by the Bellerophon and Leviathan) passed through the action between the fifth and sixth ships of the French line. The admiral then put about again, in preparation for renewing the attack; but the rest of the British fleet being at this time passing to leeward, and without the sternmost ships of the French line, the latter wore again to the eastward in succession to succour their disabled ships in the rear. Having succeeded in that operation, the French wore round again, and stood away in order of battle on the larboard tack, followed by the British fleet in the same order. The fleets then remained separated a few miles, in view at times on the intermission of a thick fog, which lasted for the greater part of the two following days.

Having, in the course of the above manœuvres, obtained the weather-gage of the French, on the 1st of June an opportunity presented itself for bringing them to close action; which the British commander determined to improve, and the ships bore up together for that purpose between seven and eight o'clock in the morning. The French fleet consisted of 26 ships of the line, four of which, however, had been exhausted by a long cruize with rear-admiral Neuilly; and the English force was only 25, the Audacious having parted company after the engagement with the Revolutionnaire. A close and desperate engagement ensued, and

both fleets exhibited prodigies of valour. All the advantages of skill and discipline, however, were on the side of the English seamen; and even the ships of the French were in general so old and crazy, that they had suffered very considerably by the manœuvring previous to the action. Several of the ships on both sides were dismasted, and the carnage was dreadful. One French ship of the line, Le Vengeur of 74 guns, was sunk during the action. The magnanimity and patriotic enthusiasm of the crew of this vessel must command our admiration, however we may regret the havoc of the human species, which is ever attendant on a state of war. After the lower deck guns were under water, and destruction inevitable, they continued to fire the upper tier; and at the moment the ship went to the bottom, the air resounded with the cry of "Vive la republique, Vive la liberté, et la France!"

In less than an hour after the close action commenced, the French admiral, who had been engaged by the Queen Charlotte, crowded off, and was followed by most of the ships in his van in condition to carry sail, leaving ten or twelve of his crippled or dismasted ships behind. Such, however, was the disabled state of the majority of the British fleet, that several of these afterwards escaped; and two or three, even under a spritsail singly, or a smaller sail raised on the stump of a foremast, could not be detained. Six remained in the possession of the British admiral, and were brought safe into Plymouth, viz. La Juste of 80 guns; La Sans Pareille of 80; L'America 74; L'Achille 74; L'Impétueux 74, and Northumberland 74: these with Le Vengeur, which was sunk, made the whole loss of the French amount to seven ships of the line. The French must have lost a very considerable number of men. The captain of La Montagne was killed, and nearly 300 men were killed or wounded on board the same ship. In the ships that were taken, 600 men were killed, and 580 wounded, and 300 are computed to have perished in Le Vengeur.* The return of killed on board the English fleet was 272, and of wounded 787.

The French were consoled in some degree for this humiliating defeat by the attainment of the object for which they risked the engagement. Their American convoy, amounting to 160 sail, valued at five millions sterling, and conveying a considerable quantity of provisions and naval stores, arrived safe in port a few days after the engagement. The British ministry have on this occasion been charged both with "neglect in procuring information, and supineness in acting even when by accident they have acquired intelligence." Indeed it is not easy to conjecture by what means this valuable convoy escaped. Admiral Montague must have been without proper information, if it be true, as is affirmed, that his squadron was seen off the Lizard two days after the engagement; and even when he was sent to intercept the convoy, it is said, his force was "so palpably deficient, that he was compelled to be the humble and mortified spectator of the whole fleet and convoy's triumphant entry into port L'Orient."

A very curious and interesting

* Plowden's Short History, p. 163.

view

er of the state of France at this period, was taken by a bold and apparently intelligent observer, who, it is said, was employed by the British ministry for that purpose; and who, under various pretences, though an emigrant, was enabled to reside in France for a considerable time. In some instances his information appears exaggerated, but the correctness of his general statement has been confirmed by subsequent events; we shall therefore present our readers with a short abstract of it, as a proper introduction to the extraordinary scenes which they will presently be called to contemplate.

"The power, the action, the right of sovereignty (M. Montgaillard observes, speaking of the present period, May 1794) are concentrated in the committee of public safety. The thirty committees, amongst whom are divided the labours of the convention, have no share in the government; they are entirely ignorant of the measures which are exclusively taken by the committee of public safety; but the greatest activity every where reigns in the execution; laws are made, roads constructed, and canals dug, all at the same instant. The most abundant resources are lavished; public schools instituted, and the French language is carried to the foot of the Pyrenees, and amidst the heaths of the Lower Britany. One sitting frequently produces thirty decrees upon objects the most remote; orders fifty millions to execute them, and erects every where scaffolds to maintain them. In finances, the convention is richer than united Europe. Seven ninths of the soil belong to the republic; and this continual pledge of paper credit is now become inexhaustible. By the rapidity with which property is exchanged, and always to the advantage of the assembly, they have already conceived the project to nationalize the whole soil of France, to register the territory, like a public debt, in the *Grand Livre*; and to resume the property of the clergy and nobility, purchased, as they pretend, at a price much inferior to their actual value. About twenty millions sterling in gold and silver are deposited in the coffers of the national convention. The mint of Paris, to which was transported all the bullion of the suppressed provincial mints, contains about three millions of pounds sterling in metal; and daily additions are thrown in by deposits, collections, and penalties. The plunder of the churches produced near 1,350,000l. sterling, and through the whole extent of France there no longer remains a sacred vase, not even in the domestic chapels.

"The military committee, directed by Carnot, La Bette, d'Aussi, and others, draw the plans of attack and defence, combine their operations, and adapt their military tactics to the spirit of the revolution. From the memoirs, and from all the vestiges of the exploits, the zeal, and intelligence of the great generals, ministers, and statesmen, who adorned the old monarchy, these men have extracted the means of its annihilation. Eight hundred and fifty thousand effective men fight under the orders of the committee of public safety, and this number may be augmented. After the harvest and sowing season have assured the future subsistence

* The Count de Montgaillard,

of

of these new soldiers, when they are no longer useful at home, we may fear that France, in the end of the campaign, will adopt the alarming measure of a war generally offensive."

With a spirit approaching to that of prophecy, the count de Montgaillard foretells the fall of Robespierre and his accomplices; but he adds, even Robespierre may be brought to the block without occasioning any grand convulsion. The spirit of the revolution would survive such events. He intimates however, that it was generally believed in France, "that, if the conditions on which Toulon surrendered, had been *faithfully observed*, a great majority of the nation would by degrees have joined the combined powers."

CHAPTER IX.

Proceedings of the Convention.—Factions in France.—Deputies received from St. Domingo.—Emancipation of the Negroes.—Maximum established.—Reflections on that Subject.—Powers of the Committees enlarged.—Answer to the British Minister.—Party of Hebert—Arrested and executed.—Fabre d'Eglantine and others arrested.—Danton and others arrested and condemned.—Death and Character of Danton.—Executions of General Dillon, Chaumette, Gobet, &c.—Nobles and Foreigners ordered to quit Paris, &c.—Rousseau's Ashes deposited in the Pantheon.—Petition of Gamain.—Trial and Death of Madame Elizabeth.—Decadary Festivals.—Attempts to assassinate Collot d'Herbois and Robespierre.—Decree against the English.—Atrocities of Robespierre.—Cruelty to Prisoners.—Spirited Conduct of Bourdon de L'Oise in a Debate in the Revolutionary Tribunal.—Decline of Robespierre's Power.—Reports on Mendicity and forged Assignats.—Decree respecting Military Promotions.—Violent Debates in the Convention.—Robespierre publicly attacked—Arrested and executed with his Adherents.—Character of Robespierre.—Parallel between him and Cromwell.—Consequences of the Fall of Robespierre.—New Organization of the Committees.—Ambassadors introduced to the Convention.—Factions in the Convention.—Attempt to assassinate Tallien.—Jacobin Club dissolved.—Laws respecting Emigrants.—Commotions at Marseilles.—Lindet's Report on the State of France.—Deputies restored to their Seats.—Trial of Carrier.—Proclamation addressed to the Royalists.—Telegraph.—Balloons.

CONTRARY as a state of war undoubtedly is to every good and sound principle, and hostile as it must be to all the best affections of the human heart, it was in the armies of France that all the active virtue and patriotism of the French nation at this calamitous period resided. Their legislative body was only the scene of faction and depravity. The hall of the convention was the great theatre on which bad men contended for power; and the pyramidal column of tyranny, which was at first formed on a broad basis by the overthrow of the monarchical constitution in 1792, gradually ascended towards its apex, and at length terminated in a point.

The progress of faction, from its first successful attempt at anarchy

to its termination in the despotism of an individual, will form a curious and interesting topic for the future historian. The republican party in 1792 had no sooner accomplished the overthrow of the constitution, than they became themselves divided into two opposite and inveterate parties, that of the Gironde, and that of the Mountain. The latter had no sooner enjoyed an horrid and sanguinary triumph over their unfortunate opponents, than a second division was observed, and the contest lay between the jacobins and gordeliers. The jacobins had no sooner sent their antagonists to the scaffold, than they were once more divided; and, like two stars which cannot move in the same orbit, Robespierre and Danton contended for the sovereignty. The former was triumphant, and fell in his turn; and may his grave prove the grave of faction, of anarchy, and tyranny in France!

The three last of these contests will form the principal subject of the present chapter; but it will be proper previously to notice some other proceedings of the convention. On the 1st of January a decree was passed, that "every general condemned to death should in future be executed at the head of the army which he has attempted to betray." The punishment of flogging was at the same time abolished on board the fleet, as improper for freemen; and other punishments substituted, such as imprisonment, stoppage of pay, reduction of rank, &c.

On the 3d of February, three deputies from the island of St. Domingo were received into the convention, as representatives of that place; one of the deputies was a negro, and the other two of that description of persons who are called men of colour. On the succeeding day, the deputies gave an account of the troubles in that island; and they had no sooner concluded, than La Croix rose to move the entire abolition of slavery within the dominions of France. The national convention rose spontaneously to decree the proposition of La Croix; and the men of colour were all decreed to be French citizens. The most affecting scene took place, and a female negro who attended the sitting fainted with joy at the passing of the decree. On the motion of Danton on the 5th, the convention resolved to refer to the committee of public safety the decree of emancipation, in order that they might provide the most effectual and safest means of carrying it into effect, lest "the too sudden transition from slavery to liberty might prove fatal to those for whose advantage the vote had been decreed."

In the course of some of the preceding sittings, a committee of subsistence had been appointed, and on the 17th of February they brought up to the bar of the convention a table of the *maximum*, or highest prices at which the necessaries of life should be sold throughout the republic. The table comprehended provisions, clothing, grocery, firing, and military stores. Barrere rose to pronounce a panegyric on the labours of this committee, and endeavoured to point out the advantages which must result from such a uniform table as had been presented. He observed, that it would at once defeat the efforts of the ill-disposed and the avaricious. "Let the rich, said he, resign the superfluities of their sumptuous tables, where luxury and vanity alone are fed! Let them cease

cease to consume in one day the food of many months! Let us all impose on ourselves some civic privations! Let us suppress all delicacies calculated for voluptuaries and not for republicans!".

To the conclusions of the orator we are more disposed to accede than to the premises. In a time of national scarcity, it is indeed highly proper that luxury should be restrained: but establishing a maximum of prices can never barely contribute to this end, as the more cheaply provisions are to be obtained, the more likely the voluptuous are to indulge to excess. A maximum can only operate against monopolists, and to prevent extortion; yet even in this respect we much doubt of its effects. To destroy a monopoly, bounties advanced by the state on the importation of commodities are infinitely more effectual; and indeed a law which reduces their price will only encourage the possessors to keep the doors of their granaries closed, and that which might have been rendered useful to the community is perhaps by this false economy destined to be the prey of vermin.

That sumptuary laws might on such occasions be passed with advantage, is obvious. The number of horses and other animals kept for pleasure might be reduced, or the proprietors might be obliged to feed their cattle with grass, and not with corn. Every article of mere vanity, such as hair-powder, might be prohibited; and bread only of a coarser standard than usual ought to be exposed to sale. The slaughter of young animals might be prohibited; fisheries might be encouraged; and all public feasts and entertainments ought to be entirely abolished. If we mistake not, the maximum was the most pernicious measure that could at this period be adopted in France; it was unworthy of the talents of the party who espoused it; and we can only consider it as one of the many sacrifices which they made against their better judgment to the populace of Paris.

On the 26th of February another pernicious decree was passed, which invested the committee of public safety with powers "to set patriots at liberty;" in other words, to dispense pardons: and as they were previously invested with the power of arrest, there is little doubt but a most formidable traffic would have been carried on, had the revolutionary regimen continued to subsist. Another decree was passed at the same time equally tyrannical, viz. "that the effects of such persons as shall be *deemed* enemies to the revolution shall be confiscated to the use of the republic; and the persons imprisoned till peace be restored, and then banished for ever."

At this period an answer was published by authority to the declaration of the British minister relative to his motives for continuing the war. As it is our duty to insert all the information that we can obtain concerning so important a subject, and as the paper in question may also serve to illustrate in some measure the views and objects of the party predominant at this time in France, we shall trespass a little on the patience of the reader, and insert a short abstract of this curious reply.

The answer begins by reciting what is stated in the declaration as the object of the war—namely, "the preservation of that state of civil society, happily established in the several nations of Europe."

The

The greater part of the governments of Europe being in their nature despotic, this part of the declaration is treated as the direct avowal of a purpose to use the resources of Great Britain for the end of perpetuating "the blessings of despotism."—"If this be the object, the answer proceeds to say—it is easy to conceive what part is to be acted in a country where despotism has been overthrown. It follows, as a necessary consequence, that famine, fire, and sword are to be employed to replunge that country into its ancient state of slavery.

"The English minister, always faithful to his principles, rejoices in his manifesto on the approaching prospect of success in this laudable enterprise. He sees every event through the telescope of his wishes. He is so ardent as to take the vision for a reality; and, like Macbeth grasping the ideal dagger, reasons on the fiction as if it were an existing object."

It is stated in the declaration, that a desire for the restoration of monarchy prevailed "almost universally" in France. But where, the answer proceeds to inquire, was the manifestation of their desire to be found? Was it in La Vendée? If it was, the small crusade of banditti in that quarter, though sustained by English gold and furnished with English arms, had been put to the rout, and their leaders punished as traitors to their country. Was it in Lyons or in Toulon? The comparatively small party which had been excited in those towns by the perfidious stratagems of the English minister, had been defeated and punished in the same manner. The latter town was said to have been induced to revolt "by their confidence in the English government!"—After corrupting the commandants of the place to deliver up the town, the effects of corruption are quoted, with consummate effrontery, as so many proofs of the confidence of the citizens!

After having established the motives which induce him to continue the war, the English minister, says the answer, proceeds to state the conditions "on which he will consent to make a peace." He states his ardent desire to see himself in a condition to treat for the re-establishment of general tranquillity. But how are these protestations realized, or his "just and moderate propositions" stated? If he wished for peace as much as he pretends to do, these propositions would at least be clearly laid down. He would not avail himself of any circumlocution—of any subterfuge. But what does the British minister say on this subject?—He states, in the first instance, that he does not contest, in any shape, the right of France to reform her laws; that he does not wish to influence by any external force the form of the government to be established in an independent nation. He adds, that such an object was never within the limits of his desire!

"If there had been one word of truth in these assertions, the obstacles to a peace might have been easily removed. He had nothing to do, but to recall his fleets and armies—to concede to the French their indubitable right to form a government for themselves, and a negotiation for the re-establishment of peace would naturally have followed.

"But what shall be said if all that he has advanced on this subject is found to be nothing more than falsehood and imposture; and that his

his professions are contradicted by himself almost in the instant that they are uttered?

"In the very next passage of the declaration the British minister promises "a suspension of hostilities; and friendship, safety, and protection, as far as the course of events will permit, to all Frenchmen who, by declaring for a *monarchical* government, shall shake off the yoke of anarchy."—He invites the French people to co-operate for that purpose—to serve under the colours of an hereditary monarchy—and to unite, under the empire of law, morality, and religion. This is the man who rejects the influence of all exterior force. This is the man who desires not to interfere in the internal form of the French government. The minister of England desires peace so ardently, that he dictates the very terms on which he knows it will not be accepted!

"Whilst he complains against anarchy, he himself excites sedition. He invites the minority of the French nation to revolt against the majority; to oppose themselves to the general will; and to take up arms for the purpose of establishing an absolute *monarchy*. He states, at the same time, the number of "well-disposed" persons in France, and to these he addresses particularly his declaration. This description of persons, he omits to state, consists of honest bankrupts, of priests without faith or law, of starving nobles and insolent prostitutes, of pickpockets out of employ, and of knights of industry of the order of St. Louis;—of men who live like *worms* but from corruption, and exist like *mushrooms* only on the dunghill."

After some reflections on the late queen of France, and a comparison between her and the princess Sophia of Hanover, which we forbear to recite, the answerer passes to a review of the present situation of France.

This country, he observes, is now in a revolutionary state. It turns on its political axis, and tends by its gravitation to the centre of liberty. The laws are the necessary result of the exigency of the moment; they are either mild or rigorous, corrective or encouraging, as the public welfare and the importance of the object proposed may require. England has had its revolution; and it is not just to compare a nation which has effected its revolution, to another now in the crisis of that effort. The former is in a state of repose, the latter in a progressive motion. The answerer, after admitting this difference, proceeds to draw a strong picture of the present state of England. He states, that our boasted laws are like those of *Draco*, written in blood; that they are so confused and contradictory, that not one man in a million can understand them; and yet that to find fault is punished by the pillory, by fine, or by imprisonment.

In the declaration of the British minister, transmitted to the commanders of the English fleets and armies, and which was expected to work miracles; sound, it is added, took the place of sense, and words of argument. In one part, all was menace and haughtiness; in another, all was softness and reconciliation; in one place, the ass brayed, and, in the other, the lion roared. In the exordium, the British minister demanded, for himself and his allies, "a just indemnity." In the middle of the piece he prefers no such demand. In the conclusion, he makes a number of requisitions,

sitions, which he must be confident will not be granted!

He asks, amongst other particulars, that a legitimate and stable government may be established in France. But this was already accomplished. It was only the consent of the people which could give legitimacy to a government. The French republic is founded on the general will, and is therefore a legitimate form of government.

"The time is not far distant, the answer will be in a haughty tone, when necessity will compel the British minister to ask for peace. What will then be the language of France? She will in her turn demand that a stable and legitimate government shall be established in Great Britain; in which the people shall hold the part which belongs to them. The cabinet, the ministers, and the parliament, France will regard in the same point of view as they now consider the republic—as a combination of usurped powers. The people of France will only treat with the people of Great Britain."

Before we proceed to narrate the particulars of the different schisms that successively took place in the mountain party in the course of the year, it will be necessary to carry our attention back to some previous circumstances. Among the different clubs into which the popular leaders were divided at the first aera of the revolution, two of the most distinguished were the jacobins and the cordeliers, both named from holding their meetings in the chapels formerly appropriated to the use of those religious orders. Of the former of these we have frequently had occasion to treat; but the cordeliers were most conspicuous at their fall. Previous to the revolution of the 10th of August, 1792, the jacobins, who were decided republicans, were under the direction of Pethion, Condorcet, Brissot, Roland, and the rest of the Gironde party. The cordeliers were commonly supposed to consist chiefly of the Orleans faction; and their object was said at first to be, to place the unfortunate and ambitious Philip of Orleans upon the throne: the leaders of this club were Robespierre, Danton, and Marat. None of the true and original jacobins were members of the cordelier society; but almost all the cordeliers were jacobins. We have already seen, that after the accession of the Brissotines to office (whether other engagements prevented their constant attendance at the jacobins, or whether having accomplished their object they might neglect the means, we cannot determine) the party of Robespierre and Danton obtained by degrees a total ascendancy in the club of jacobins, and they in their turn appear to have neglected the cordeliers. At the head of this latter society remained Hebert, Vincent, Ronsin, and others; and in connexion with Fabre d'Eglantine, Camille Desmoulins, &c. this was the party which produced the new calendar, and carried by their clamour and intrigues the horrid decree in the preceding year for the abolition of the christian worship. The connexion with these deputies was however, it appeared, afterwards dissolved, and converted into hatred and opposition on the part of Hebert. The odium which this party had brought upon itself by the execrable measure of abolishing religious worship, and probably the secret ambition of its leaders, rendered it expedient to the views of Robespierre to rid himself of them by the speediest means; and indeed

indeed the sacrifice of Hebert and his connexion was evidently only a preliminary to still bolder measures. Hebert, who was at the head of the municipality of Paris, and whose arrest by the commission of twelve, previous to the 31st of May 1793, had been the signal of revolt to the adherents of the mountain party, had hitherto been the devoted instrument of Robespierre: but observing the facility with which revolutions were effected in Paris, or fearing perhaps that the perfidy of the man whom he had assisted in his elevation might bring him in his turn to the scaffold, he determined to endeavour to effect a new change. Not only the religious principles of the cordeliers at this time were in the extreme of depravity, but their civil tenets were scarcely less exceptionable. To conciliate the populace, they adopted the wildest theories, preached equality in the utmost extent, and recommended publicly an agrarian law. With these tenets their dress and appearance corresponded. They emulated the squalid externals of those who were honoured with the appellation of *sans culottes*. Long trowsers, working jackets, black wigs, red caps, and pantaloons formed the fashionable wardrobe of these *enragés*.

Hebert was the author of a journal, which was entitled Pere du Chesne. In this journal he commenced his attack upon the convention and the jacobins, by inveighing against Fabre d'Eglantine, Camille Desmoulins and other deputies, as Brissotines. In the beginning of March, the table of the rights of man in the hall of the cordeliers was covered with a black crape; and Hebert from the tribune of the society asserted, "that tyranny existed in the republic." The section of Marat by the instigation of this party declared itself in a state of insurrection, but the example was not followed by the other sections of Paris. In conclusion, Hebert, Ronsin, Vincent and others, who were esteemed as the chiefs of the conspiracy, were arrested on the 25th of March, and ordered before the revolutionary tribunal. It was in vain that Hebert in his journal affirmed, that he was not present when the club of cordeliers passed the resolution to throw a black veil over the table of the rights of man; it was in vain he affirmed that he meant not to glance at Robespierre in his denunciation against Camille Desmoulins, Phillipeaux, &c. He was brought before the fatal tribunal on the 21st of March, with Momoro; Ronsin; Vincent; Ducroquet, a hair-dresser, commissioner against monopolists in the section of Marat; Koch, a Dutch banker; Laumur, colonel in the 6th regiment of infantry; Bourjeois, a joiner; Mazuel, a shoemaker; Laboureau, a student of physic; Anguard, a glover; Leclerc, chief of the second division of the war department; Proly, formerly a merchant, and afterwards the editor of a daily print; Dessieux, a wine-merchant; Anacharsis Clootz, formerly a deputy of the convention; Pereyra, a snuff and tobacco manufacturer; Marie Anne Lairlil, the wife of Quetineau; Armand, a student of surgery; Descombles, formerly a grocer's shopman; and Dubuisson, a man of letters.

The following are the most material of a list of charges, which were set forth at great length in the act of accusation:

"That the conspiracy tended to restore despotism, and to murder the

the representatives of the people; that the tyrants who wage to govern the French nation, was first to have borne the title of the regicides.

"That the English government and the allied powers were the real chiefs of that conspiracy, and made use of men invested with the public confidence, namely Hebert, Ronsin, Momoro, and Vincent; whose only ambition was to obtain places and wealth by the revolution, that they might indulge their vices and excesses.

"That the principal conspirators, Ronsin, Hebert, Vincent and Laumur, used to meet at night at Passy, at the house of the Dutch banker, Koch, where they concerted their plans, and revelled in debauchery till late in the morning.

"That each of the conspirators had a part prescribed for him; that Ronsin with Mazuel went to the different houses of arrest, to take down the names of all those prisoners whom they thought the fittest to execute their plots.

"That Hebert and Vincent would at one time denounce the bad citizens, at another the courageous defenders of the people, to mislead the public opinion, and to involve in one common ruin the national representation and all the patriots, as the authors of the want of provisions, while it was manifest that they alone, in concert with Ronsin and Mazuel, kept a part of the revolutionary army in the most shameful inactivity.

"That those same conspirators, with their accomplices Momoro, Ducroquet, Laboureau, Ancard and Bourgeois, proposed to cover the rights of man with a funeral crape.

"That the above parties went to all the public places to calumniate and vilify the national representation.

"That they calumniated in a like manner the members of the committees of public and general safety, and demanded the renewal of the national representation.

"That the system of reducing Paris by famine was pursued by all the conspirators at one and the same time; that the public functionaries, in different communes, gave orders, in consequence of this plot, that no provisions should be brought to Paris, in order to bring on the crisis which was to restore despotism and tyranny.

"That it was the design of Ronsin to employ the revolutionary army in the execution of this dreadful plot: that Ronsin wished that the revolutionary army consisted of 100,000 instead of 6000 men; which manifested his desire of being a Cromwell, were it only for twenty-four hours.

"That this fictitious famine made every day a greater progress.

"That the conspirators inflamed the people, by making them believe that this famine was occasioned by their representatives, whom they intended to massacre.

"That Vincent declared that he would dress out mannikins like representatives of the people, and place them in the Thuilleries, to call the people around him, and to tell them, 'Behold the fine representatives you have; they preach plainness, and this is the way they dress!' That this system of vilifying the national representation, formed by Vincent and his accomplices, corresponded exactly with the plans of the leagued despots.

"That other conspirators, namely, Dessieux, Pereyra, Proly, and Descombes, even published the

names of those representatives whom they wished to murder; and that they circulated by their agents incendiary bills throughout Paris and the adjacent communes, exhorting the people to rebel against the national representation and the constituted authorities.

"That pamphlets and bills were distributed in all the public markets and places, stirring up the people to open the prisons, that the conspirators and their accomplices might more speedily exterminate the representatives.

"That false patroles were to massacre the citizens on duty in the houses of arrest; that the conspirators meant to seize the mint and the national treasury; but that the convention, at the moment when the conspiracy was to break out, published a decree against the parties concerned." &c.

The principal evidences were Louis Legendre, deputy to the national convention, and Louis Pierre Dufourni, architect; but their testimony went no further than to prove some rash and intemperate expressions which had been used by the prisoners; and the charges we must say were very ill supported by the evidence. Laboureau was the only man who was acquitted; though to convict any man upon such evidence, whatever might be his demerits, was only a formal murder. The wretched maniac, Anacharsis Clootz, was of course among the condemned, and was the only man who attempted to speak; and he appealed, but in vain, to the *human race*, whose *orator* and ambassador he had declared himself. Clootz however met death, we are informed, with more firmness than might have been expected from his general character and his atheistical principles. Hebert and his colleagues passed their time, when together, like the fallen spirits in Milton, in mutual accusation, till Clootz with a loud voice recited to them those well known lines:

"Je revois cette nuit, que de mal consumé,
Côté à côté d'un gueux on m'avoit inhumé;
Et que, blessé pour moi d'un pareil voisinage,
En mort de qualité je lui tins ce langage."

This citation had the effect he wished: they became reconciled to each other; and Clootz, whose only apprehension was lest any of them should die in religious belief, preached atheism to them till their last sigh.

As the characters of Hebert and the principal conspirators, as they were called, commanded no respect; so their fate excited no compassion; they were executed amidst the applauses of the surrounding multitude, and at the falling of the guillotine the air was rent with shouts of *Vive la Republique!*

The success and popularity of Robespierre on this prosecution encouraged him immediately to bring forward a new group of traitors; and, to the astonishment of every man, Fabre d'Eglantine and others of the deputies, for the reviling of whom Hebert had been condemned, were among the principal culprits. With Fabre d'Eglantine, Chabot the famous ex-capuchin friar, a man notoriously venal and corrupt, was arrested with his two brothers-in-law, the bankers of the name of Frey, Julien of Toulouse, Bazire and Delaunay of Angers. The substance of the accusation preferred against them by Amar, the reporter of the committees of public and general safety, related chiefly to

to some stock-jobbing transactions; and it seemed to be clearly proved against them, that they made use of the situations which they held under the republic for the purpose of amassing large fortunes; and that in some instances they had accepted of bribes. These proceedings Robespierre attempted to construe into a counter-revolutionary project, and a design to degrade the convention by exhibiting such infamous conduct in the persons of its deputies: and Amar asserted that they maintained a venal correspondence with the combined powers; which might be true, but of which there was no competent evidence. Other parts of the charge were ridiculous, and only calculated to act on the mean and senseless prejudices of the populace. The bankers Frey were described as unworthy republicans, because they had been ennobled by Maria Theresa, and had a brother in the imperial army; and because they were able to give to Chabot 200,000 livres as a marriage portion with their sister. It was further asserted that they had attempted to send a letter with 50 louis in gold to the son of Louis Capet in the Temple, to enable that unfortunate infant to effect his escape. A charge utterly incredible and absurd.

The unfortunate Danton took part in the convention against the accused deputies, and in a few days after pleaded strongly for confidence in the committees of public and general safety; unconscious (so short-sighted are the faculties of man) that he was soon to be implicated in the fate of the persons whom he censured, and to accompany them to the scaffold.

A secret rivalship and deep-rooted enmity had long subsisted between Danton and Robespierre—at least it was strongly cherished by the latter—though the address and eloquence of Danton, it is believed, had saved him from the decree of accusation which Louvet had moved against him, relative to the massacres of September 1792. Danton indeed was the only person whom Robespierre could regard in the light of a formidable rival, and it became necessary to the projects of the latter that he should be removed. Of the progress of the quarrel between them we are destitute of information: but, a very short time before the arrest of Danton, an interview was brought about between them by the influence of a common friend, in the hope of effecting a reconciliation. Danton, after a long conversation, finding it impossible to make an impression on his implacable rival, who heard him with a look of insult and malignity, is said to have burst into tears, and to have left the room with the prophetic exclamation, "I see that my fate is decided, but my death will be your ruin."

Danton, Lacroix, Philippeaux, and Camille Desmoulins were arrested on the 31st of March. The real crime of the last was a satirical parallel between the revolutionary government of France and the capricious tyranny of the Roman emperors, which he published in a periodical paper, of which he was the editor, termed the "Old Cordelier." Philippeaux, it is said, had mortally offended by exposing the horrors and cruelties which he had witnessed in La Vendée, whither he had been sent on mission. Legendre, who was in habits of intimacy with Danton and Lacroix, made a bold speech in their favour, and moved that they should be heard at the bar. He asserted strongly his own integrity, and ad-

ded that "he believed Danton as pure as himself." A person who was present at this scene in the convention observed, that the habitual firmness of Robespierre never appeared more shaken than on this occasion. He replied to Legendre with more than usual passion and vivacity; he ran into a long declamation on the vices, corruption, and venality of Lacroix; and concluded by saying that he had been himself the friend of Danton, so he had been of Brissot, Petion, &c. but he ceased to be their friend when they shewed themselves enemies to the republic. The motion he contended was inadmissible, as it had been denied to Chabot, Fabre d'Eglantine, and Bazire. Herault Sechelles, Simon, Chaumette the procureur of the commune of Paris, and Gobet the ex-bishop, who had disgraced himself and his profession by the public renunciation of his functions, had been arrested a few days before, all as accomplices with Fabre d'Eglantine, &c. General Westermann, who was also charged as an accomplice, had been some time under arrest.

Though Danton was ambitious, he is said also to have had a tincture of avarice in his composition, and not to have been perfectly free from all suspicion of public peculation. It was expected therefore, that the act of accusation would turn upon the same points with that of Chabot and Fabre d'Eglantine; but it did not: it consisted principally of vague declamations, involving them in the crimes of Dumouriez, Philip of Orleans, and Fabre d'Eglantine, whose accomplices they were declared to have been; and accusing them, but without any specific charge, with being engaged in a new plot for effecting a counter-revolution, for re-establishing monarchy, for destroying the national representation and the republican government. It is remarkable that St. Just, in the report presented on this occasion, makes the profession of atheism * a principal charge against Fabre d'Eglantine. "He soon perceived (said the reporter) to what the destruction of religious worship would lead; and becoming accordingly a loud declaimer against the eternal basis of morality, he attacked providence, denied the immortality of the soul, which comforted Socrates when he swallowed the juice of hemlock; and wished, in concert with his followers, to banish from nature the supreme being. At the head of this system was Chaumette, the flatterer of the people, but the friend of kings; who, when he remitted 30,000 livres to his father, requested of him neither to purchase national domains, nor the confiscated property of the emigrants. Let not the people (continued St. Just) lose sight of the divinity! Those who made religion a pretext for the restoration of royalty, have endeavoured to disseminate among us the horrible doctrine of atheism."

On the morning of the 2d of April, Danton, Fabre d'Eglantine, Lacroix, Chabot, Philippeaux, Camille Desmoulins, Delaunay d'Angers, Herault Sechelles, the abbé d'Espagnac, Gusman, the two Freys, Diendrichen, Lullier, with the celebrated general Westermann, were brought before the revolutionary tribunal. They all evinced much firmness, except Fabre d'Eglantine, who was greatly agitated. Danton in particular appeared from the

* Yet we have been as rudely as ignorantly charged with uttering an *untruth*, in saying that Robespierre and his party courted popularity by affecting a zeal for religion.

very

very first to have been reconciled to his fate. When the usual questions were put to him respecting his name and residence, he replied, "My residence will soon be a nonentity; but my name will live for ever in the Pantheon of history." Herault Sechelles, on being questioned relative to his name and his station before the revolution, answered—that he had formerly possessed a seat in the hall in which he stood, and was detested by the other members of the parliament as being the decided friend of liberty. Chabot had previously taken poison; but an emetic having been administered, his health was restored before the trial. Herault Sechelles and Camille Desmoulins entertained the spectators by completely turning the act of accusation into ridicule; and Danton perplexed and mortified the judges by the sallies of his wit, and the keenness of his invective. His contempt for this mock tribunal was indeed such, that he amused himself with throwing little balls in the faces of the judges. The prisoners professed, "That nothing would have been more glorious than to conspire against a government which itself conspires." They demanded to be confronted with Robespierre and Barrere; but these deputies, under pretence that a plot was formed to assassinate them at the tribunal, refused to attend, and the prisoners consequently refused to answer any further interrogatories, as they insisted that the proceedings were unfair. The committee of public safety were probably not displeased with this declaration, as it afforded them a pretext for shortening proceedings which only increased their embarrassment. The public accuser dispatched a letter to the convention, informing them that the prisoners were in a state of revolt against the tribunal; and, on the motion of St. Just, a decree was passed, "that whoever insults the national justice shall not be heard, but tried (or more properly condemned) immediately." This decree was read to the deputies upon trial on the 5th; but they still persisted in their refusal to answer interrogatories, unless Robespierre, St. Just, and Barrere, could be compelled to attend. The jury therefore, without further hesitation, found Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Lacroix, Philippeaux, Herault Sechelles, and Westermann, guilty of a conspiracy against the republic; and Chabot, Fabre d'Eglantine, Julien de Thoulouse, Despagnac, the two Freys, Gusman, and Diendrichen, guilty of corrupt practices. Lullier only was acquitted.

At two o'clock on the same day sentence was passed upon the prisoners; and at five in the afternoon, they were conveyed in three carts from the Conciergerie to the Place de la Revolution, where the state prisoners were usually executed. They all behaved with great firmness, except Lacroix; and Danton, who was executed last, when he was tied to the plank, cast up his eyes to the fatal axe, and his countenance and figure assumed an air of magnanimity with which the spectators were deeply penetrated.

Danton was a man of great talents. He had been educated to the profession of the law, and from the first of the French revolution had taken an active part, at first as one of the Orleans party, and afterwards on a more extended scale. To his counsels on the 10th of August 1792, the republican party were entirely indebted for

their success, and on that party proving triumphant, he was made minister of justice, which office he shortly after resigned. He was at first considered as being intimately connected with the Brissotines, but soon attached himself to the mountain party, which he greatly strengthened by his eloquence and abilities. His person was large, inclining to corpulency, and his figure was rather prepossessing. As he passed to the scaffold, his head was bare, and the spectators were struck with the resemblance it bore to the medals of Socrates. He possessed much wit and pleasantry, which he displayed occasionally even after every hope of protracted existence was gone. His disposition is said to have been naturally frank and social; but his ambition involved him either as a principal or accessary in the commission of great crimes, a considerable part of which has been faithfully recorded in those melancholy pages which we have devoted to the affairs of France. In private life, and uncontaminated by that great corrupter of the human heart, power, he would probably have been a much better man. In the dungeon of the Conciergerie, he too late regretted the blessings of a retired life. "In revolutions," said he, "the power always remains in the hands of villains. It is better to be a poor fisherman than to govern men. Those fools! they will cry 'Long live the republic!' on seeing me pass to the scaffold. This day last year I caused the revolutionary tribunal to be instituted. I ask pardon of God and of men; it was not that it should become the scourge of humanity; it was to prevent the renewal of the massacres of September."

It is a singular circumstance, that in the short space of two years almost every individual of the principal actors in the revolution of the 10th of August was brought to a violent end. Danton and Westermann, the one who directed and the other who executed the counsels of the insurgents, perished on the same day and on the same scaffold.

The principle once admitted of punishing upon suspicion, and not upon evidence, no boundaries can be prescribed to tyranny and oppression. Among the number of prisoners confined in the former palace, but now the prison, of the Luxembourg, were the deputy Simon and general Arthur Dillon, who had formerly commanded that division of the army which in the campaign of 1792 had so gallantly repulsed the Prussians near the forest of Argonne. Dillon had been in habits of intimacy with Camille Desmoulins, by whose influence and friendly offices he had hoped to obtain his discharge from prison. He was naturally interested in the fate of his friend; and having heard that the spectators and populace had applauded the demand of the deputies at the revolutionary tribunal concerning the appearance of Robespierre and the other members of the committee as evidences, he appears to have flattered himself with the hope that the people would rise in their favour. These hopes he communicated to a fellow prisoner of the name of La Flotte, who had formerly been minister of the republic at Florence: he added "that he was for a republic, but a free republic." It appeared that he had also written a letter to madame Desmoulins, inclosing an order for 1000 crowns, which his accusers asserted was to hire a mob to

to surround the revolutionary tribunal. This letter was given to one of the door-keepers, but never came to the hands of madame Desmoulins. Some conferences were also held between Simon and Dillon in the presence of La Flotte, in which the parties expressed strongly their hopes in favour of the deputies who were then on trial. The substance of these conferences, La Flotte, in the hope of saving his life and obtaining his liberty, communicated to the committee of public welfare, &c.; and on this indistinct charge all the parties, including even madame Desmoulins and the unfortunate door-keeper (whose only crime was omitting to inform the committee of Dillon's letter), with Thouret, another prisoner, who was implicated, we know not how, in the plot, were sent before the revolutionary tribunal, and were condemned and executed.

With madame Desmoulins and Dillon, Chaumette and Gobet suffered; as also general Beysser, accused of counter-revolutionary practices, particularly in La Vendée, where he had commanded, and the wife of Hebert. The spectators sympathised greatly in the fate of the beautiful and innocent madame Desmoulins. General Dillon was not equally respected. His conduct had been always suspicious as a friend to liberty; and whoever perusés the blunt and honest narrative of our countryman general Money will see that Dillon was not the hero of the pass of Biesme, as he pretended; but was actually absent during the action, and while it was so gallantly defended by general Money. In that narrative strong appearances may also be perceived of a design in Dillon to betray that famous pass to the Prussians. Chaumette had been an active instrument of the mountain party in all their transactions; but the only crime that was proved against the unfortunate Gobet was that of atheism, in which at the age of 67 this weak old man was the dupe of Chaumette and Anacharsis Clootz, the famous apostles of incredulity.

While these affairs were in agitation, the convention on the 6th of April decreed, on the motion of Couthon, "That every deputy should be obliged, upon pain of death, to give an account of his revenue before and since the revolution." This decree was intended to obviate a repetition of that peculation, of which some of the deputies who had been condemned were suspected.

A decree of a still more extensive operation was passed on the 16th of April, on the motion also of Couthon; by which all aliens belonging to the countries at war with the republic, and all ex-nobles, were ordered to depart from Paris, and from all fortresses and maritime towns; and several other measures of severity were adopted to prevent counter-revolutionary conspiracies*. A decree was soon after passed, obliging

* As this decree is more important than most of those which were passed at this time, we subjoin it at large.

Art. I. All persons accused of conspiracy in any quarter of the republic shall be conducted to Paris, in order to be tried by the revolutionary tribunal of that capital.

II. The committees of public and general safety shall immediately take measures to arrest all accomplices of conspirators, and shall order them to be conducted before the above tribunal.

obliging all the aged non-juring priests to repair to their respective departments, where houses were to be prepared for their reception. The object of this decree was undoubtedly that their conduct might be more carefully observed; and perhaps, in the present state of the republic, the measure was not wholly unnecessary. Another decree was made, annexing the penalty of banishment to the concealing or harbouring of any ecclesiastic subject to banishment or reclusion.

About the same period an application was made from the widow of J. J. Rousseau, that his remains should be received into the Pantheon. This application was converted into a motion by Lequinio, and decreed with applause. Upon putting the question, the president observed—"That immortal patriot has

III. Popular commissions shall be established on the 15th of Floreal next.

IV. All administrations and civil courts of justice are ordered to decide upon all pending suits, within three months after the publication of this decree, under the penalty of being deprived of their functions. All private law-suits shall, for the future, be terminated within the same time, under the same penalty.

V. The committee of public safety is expressly charged to inspect the conduct of all the public authorities and agents of the government, whose duty it is to co-operate in the administration of public business.

VI. No ex-noble or foreigner from a country with which the republic is at war, is allowed to sojourn in Paris, any fortress of the republic, or any maritime town, during the present war. Every noble or stranger under the above circumstances, who shall remain in Paris, &c. within ten days after the publication of this law, shall be deemed outlawed.

VII. Workmen employed in the manufactories of arms at Paris, foreign women married to French patriots, and noble women married to citizens not noble, are not included in the former article.

VIII. Foreigners, workmen, who lived upon their work previous to this decree, or retail dealers, settled previous to this decree, children under the age of fifteen, and old men above the age of seventy, are exempted from this law.

IX. Exceptions with respect to nobles and foreigners in the armies, are referred to the committee of public safety; this being a measure of government.

X. The committee of public safety is also authorised to retain, by a special requisition, all *ci-devant* nobles and foreigners, whom it may judge useful to the republic.

XI. The revolutionary committees are authorised to deliver passports; and those who shall obtain them shall be obliged to declare the place they intend to retire to, and the name of the place shall be mentioned in the passport.

XII. The revolutionary committees shall keep exact registers of all the passports they shall distribute; and an extract of such register shall be daily delivered to the committees of public and general safety.

XIII. The *ci-devant* nobles and foreigners, above mentioned, are obliged to produce their passports before the municipality of the place where they intend to reside; they are, moreover, obliged to make daily their personal appearance before the municipality of the place of their residence.

XIV. The municipalities are ordered to send to the committees of general and public safety, a list of all the *ci-devant* nobles and foreigners living in their jurisdiction, or of such as lately arrived there, with passports according to the letter of this decree.

XV. The *ci-devant* nobles and foreigners shall not be admitted members of popular societies, of the committees of inspection, of assemblies of the communes, nor of those of the sections.

XVI. Generals are prohibited from residing at Paris, in fortified places, or in maritime towns, unless ordered thither in the course of actual service.

XVII.

has left excellent lessons to mankind, to love liberty, morality, and the divinity. These lessons will for ever confound those false philosophers, who profess neither to believe in a providence, nor in a supreme being, the only consolation of mankind in their last moments.

Several other decrees were passed in the course of the month, of little moment. One was for the destruction of the state coaches, and other ensigns of royalty: one for obliging the men of the first requisition, and absent upon furlough, to return to their corps: one for regulating the law of divorce: and one for prohibiting the wives of emigrants from marrying foreigners; which was intended to prevent a common evasion of the laws against them, by contracting pretended marriages with Swiss and others, and by those means escaping from the country.

We have formerly had occasion to notice the secret closet, which

XVII. Proper respect shall be paid by citizens to their magistrates: every citizen, however, has a right to complain against them, in case they are unjust, to the committee of public safety, which shall punish them according to the rigour of the law.

XVIII. The national convention enjoins all public authorities strictly to confine themselves within the limits of their institution, neither to extend nor to restrict their powers.

XIX. The committee of public safety is ordered to require punctual accounts of the operations and conduct of all public agents, to prosecute with the utmost severity those who shall have favoured conspiracies, and who shall have turned against liberty that power with which they have been entrusted.

XX. Every citizen is obliged to give information to the public authorities within his district, or to the committee of public safety, of every theft which shall come within his knowledge, of incivic speeches held, and acts of oppression committed against himself or others.

XXI. The representatives of the people may employ the constituted authorities in the execution of what may be necessary for the public weal, but can never delegate their own powers to others.

XXII. No authority has the power of ordering requisitions, except the commission of provisions, and the representatives of the people with the armies, under the special authority of the committee of public safety.

XXIII. Any person convicted of speaking against the revolution, at the same time leading an idle life, being neither of the age of 60, nor afflicted with infirmities, shall be condemned to the punishment of transportation to Guiana, after having been tried before the popular commissions.

XXIV. The committee of public safety shall encourage by indemnifications and rewards, manufactories, the exploration of mines, and the draining of marshes; shall protect industry, promote confidence between traders, shall advance proper sums to patriotic merchants, who engage to procure provisions; shall guarantee commodities imported into Paris; shall watch over the safety of the circulation of commodities in the interior of the republic, and shall punish every attempt made against property.

XXV. Two commissions shall be appointed; each composed of three members of the convention: one to be charged to collect, in a complete manner, all the laws which have been made until this day, in order to form a correct national code of laws, at the same time suppressing such laws as shall have become confused. The other commission shall form a civil code of the existing civil laws and institutions for the preservation of the morals of the citizens, and of the spirit of liberty. A report on those subjects shall be made by the said commissions, within a month's time after their establishment.

XXVI. The present decree shall be proclaimed to-morrow in Paris; and the insertion in the bulletin shall give it the due publication in the departments.

had

had been made in the palace of the Thuilleries by order of the late king, the depository of those papers which were afterwards employed as the foundation of what we must still consider as a most unjust condemnation, and not supported by the evidence. On the 27th of April a circumstance relative to this affair was brought forward in the convention—a circumstance to which we cannot annex the smallest portion of credit, but which we consider ourselves obliged for many reasons to notice; and we extract it literally from the journals. On that day "Musset informed the convention that Francois Gamain, lock-smith of the cabinets and laboratory of the *ci-devant* king, and three years since member of the commune of Versailles, had declared, that in the beginning of May 1792 he received orders to come to Paris, and was directed by the king to construct a secret closet in one of the walls of his apartment with a door of iron, which was not finished till the 22d of the month, when the king himself brought to him a large bottle of wine, which he desired him to drink, as he was very warm. Some hours after, he was seized with violent pains, which did not cease till he had taken an emetic. After this he was ill for fourteen months, and even now is unable to attend to his business. By information from this citizen, were the valuable papers procured that were found in the palace. He expects from you a pension. After 26 years of service, and the sacrifices which he has made, he considers himself the more entitled to it, as he is unable to earn his subsistence.—The convention decreed:

I. That the papers relating to the proof of this representation be referred to the committee of aids and of liquidation, to report upon them.

II. After their report, that they shall be deposited among the archives of the convention, as an eternal monument of the baseness and perfidy of Capet.

III. That they shall likewise be published, in order to make known to the universe the wickedness of the last tyrant of the French."

A fact so opposite to the character of the late unfortunate king ought not to be too easily credited; and various reasons may be assigned which must lead us to doubt of its authenticity. The whole might be a fabrication of some of the agents of Robespierre, a delusion calculated to cherish the hatred of the populace to royalty and aristocracy; it might be an artifice of the man himself for the purpose of obtaining a pension; or the illness might have been accidental, or occasioned even by the drinking of an innocent beverage when overheated and fatigued. We must remark, that if the present leaders of the convention are sincere in their profession of moderation, if they are endued with the slightest portion of magnanimity, they will consider it as incumbent upon them to ascertain the truth of this charge; or, if a forgery, they will boldly order it to be publicly contradicted, and exonerate the memory of an unfortunate man from so atrocious a calumny.

One of the most flagrant violations of justice, however, which was committed by the convention at this period, was an *ex post facto* law, which was passed relative to the *ci-devant* farmers-general (to use the language of the decree). That they had been guilty of the grossest exactions and impositions under the former government was very

very generally believed; and in an examination into their conduct by the committee of general safety it appeared, that in some cases they had extorted *ten* per cent. where they were only entitled to four; yet we must still contend, that for crimes committed under the ancient government they should have been punished only according to the laws of that government. Perhaps the only punishment due to the crime of peculation, or fraud, should be fine or imprisonment. To sport with the life of man, or to put it in competition with property, cannot be according to the divine will, or the order of nature. Notwithstanding all these considerations, a decree was passed on the 5th of May for conveying these unfortunate persons before the revolutionary tribunal, and many of them in consequence were brought to the scaffold.

To enter on a particular detail of the multitudes who at this period were sacrificed by the unrelenting revolutionary tribunal, would be to incumber our narrative with a long catalogue of names, only rendered interesting by the melancholy (and frequently doubtless undeserved) fate of those who bore them. One illustrious victim it is however necessary to notice, one not less eminent for her purity and virtues than for her rank and family. On the 10th of May Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, made a formal demand to the commune of Paris, that the sister of Louis XVI. should be immediately delivered up to the revolutionary tribunal. On the same day the unfortunate princess was conveyed to the Conciergerie, and on the 12th was brought before her inflexible judges. The trial was conducted in their usual summary way, and consisted only of a series of interrogatories which were put to the prisoner*. No witnesses were called; and the brutal conduct of the judges reminds us of the mock trials which were instituted in this country in the corrupt and tyrannical reign of Charles II.

The accounts of this trial, which have appeared in the public papers, and in different publications, relative to the affairs of France, are wholly erroneous. She neither impugned the existing authorities nor assumed her former titles. When questioned as to what the judges termed the conspiracy of July 1789, she simply answered, that she had no knowledge of any such conspiracy, and the events which then took place she was far from either foreseeing or seconding. She admitted that she accompanied her brother in the flight to Varennes; but when questioned with respect to the "orgies of the body-guard," she declared, that she was totally uninformed of their having happened, and had no concern in them. With equal firmness and dignity she repelled some ridiculous charges relative to her conduct on the 10th of August 1792; and with respect to the diamonds, which it was alleged she sent to the count d'Artois, she declared, that she only placed them in the hands of M. de Choiseul, as a trusty person, and knew not what was become of them. She utterly denied having maintained any correspondence with the emigrants, even her brothers; and when

* See the trial in the second volume of Miss Williams's Letters, lately published; a work to which we are under great obligations, and from which we have derived much entertainment and information.

charged

charged with having encouraged her nephew in the hopes of succeeding to his father's throne, she replied—"I have conversed familiarly with that unfortunate child, who is dear to me on more than one account; and I gave him all those consolations which appeared to me likely to reconcile him to the loss of those who had given him birth." This reply was construed into a confession that she had encouraged the child in these fallacious hopes, and without further interrogatory she was condemned.

The unfortunate princess was nobly supported in the last scene by the consolations of religion. She betrayed some emotion at the first sight of the guillotine; but she presently resumed a look of pious resignation, and was executed the last of 26 persons who were carried to the scaffold on the same day.

From these events, so outrageous to every feeling of virtue and humanity, we find some relief in turning to a different scene. There is something amiable and consolatory in every thing that appertains to the worship of our creator. Though we may not even approve of the mode in which that worship is performed, yet the principle must be respected; and it must be peculiarly satisfactory to observe it obtain even in France, where a large body of that class, which unworthily was denominated men of letters, had appeared as the open adversaries of religion, and the clergy themselves had become the servile instruments of infidelity, or rather of a base and senseless idolatry.

In our preceding volume we intimated our opinion, that the decree for re-establishing religious worship was a concession to the feelings of the people. Robespierre, who seldom failed to mark every circumstance that could increase his influence with the populace, did not suffer this to escape him; and in devoting the decadary festivals to the worship of the Almighty, he adopted the most certain mode, not only of gratifying the people themselves, but of repelling the charge of atheism in which the former disgraceful proceedings had involved the French nation. On the 7th of May he made his report upon this subject in the convention. After having observed, "that the victories of the republic were celebrated throughout every quarter of the universe; that there was an entire revolution in the physical order, which could not fail to effect a similar revolution in the orders moral and political; that one half of the globe had already felt this change, which the other half would soon feel; and that the French nation had anticipated the rest of the world by two thousand years, insomuch that it might be considered as consisting of a new species of men;" the orator proceeded to enlarge on the praises of republican morality, and a democratical government. He then attempted to justify the measures which had established the present regimen, and those by which it was accompanied. Eleven articles were decreed, the first of which was: The French nation acknowledges the existence of a supreme being, and the immortality of the soul. 2. It acknowledges that the worship worthy of the supreme being consists in the practice of the duties of man. 3. It ranks among these duties, the detestation of treachery and tyranny, the punishment of traitors, the succouring of the wretched, respect for the weak, the defence of the oppressed, the doing to others all possible good, and the avoiding of injustice

justice towards all their fellow-creatures. By the fifth, these festivals are to be named either after the glorious events of the French revolution, those of the virtues the dearest and most useful to man, or the most conspicuous benefits of nature. By the eighth, the freedom of religious worship is maintained. By the eleventh, a festival is appointed to be celebrated on the eighth of June, in honour of the supreme being.

The taste and genius of David, the celebrated painter, were employed to give effect and splendour to the spectacle; and though we consider every similar exhibition as puerile, and of all things least adapted to religion, yet it is depicted in so animated a style, by a writer eminent for her powers of description *, that we should be wanting in our duty to the public, if we did not insert her lively and entertaining account of the performance of this curious ceremony in the metropolis.

"The citizens of Paris had been invited, and the invitation amounted to a command, to decorate their houses in honour of the festival. Accordingly Paris on that morning, lighted up by brilliant sunshine, presented the most gay and charming spectacle imaginable. Woods had been robbed of their shade, and gardens to the extent of some leagues rifled of their sweets, in order to adorn the city. The walls of every house were covered with luxuriant wreaths of oak and laurel, blended with flowers; civic crowns were interwoven with national ribbands; three-coloured flags waved over every portal; and the whole was arranged with that light and airy grace which belongs to Parisian fancy. The women wore garlands of fresh-blown roses in their hair, and held branches of palm or laurel in their hands: the men placed oaken boughs in their hats, and children strewed the way with violets and myrtle. The representatives of the people had large three-coloured plumes in their hats, national scarfs thrown across their shoulders, and nosegays of blended wheat-ears, fruits, and flowers in their hands, as symbols of their mission.

"From this profusion of gay objects, which in happier moments would have excited delightful sensations, the drooping soul now turned distasteful. The scent of carnage seemed mingled with these lavish sweets; the glowing festoons appeared tinged with blood; and in the back ground of this festive scenery the guillotine arose before the disturbed imagination. I thought of that passage in Mr. Burke's book, 'In the groves of *their* academy, at the end of every vista I see the gallows!' Ah liberty! best friend of mankind, why have sanguinary monsters profaned thy name, and fulfilled this gloomy prediction!—

"A great amphitheatre was raised in the garden of the Thuilleries immediately before the palace, now the seat of the convention. Upon a tribune in the centre of the theatre, Robespierre as president of the convention appeared; and having for a few hours disencumbered the square of the revolution of the guillotine, he invoked the parent of universal nature, talked of the charms of virtue, and breathed the hope of immortality. When he had finished he descended from the tribune, and walked with great

* Miss Williams.

solemnity

solemnity towards a grotesque kind of monument that was raised upon the bason in the front of the palace, which had been covered over for that purpose. On this monument was placed a mishapen and hideous figure, with ass's ears, which for some hours served as an enigma to a gazing crowd, who knew not how to account for this singular appearance; till Robespierre having set fire to this image of deformity, which was declared to be the symbol of atheism, its cumbrous drapery suddenly vanished, and a fair and majestic form was discovered, emblematical of wisdom and philosophy.

"Atheism being thus happily destroyed, the convention, attended by a numerous procession of people, and preceded by triumphal cars and banners, marched to the Champ de Mars, where with much toil and cost a rocky mountain had been reared, upon whose lofty summit the tyrant and his attendants climbed, and from whence he once more harangued the people; and the festival closed with hymns and choral songs in honour of the supreme being."

It is remarked by the same writer, that "Robespierre on this day, intoxicated with his power, lost sight of his usual prudence, and displayed all the littleness of his vanity. He caused a line of separation to be made between himself and the other deputies of the convention, and marched at some distance before them, like a captain at the head of his band. He had the folly to display his importance by keeping the convention and the assembled multitude waiting, and the ceremony suspended for two hours, while he was sought for in vain. During the procession his creatures attempted to raise the cry of 'Vive Robespierre!' but it was faintly re-echoed by the spectators, many of whom followed him with curses, not loud but deep, which the poor heart would fain deny, and dare not."

During the interval which passed between the presenting of the report, and the celebration of the festival, some events took place to which it is necessary to advert. On the morning of the 25th of May, an attempt was made to assassinate Collot d'Herbois, a member of the committee of public safety, as he was walking in the street. The assassin's name was Ameral, who, after having discharged a pistol at Collot d'Herbois, immediately returned to his lodgings, which he fortified in the best manner he was able. Collot requested a friend, with whom he was walking (Geoffroi) to call a municipal officer, while he pursued Ameral to his lodgings. Ameral, having loaded several pistols, threatened instant death to whoever should attempt to enter his apartments. Collot, however, endeavoured to break open the door; but his companion, Geoffroi, prevented him, and exclaimed, "I command you, in the name of the people, to remain here. I will put this monster under the axe of the law, or perish in the attempt.—To exterminate such men, is to practise justice and virtue." Geoffroi immediately broke open the door, rushed upon Ameral, disarmed and secured him—not however before he was himself wounded by the discharge of the assassin's piece.

Upon instituting an inquiry into the situation and profession of Ameral, it was found that he had formerly been in the service of Bertin; that on the 10th of August, 1792, he was at the Thuilleries; and that

that during the duke of Brunswick's invasion of the French territories he had been dismissed from the battalion in which he had served.

Upon his trial before the revolutionary tribunal, Ameral confessed that he had formed a plan to assassinate Robespierre and Collot d'Herbois. He said, that becoming weary of existence he had determined to die, and at his death to render his country some service. He gloried in the attempt, and only regretted that it had been unsuccessful. He however averred that no person whatever was connected with him in the conspiracy, and said he had even procured arms, &c. by the sale of his effects.

On the same day at nine in the evening, a young female about 20 years of age knocked at the door of Duplai, where Robespierre resided, and desired to speak to him — Duplai informing her that he was not at home, she made use of these words: "It is very astonishing that, as he is a public functionary, he is not home. Possessing such a situation as he does, he ought to be always ready to see those who have business with him."

The manner in which she uttered these words, having infused some suspicion into the mind of Duplai, he stopped and carried her before the committee of general safety. On the way thither she exclaimed, "that during the old government the king was accessible at all times, and that she would spill every drop of blood in her body, to restore the ancient government, and to have a king again upon the throne."

Being introduced to the committee of general safety, she said that her name was Aimée Cecile Regnault; that she was twenty years old, and was the daughter of a stationer, who lived in the street called La Lanterne, in the section of La Cité.

Upon her trial before the revolutionary tribunal it appeared, that when she was first apprehended, being questioned as to her business with Robespierre, she replied, that "she only wanted to see what kind of a being a tyrant was," and in this affirmation she persisted. The report of Barrere says, that two knives were found upon her; they were probably small pocket knives, if any, as a writer whom we have just quoted asserts that no offensive weapon of any kind was found upon her. It appears very evident to us, that this unfortunate young woman was deranged in her intellects; but notwithstanding this, not only she but her whole family (against whom not a shadow of a proof existed) were delivered over to the guillotine. With Cecille Regnault and Ameral perished 69 other persons brought from different parts of the republic.

Robespierre, whom the supposed conspiracy had now raised to the height of his popularity, on this occasion mounted the tribune, and pronounced a long harangue, which reminded us of some of the hypocritical declamations of Cromwell. He returned thanks to God, that he and his party had served their country so well as to be deemed worthy of the poniard of tyrants. It was a spectacle, he said, worthy of heaven and earth, to behold the representatives of the French people, stationed on the almost inexhaustible volcano of conspiracies, placing with one hand at the feet of the *Great Eternal* the homage of a mighty people, and with the other launching the thunderbolt against the tyrants combined against them.

Barrere

Barrere on the 30th of May made a still more insidious use of these events; and by ascribing every atrocious act which had been attempted by the enemies of the convention to the machinations of the British ministry, he endeavoured to excite the horror of the French people against the whole nation. The following is the address to the armies of the republic, which was moved by Barrere on this occasion:

"England is capable of every outrage on humanity, and of every crime towards the republic. She attacks the rights of nations, and threatens to annihilate liberty.

"How long will you suffer to continue on your frontier, the slaves of George—the soldiers of the most atrocious of tyrants?

"He formed the congress of Pilnitz, and brought about the scandalous surrender of Toulon. He massacred your brethren at Genoa, and burned our magazines in the maritime towns. He corrupted our cities, and endeavoured to destroy the national representation. He starved your plains, and purchased treasons on the frontiers.

"When the event of battles shall put in your power either English or Hanoverians, bring to your remembrance the vast tracts of country English slaves have laid waste. Carry your view to La Vendée, Toulon, Lyons, Landrecy, Martinique, and St. Domingo, places still reeking with the blood which the atrocious policy of the English has shed. Do not trust to their artful language, which is an additional crime, worthy of their perfidious character and their Machiavelian government. Those who boast that they abhor the tyranny of George, say, can they fight for him?

"No, no, republican soldiers: you ought therefore, when victory shall put in your power either Englishmen or Hanoverians, to strike; not one of them ought to return to the traitorous territory of England, or to be brought into France. Let the British slaves perish, and Europe be free!"

Happily for both nations, the French soldiery had more just conceptions of the duties of man than their representatives. Whatever might be the errors of the British ministry, they rightly concluded, that the unfortunate men employed against them were only the humble, and often involuntary, instruments of whatever was criminal in the war. The sanguinary proposal of Barrere was never, as far as we have been able to inform ourselves, complied with in a single instance: on the contrary, on many occasions, the French officers and soldiers behaved with singular humanity and liberality to their British opponents. A decree was afterwards passed, that if the garrisons left by the allies in Valenciennes, Condé, and Quesnoy, did not surrender within 24 hours after being summoned, they should not be spared; but this decree was also never put in execution.

At this moment Robespierre had reached the summit of his popularity; and from this moment the baseless fabric of his usurped authority began to totter. What has been observed by naturalists of the increased ferocity of those animals, which have once tasted human blood, may be applied to the chief of savages, man, when he has once discarded humanity, and become intoxicated with power. The prisons of Paris at this period were crowded with victims from all parts of the country, in consequence of the decree, which ordered all of a certain class of state prisoners

soners to be tried only by the revolutionary tribunal of Paris. At one period the prisoners amounted to between seven and eight thousand. Of the number of these who were tried and executed, we have no precise return; and to enter into a recital of particular facts, would be a most irksome and melancholy task; besides that the accounts published in the daily prints are not accurate, and we have ourselves detected in them so many errors, that we are discouraged from attempting the detail. Yet in perusing this black and dismal catalogue, the eye of humanity and the admirer of virtue will be arrested by the fate of the venerable and intrepid defender of the unfortunate Louis, Lamoignon Malesherbes; and he who has read the interesting memoirs of the eccentric, but persecuted Trenck, will lament, that one whose life had been embittered by the ingenious cruelty of despotism, should at length be deprived of existence by a new kind of tyranny, and that in a country whither he had fled in the hope of enjoying the most perfect freedom.

Some were evidently put to death for their wealth, and others fell the victims of private resentment. A correspondence with their relations who had emigrated brought many to the scaffold; but where this plea was wanting, an imputed conspiracy in the prisons always served as a pretext for the ruin of those who were obnoxious. The judges and jurors were hardened beyond example. The viscountess de Noailles, sister to madame La Fayette, maintained in her defence, that she was not in the prison when the conspiracy of which she was accused took place:—"No matter (exclaimed one of these legal assassins), you would have been concerned had you been there." She was condemned to death. It is remarkable, that among the numbers who were sacrificed by this execrable tribunal, only one native or subject of Britain suffered death, and that was colonel Newton. Though a native of this country, he had spent his whole life in foreign service, and had latterly obtained rank in the army of the republic. He was attached to the Brissotine party, and may be said to have fallen the victim of his honest warmth, in rashly and openly stigmatizing the opposite faction as a band of tyrants and assassins.

Even the condition of the prisoners during their confinement was now rendered more intolerable. Their imprisonment became more strict, on the pretence of conspiracies; and they were no longer permitted to receive their provisions from their families, or from the taverns, but were compelled to eat out of one dish at a common table. They were restricted to one scanty meal in the twenty-four hours, and the expence of each prisoner was not to exceed fifty sous a day.

It is seldom that men in public stations can discern upon what foundations their power rests; and this was notoriously the case with respect to Robespierre. The alarm which the advance of the allied armies had created in the breasts of the citizens, and the confidence which they reposed in the great talents of the revolutionary committees, had induced them patiently to suffer evils which they considered as less grievous than to be subjected to the vengeance of foreign mercenaries; and while the independence of their country was threatened, they regarded with apathy the calamity of individuals. In proportion as the allies receded from the

territory of France, these apprehensions were removed; and they saw in the tyranny exercised at home a more prominent evil than any that could assail them from without. The government of Robespierre should therefore have grown milder, as the causes of his influence evidently diminished; but instead of that, it increased every day in severity and oppression. In the fate of Danton and others, even his very associates might anticipate their own; and where there is no trust or confidence on the one side, there can be little security on the other: fidelity, to be permanent, must be reciprocal.

For a considerable period the members of the national convention had not dared to controvert any proposition that Robespierre was known to espouse; a large part of that assembly were his servile instruments, and the rest were passive and appalled spectators. The courage of Bourdon de l'Oise first served to awake the legislative body from this lethargy; and the first circumstance which announced the declining authority of the usurper occurred on the 10th of June, in a debate on the organization of the revolutionary tribunal. On the preceding day the convention had decreed in the usual manner, without dissent or discussion, that the committees of public and general safety should be invested with a power of conveying before the revolutionary tribunal all such as they should deem to have incurred the severity of national justice.—"Does this right," asked Bourdon, "extend to the members of the convention, whom also they can order before the tribunal?" He was answered by confused murmurs. "I love these consolatory murmurs," exclaimed the intrepid orator, "by which I am satisfied that liberty can never perish, and that you did not mean to confer on the two committees the right of carrying the members before the revolutionary tribunal. I demand that you formally pronounce, in the form of a decree, that the committees of public safety and general security shall still preserve the salutary right of apprehending, whenever it may be necessary, the representatives of the people, but that they shall not bring them before the revolutionary tribunal, without a previous decree of accusation framed by the assembly."

A division on this question was immediately called for, and a member observed, that such an idea could not possibly have been conceived, as that of giving such a power to the two committees. "But," added he, "as the decree in question abrogates all the preceding laws, I demand, that the one which regards the inviolability of the national representation may be again in force."

Merlin of Douay then proposed a decree, that the national representation had an exclusive right to pass decrees of accusation against its own members, and to have them tried before the criminal tribunals. This he thought was an unalienable right, and the convention decreed this proposition.

This sudden check to his authority there was reason to believe was severely felt by Robespierre; and, whether distrustful of his associates, or from some other cause, he absented himself entirely from this time from the committees. His mandates however were still obeyed, and his indefatigable colleagues, Couthon and St. Just, overawed the remaining members. Yet a most formidable party was gradually

ly forming against him in the great body of the convention; and even his colleagues, Barrere and Billaud, in the committee, were secretly plotting his overthrow.

The plausible and florid eloquence of Barrere was employed to gloss over the naval misfortune of the 1st of June; and it must be confessed that his representation of that fact is neither remarkable for fidelity nor perspicuity; but the nation found a more solid consolation in the safe arrival of their rich and numerous convoy from America. With almost this single exception, the convention were entertained during the months of June and July with a series of victories the most numerous and most splendid that perhaps ever occurred in a single campaign. The time of the assembly being chiefly occupied with these details, but few decrees were passed, and no progress whatever was made in the constitutional code. The decrees that were passed during this interval were, for the most part, unexceptionable, and some even deserving of commendation.

On the 18th of June Barrere presented a report from the committee of public safety, on the means of preventing mendicity. The beggars were to be removed immediately from the bridges and highways; they were to be decently clothed; temporary relief was afforded till houses could be prepared for their reception; and after this each was to be employed in such labour as his infirmities would enable him to perform. The necessitous blind were provided for by a subsequent decree.

Some regulations were also made in the early part of July respecting prizes and captures; and very judicious measures were adopted to prevent the circulation of forged assignats, with which the combined powers continued to inundate the republic. To this disgraceful mode of making war we cannot give our approbation. If the private forger is a *felon* by the laws of our country, what appellation shall we assign to him who carries on the traffic on a larger scale? If, however, the practice affected only the *state* with which we are at war, perhaps some apology or excuse might be found in that pretended code, which is called the "laws of war," or in plain language the *justice* of *injustice*; but unfortunately it is not the *state* that is affected, but individuals, since it appears by the report of Barrere presented on the 11th of July, that not more than 130,000 livres (less than 6000l.) of forged assignats had reached the national treasury. It is a fraud then committed, not on the state, but on the honest and unsuspecting day labourer, who finds himself and his starving family deprived by foreign sharpers of that sustenance which he had earned with the sweat of his brow; it is a fraud upon the widow and the orphan; upon all the honest and industrious part of society. Can the *name* of enemy, arbitrarily as indiscriminately given, justify in the eye of reason or religion such conduct?

On the joint report of the committees of public safety and of war, the convention adopted what appears a very equitable, and it has certainly proved a *successful*, mode of distributing military preferments. In every corps, one third of the posts, from the rank of sub-lieutenant to that of chief of battalion or squadron, were devoted to the recompense of such of the defenders of their country as distinguished themselves by their heroi-

cal exploits. The remaining two-thirds were to be bestowed either by seniority or election. Thus the first post vacant in the corps was to be filled up in the order of seniority; the second by election; and in the third case, the vacancy was to be supplied, by order of the convention, by some person who had distinguished himself in the service. A list of all these latter appointments was to be made out every decade, and distributed to the armies.

While the deliberations of the convention were conducted with a seeming unanimity, and the government of France proceeded with the vigour and dispatch of a despotic empire, a storm was collecting which was to burst forth in the convention itself; and the whole system of the revolutionary government was at one blow to be levelled with the dust. Yet to shake the well-established power of Robespierre was an Herculean task. The jacobin club, that source of power and popularity from the commencement of the revolution, was still at his devotion; the armed force of Paris was secured by the agency of Henriot the commandant; the revolutionary tribunal, and all the offices of trust, were filled with his creatures; and his influence with the populace might be diminished, but it was far from annihilated. The tyranny of Robespierre was of a peculiar cast; it was not supported, as despotism usually is, by the oppression of the lower classes of society; but it was directed solely against the great and opulent; and as he rose into power by the blind attachment of the multitude, so he had never neglected on any occasion to comply with their demands, and to conciliate and flatter their passions.

Man is however a creature not naturally savage and ferocious—he is rendered such by circumstances; and some of the severities and massacres exercised under the authority of the usurper, had been such as to disgust even the populace themselves. In the mean time two formidable parties were gradually forming, as we have already intimated, against his authority. The first was in the great body of the convention, and this was by far the most formidable. As the lenity of Brutus in sparing Anthony is said to have proved the undoing of his party; so the conduct of Robespierre in sacrificing Danton, but withholding from the scaffold his friend Legendre, may be said to have precipitated his fall. With Legendre were united Bourdon of Oise, Tallien, and Frenon, all of them distinguished members of the mountain party; who now, disgusted with the conduct of the tyrant, apprehensive for their personal safety, or feeling for the miseries of their country, determined to embrace the first opportunity of annihilating a power which they had formerly contributed to establish. In this they were abetted by the silent and panic-struck remnant of the Gironde party, and secretly by most of the superior classes throughout the nation. The other party was formed in the committees; and at the head of this were Billaud Varennes, Barrere, and Collot d'Herbois. This was only secondary however in its movements to the great party in the convention, and but for the courage of Bourdon de l'Oise, and others, on the 10th of June, would probably never have been formed.

Robespierre himself was not unapprized of this situation of affairs. He reposed, it appears, but little confidence

confidence in the committee of public safety, from which he had abstained himself for four successive decades; but he felt his strength in the jacobin club, where on the 8th of July he pronounced a long harangue in his own defence. He complained that he was the object of foreign persecution; that the same calumnies that were propagated against him in Paris, appeared at the same moment in the London papers in the pay of Pitt; he spoke in indistinct terms of a plot formed by the agents of that minister for the overthrow of the republic, and reprobated the party of *indulgents* (the moderate party) as in the same interest, and active in promoting the same designs.

It is evident from this speech that Robespierre already felt his popularity on the decline. The reports to which he alluded as calumnies, were in substance, that he had formed a list of thirty members of the convention, whom he meant to proscribe; that he intended to proclaim himself dictator; and that the whole authority of the nation was to be vested for the future in a triumvirate, consisting of himself, Couthon, and St. Just. His success however had been previously so great in defeating his adversaries, that he still, it appears, flattered himself with a prospect of victory; and it can scarcely be doubted that he secretly meditated the sacrifice of all who had latterly opposed him. In the jacobin club, on the 11th of July, Robespierre the younger denounced Dubois Crancé; and five days after, the elder Robespierre asserted in the same society, that a counter revolutionary committee actually existed in the republic.

The parties in the convention, however hostile to the usurper, either acted without concert, or the members of the committees were not prepared to act on the 23d of July; for on that day we find Barrere engaged in a report on the state of the capital, in which he urges the convention to beware of conspiracies, and to place a confidence in the existing government. "In the midst of victories (said he) which succeed each other, we ought to be on our guard against the evil genius of our enemies, who are forming a party even in our bosom, with as much address and activity as we employ energy and force in beating their armies without.

"It is from the dregs of their prisons that the English are seeking out for agents, and it is from the help of the auxiliaries whom they have in Paris that they hope to prepare plots, conspiracies, public troubles, and assassinations. In the night of the 22d and 23d, forty individuals went to the prison of the *Bicêtre*, and ordered the doors to be opened, in the name of the committee of public safety. Three of these miscreants only were arrested, the rest escaped; but good patriots are on the watch for them, and the revolutionary government is in pursuit of them. Other plots have been formed against the arsenal, the authors of which are not unknown. Once more let me conjure the convention not to slumber on its victories, but to strike terror amongst the conspirators, who seem to multiply in proportion as our armies are victorious.

"The truth is, that this government is odious to all monarchies, on account of its energy. It strikes conspirators with awe, and unfolds their intrigues. Our armies are permanently victorious; they drive our enemies like flocks of sheep; they humble kings as

weak usurpers; they unmask the ministers of foreign governments, and shew them in their true light of privileged knaves."

On the 25th, Barrere presented a second report to the same effect; in which, after stating that liberty would annihilate the authors of the new plot, he entered into a reply to those misled citizens, who expressed a desire that a second 31st of May should take place. In this reply he drew a comparison between the present prosperous situation of France, and the disastrous state in which the different factions had involved the country.

In the mean time, the hopes of Robespierre appear to have rested principally on the jacobin society, and he flattered himself with the expectation of being once more enabled to overawe the convention. His brother and his other confidential agents repeatedly reproached the society with torpor and inactivity; and at length they succeeded so far, that an address was presented by the jacobins on the 25th, denouncing a *foreign faction* who attacked the convention and the committees. Dubois Crancé embraced the opportunity to justify himself from the reproaches which had been cast upon him in the society on the 11th; but the convention were so little affected with both the address and the apology of Dubois, that they referred the whole matter to the committee of public safety.

On the succeeding day Robespierre ascended the tribune, and on his own authority pronounced a vehement harangue on the state of the republic; and replied to those who reproached him with aiming at the dictatorship.

"Is it true (said he) that such alarms have been infused into the minds of the national representatives, that several of them are afraid to sleep at their own houses? Is it true that I am accused of wishing to march to the dictatorship over the blood-stained ruins of the national representation?

"This word *dictatorship* reviles the revolutionary government; it destroys the republic, and renders the national justice odious, by depicting it as an useful instrument to one man who directs its operations at pleasure. What a terrible use have our enemies made of a word which at Rome was applied only to a public function! May I be permitted to return to the duke of York the patent of this dignity, which his friends have made out for me? The cowards! They call me a tyrant. If indeed I were one, they would crouch at my feet—If I were one, do you think that tyrants would persecute me with such virulence? No—they would be prodigal of their assistance to me. Tyrants arrive at the destined goal by the aid of scoundrels: have those then who combat tyrants the same object in view? Truth undoubtedly is despotic; but falsehood can no more imitate this despotism, than Salmoneus could imitate the thunder.—Would you know the source of those atrocious accusations brought against me? Here is the source in the papers of a conspirator, to whom the scaffold has at length done justice. 'If this cunning demagogue,' he says, speaking of me, 'had never existed, the nation would be free, the mind would have been unfettered, and we should not have seen those assassinations known by the appellation of the sentences of the revolutionary tribunal.'

"Would you know the authors of these calumnies? In the first rank

rank move the duke of York, Mr. Pitt, and his agents.—Who come afterwards?—I cannot here prevail upon myself to remove the veil which conceals such iniquity; but among them are contained those men who opposed the decree by which atheism was destroyed.

"For four decades I have been forced to renounce those functions which you confided to me; but I have never ceased to watch over the public weal. I have seen that the English, so abused in our speeches, have not been treated with rigour on the frontiers, and that the decree against them has *in no one instance* been carried into execution.

"I am astonished at that academical levity with which our victories are sometimes spoken of, as if they were gained without any loss to our brave defenders—I warn you that attempts are made to amuse you by planting in Belgium the sterile tree of liberty, instead of gathering in the harvest of victory.

"Without doubt your committees contain the firm supporters of liberty; but the majority is paralysed. Concealment and dissimulation are practised, and conspiracy rears her head. The artillery has been sent from Paris. Attempts are made to obtain possession of every thing; and conspiracy, I repeat, rears her head.

"I have thus disclosed to you truths which, though disagreeable to particular persons, are necessary to be known; and in so doing I have been influenced by no other desire than that of serving my country."

As it was the usual custom to move in the convention for the printing of such addresses as those of Robespierre; Bourdon of Oise, the intrepid opponent of the usurper, to anticipate any similar motion, moved, that "the speech should be referred to the committees previously to its being printed, lest on its publication any errors might be found in it." On the contrary, Couthon contended for the printing of the speech without any such reference. He expressed himself in very strong terms—"A system of calumny (he said) had long existed."—"There are some perfidious beings in the convention (he added); distrust intriguers, and from this day let a line of demarcation be drawn."—Not intimidated by this speech of Couthon, Vadier and Cambon complained that Robespierre had misrepresented certain reports which they had made; and the usurper for the first time condescended to apologize. The discussion then became clamorous, and Freron exclaimed—"The moment that gave birth to liberty gave also birth to freedom of opinion. I move that the assembly make a report on the decree which gives to the committees the right of arresting the members of the convention—Who is the man that possesses the privilege of speech when he is apprehensive of being arrested?"

The proposition of Freron was greatly applauded; and Panis, another member, declared, "that if it was not adopted, there could be no liberty." Notwithstanding this opposition, however, the speech of Robespierre was ordered to be printed; but this was the last of his triumphs, and it was short.

The usurper must now have clearly perceived his credit lost with the convention; and apparently unwilling to trust his colleagues in the committees, he seems to have waited firmly for the storm without daring to attempt the violent mea-

sure, which might have been expected from him, of arresting the deputies in opposition. He perhaps had still some reliance on his eloquence, and that of his associates Couthon and St. Just. The latter ascended the tribune on the 27th.

"I am (said he) of no faction—I hate all factions. Your committees of public and general safety have ordered me to present a report to you on the apparent corruption of the public opinion—But I will speak only to you, and I will speak only in my own name."

The indignant clamour of the assembly compelled the orator abruptly to conclude, and with some difficulty Tallien obtained a hearing. He spoke to order. "The last speaker (said he) commenced with telling you, that he is of no party: I likewise espouse only the side of truth. Yesterday a member of the government (Robespierre) presented to you a report upon his own authority. To-day, another member comes to speak to you in his own name. No good citizen can refrain from lamenting, with tears, the abject and calamitous state to which the republic is reduced, when individuals pretend thus to dictate to you in their own name, and upon their own authority."

Billaud Varennes spoke on the same side, and said, "Yesterday the society of the jacobins was filled with apostates. Every person was admitted who came. An intention was there intimated, of murdering several members of the convention. (The hall resounded with murmurs.) Yesterday I heard men uttering the most abominable calumnies against those who had never deviated from the revolution. I see one of those wretches now sitting on the mountain, who used the expressions. (A general cry of Arrêt him.) The person alluded to was instantly seized, amidst very loud plaudits.

Billaud Varennes then proceeded as follows: "The moment is arrived when truth must out. I wonder that St. Just should speak at the tribune, after what has passed. He had promised to show his speech to the committee before he should speak it here. The assembly will do wrong if it does not perceive that it is in the hands of two murderers. If it is weak and irresolute, it will inevitably perish." "No, no!" cried the majority of the members, waving their hats. The galleries resounded with the same cries, calling out, "Live the convention, live the committee of public safety!"

Le Bas desired to be heard, and insisted on speaking.

Delmas desired he should be called to order; but Le Bas still insisting to be heard, it was moved that he be sent to prison.

Billaud Varennes then continued his speech: "You will shudder (says he) with horror, when you are apprized that the armed force of Paris is entrusted to parricidal hands. Henriot was denounced by the revolutionary tribunal as an accomplice of Hebert. What was the consequence? One man alone had the audacity to support him. Need I name who that individual was? Robespierre. La Valette, one of the chiefs of the armed force, the only noble who has been retained in a military trust, sharpens the poniards intended to inflict a fatal blow on the representatives of the people. Under whose auspices has he been protected? Under Robespierre's. I might quote many more proofs of the same audacity on the part of Robespierre, and of his infamous designs against liberty.

Among

Among others, I need only mention that he has been the author of the imprisonment of the members of the revolutionary committee of the section of Indivisibility; men of the most unsullied integrity, and of the most distinguished patriotism. I accuse him of having withdrawn himself from the committee for these four last decades, since the decree with respect to the revolutionary tribunal passed on the 10th of June, which he alone devised; and which was badly received. Thus he intended to drive from the convention every pure man: that is, every person who did not please himself, or whom he might suspect to be possessed of sufficient discernment to detect, and integrity to oppose, his ambitious views; and as a preparatory step to the establishing himself in that dictatorship, which has been so long the object of his wishes, he would have left none in the convention but his creatures and dependents, men as vile as himself, and ready to forward all his detestable views. But his designs were discovered by the very means which he took to carry them into execution. From the facts which I have briefly stated, his intentions to corrupt the military, to enslave and degrade the representation, appear plain and incontrovertible.

"I think I speak the voice of the convention, when I say, that there is not a representative who would exist under a tyrant!"—'No, no!' was the cry from all parts, 'Let tyrants perish.'—"Men who are always speaking of their own virtue and probity, are those who trample these qualities under foot. A secretary of the committee of public safety had robbed the public of 114,000 livres. I demanded his arrest, but Robespierre screened him." (New murmurs.) "I could recount to you, citizens, a thousand other similar facts of this man; and yet it is he who dares to accuse us; we who spend our nights and days in the committee of public safety, in organizing our victories. We must not hesitate either to fall on him with our bodies, or to suffer tyrants to triumph. It was his wish to mutilate the convention, and to murder the representatives of the nation."

Robespierre here darted towards the tribune, while a number of voices exclaimed, "Down with the tyrant, down with the tyrant!"

Tallien then rose. "I just now observed (said he) that we must draw the veil. I now see with pleasure that it is so; that the conspirators are unmasked, and that they will soon be annihilated." (Loud applauses.) "Every thing speaks that the enemy of the national representation is about to fall. In the house of that guilty man, who now stands humbled with the consciousness of detected guilt, and overwhelmed with that disapprobation which his infamous designs against liberty have so justly merited, were formed those lists of proscription which have stained with so much blood the altars of rising liberty. He copied the example of the detestable Sylla. His proscriptions were intended only to prepare the way for his own power, and the establishment of a perpetual dictatorship: happily, however, his designs have been discovered before he had time to execute them, or to add to that stream of blood which has already deluged France. His long success in villany made him at last lay aside his usual

usual caution. He had advanced with such rapidity in the career of lawless ambition, that he already conceived himself arrived at the accomplishment of his wishes, and that, like Cæsar, the name of king was only wanting to him for the full accomplishment of his power. Was it to subject ourselves to so degrading and so abject a tyranny, that we brought to the scaffold the last of the Capets, and lavished so much blood of the French citizens? Was it to acknowledge so petty a despot, that we declared eternal war against kings, and swore to establish liberty at the price of life? No; the spirit of freedom has not sunk so low; the sense of that duty which virtuous men owe to their country is not yet extinguished. I invoke the shade of the virtuous Brutus—[*fixing his eyes upon the bust*]—Like him, I have a poniard to rid my country of the tyrant, if the convention do not deliver him to the sword of justice. The republic is to be established not only by the victories of our armies, but by the vigilance of our councils, and the justice of our punishments. After the enumeration of facts which you have heard from the last speaker, is it necessary for me to remind you of the proceedings of that sitting of the jacobins, where Dumas, president of the revolutionary tribunal, the creature and confederate of Robespierre, had the audacity to insult the representatives of the people? Need I recal to you that expression, addressed to the journalists, in one of the last sittings of the jacobins? 'I prohibit you from inserting my discourses in your papers, till you have previously communicated them to me.' Here already we find the tone of the dictator—the people shall know nothing except through my organ, and in the manner in which I shall be pleased to communicate it to them.

"Let us, republicans, address him with the loyalty of citizens, in the presence of the French people. It is fit to enlighten our fellow citizens; liberty is alone the object of their affections. It is not an individual whom I attack; it is a vast conspiracy. I doubt not but the convention will take speedy and efficacious measures, and continue its sittings permanent, to save the people; and as it is of the utmost importance that the chiefs of the armed force should do no mischief, I move that Henriot, and all his staff, be arrested. It is our wish that the president of the revolutionary tribunal should treat the accused with decency and justice. This is true virtue. I now move,

"That our sittings be permanent, until the sword of the law has secured to us this revolution."

I also move,

"That Robespierre, and his creatures, be immediately arrested."

The decree was passed with applauses from every quarter; and on the proposition of Billaud Varennes, some others, among whom were, Dumas the late president of the revolutionary tribunal, Dufresne, Boulanger, La Valette, and the aides-de-camp of Henriot were included in it. The convention now called upon Barrere to speak in the name of the committee of public safety. He proceeded to make his report, and towards the conclusion of it presented the following decree, which was adopted:

"The national convention, on report of its committees of public safety

safety and general security, decrees as follows:

"1. All ranks superior to that of the chief of a legion are suppressed. The national guard shall resume its original organization, and each chief of a legion shall in consequence command in turn.

"2. The mayor of Paris, the national agent, and he who shall be in his turn the commandant of the national guard, shall watch over the safety of the national representation, and shall answer with their heads for all the commotions which may ensue in Paris.

"The present decree shall be instantly sent to the mayor of Paris."

The orator then resumed his speech apparently in his own person, and no longer as the organ of the committees. "Since the 10th of June," said he, "I have never dared to behold that cunning man, who has had the art to wear so many different masks; and who, when he has not been able to save his creatures, has made no scruple to turn against them, and send them to the guillotine. No one is ignorant of the manner in which he defended Camille Desmoulins, Bazire, Chabot, and others, whom he afterwards betrayed. On the 10th of June, the *tyrant* (for this is the name I must give him) moved a resolution for establishing a revolutionary tribunal. He framed it himself, and Couthon proposed it, without having even read it; and yet he is the man who complains of patriots being oppressed—he who imprisoned the revolutionary committee, composed of the most pure patriots in Paris;—he who, in order to arrest all who thwarted his views, instituted a general police.

"The committee of government which conducts the operations of the armies, has done its duty. He has calumniated it, in order to sow division among its members, and prevent any body of patriots from having such influence as could oppose his tyranny. He has endeavoured to oppress me particularly, because I made a report which was not agreeable to his views."

Robespierre still attempted to maintain his ground; but the resentment of the assembly would not suffer him to be heard. Couthon and Le Bas, with a fidelity worthy of a better cause, attempted to justify their colleague, and demanded that they might partake in his misfortunes, as they had shared in his prosperity; they were therefore included in the decree of arrest. Collot d'Herbois then moved, that St. Just should be ordered to lay on the table the speech he intended to pronounce. This proposition was also adopted, and St. Just himself was included in the decree of arrest.

When the decree of arrest had passed the convention, the president ordered one of the ushers of the hall to take into custody the chief of the triumvirs, the elder Robespierre. But such was the awe which the presence of this man was accustomed to inspire, that the officer hesitated to perform his duty, till Robespierre himself made a sign of obedience, and followed the usher out of the hall. The prisoners were conducted by a few peace officers to the prison of the Luxembourg: but the administrator of the police on duty there, who was one of their creatures, refused to receive them; and they were then conducted, rather in triumph than as prisoners, to the Hotel de Ville.

In the mean time Henriot had also been arrested, but had found means to escape. With the alacrity of desperation he rallied his adherents.

vents. The national guard in general, however, obeyed with reluctance the orders of their commandant, and only the cannoneers manifested a thorough attachment to him. Henriot arranged his forces in three divisions; one was dispatched to the Hotel de Ville, another against the committee of public safety, and a third proceeded to the convention. The alarm bells were next rung by the partisans of Robespierre; the municipality of Paris and the jacobin club declared themselves in a state of insurrection; and the party of Robespierre in the Hotel de Ville formed themselves into a new convention, and declared the other representatives traitors to their country.

In this dangerous crisis the most respectable part of the inhabitants of Paris, who had been depressed by terror or enervated by indolence, perceived the urgent necessity of active measures; on the event of this day their future fate depended; the horrors of September stared them in the face, should the party of the tyrant now prove triumphant; no time was to be lost; taking advantage of the ringing of the alarm bells, they ran through the streets, and excited the citizens to their aid by the cry of *Vive la convention!*

The representatives of the people assembled in the hall of the convention were not inactive. Their session had been declared permanent; and no sooner were they apprized that Robespierre and his confederates had escaped, and were in a state of insurrection, than they proceeded to declare them traitors and outlaws, and a deputation of their members was appointed to lead the people against the revolters. Barras was nominated provisional commander in chief; and Bourdon de l'Oise, Freron, Beaupré, Leonard Bourdon, Ferrand and Rovere, were ordered to support him. A proclamation was published in all the districts of Paris, exhorting the people to assert their liberty, and defend the national representation.

In consequence of these measures the national guard, who had obeyed with some reluctance the orders of their commander, immediately forsook him. A party of the insurgents had attempted, with the aid of cannon, to force the posts in the Carousel; but they failed in the attempt, and the officer who commanded them was made prisoner. Early in the evening the sections of Paris appeared at the bar, and renewed their oath to acknowledge no authority but that of the convention.

It was not, however, till between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning of the 28th, that the deputies who had been dispatched for that purpose found themselves in sufficient force to attack the insurgents at the Hotel de Ville. At that time Bourdon de l'Oise appeared at the Place de Grave, and read the proclamation of the convention. He then rushed into the hall of the commune, armed with a sabre and pistols: the insurgents were completely deserted, and now endeavoured to turn their arms against themselves. Robespierre the elder discharged a pistol in his mouth, which however failed of its effect, and only wounded him in the jaw, while he received another wound from a gens d'arme in the side. The younger Robespierre threw himself out of a window, and broke a leg and an arm. Le Bas shot himself upon the spot; and Couthon stabbed himself twice with a knife.

It was in vain that Henriot, from

rom one of the windows of he hotel, harangued the soldiers, nd endeavoured to recal them to he assistance of his associates. Coffntal, a member of the municipaity, who had been seduced into the insurrection by the persuasion of Henriot, at the desire of some of he persons below, threw the miscreant out of the window, and he ras mortally wounded.

The conspirators were immediately conveyed before the revolutionary tribunal; and their persons being identified, they were condemned to suffer death in the Place de la Revolution, which they had themselves defiled with the blood of the unfortunate Louis, and that of his guilty but penitent consort; and afterwards with that of their colleagues and associates in crimes. The persons who suffered on this occasion were, Maximilian Robespierre, aged 35 years, born at Arras; George Couthon, aged 38 years, born at Orsai; A. St. Just, 26 years, born at Lisere; A. Robespierre the younger; F. Henriot, 33 years, commander general of the armed force of Paris; L. Lavalette, 40 years, born at Paris, ex-noble; R. Dumas, 37 years, born at Lussi, president of the revolutionary tribunal; J. R. Lescot Fleuriot, 39 years, mayor of Paris; N. Vivier, 50 years, late judge of the criminal tribunal of the department, president of the jacobins in the night between the 9th and 10th Thermidor (27th and 28th July); C. Bernard, 34 years, ex-priest; Geucy, 33 years; Cooper Gobeau, 26 years, substitute of the criminal tribunal; A. Simon, 58 years, shoemaker; C. Laurent, 33 years; Wamee, 29 years; J. Forestier, 47 years; P. Guerin, receiver of rents; Lezard, hair-dresser; Loche Fer, upholsterer; Bougon and Quenet; the twelve last members of the commune of Paris. They were conveyed from the palace of justice at seven in the evening of the 28th. Never was so great a concourse of people assembled as on this occasion; and it is impossible to describe (says one of the journalists of Paris) the joy and transports that were painted in every face! In all the streets through which the conspirators passed, and in the square of the Revolution, unanimous cries of *Ah! the villains! Live the republic! Live the convention!* were heard. The eyes of the spectators were particularly fixed on Maximilian Robespierre, Couthon, and Henriot, whose faces were covered with blood and wounds.

Couthon was executed first, and then the younger Robespierre and Henriot. Robespierre was guillotined the last but one. He stood two minutes on the scaffold, while the executioner removed the cloth which covered his face; but he did not utter a word. In the mean time Legendre had proceeded to the hall of the jacobins, expelled the society, and brought the keys, and laid them on the table of the convention.

Robespierre is described as having been of a low stature, not more than five feet three inches. His complexion was livid and cadaverous, and his features harsh and forbidding. He did not affect the slovenly appearance of the fanatical professors of equality, but he was generally decent and even neat in his dress. He and his brother were orphans, and natives of Arras. When a youth, his abilities or his misfortunes attracted the attention of the bishop of that diocese, at whose expence he was educated, and brought up to the profession of the law. He was soon distinguished

ed as an able advocate; but he did not succeed in Paris, and was obliged to return to his own country, where he exercised his profession with reputation. We have heard that the first cause which gave him celebrity was a curious trial between two neighbouring gentlemen, one of whom had erected an electrical conductor on the roof of his house, which the other presented as a nuisance, as endangering his own. Robespierre was counsel for the defendant. He gained his cause; and his pleadings were admired not only as eloquent, but as displaying considerable information on a philosophical subject.

He was elected a deputy to the tiers-état in 1789. In the constituent assembly he was always regarded as a firm friend to monarchy; and even in July 1792 he published "Representative government and the forms of monarchy, the only constitutional arrangements proper for an empire so extensive and ancient as France." He attached himself at this period to the party of Orleans; and he was suspected, even after the king was deposed, of an intention of placing the duke of Orleans on the throne. He was not ranked in the first class of orators in the national assembly. He possessed neither the fire nor imagination of Mirabeau, nor the graceful and polished eloquence of Barnave: yet he was always considered as a bold and nervous speaker; and on some occasions he considerably distinguished himself, particularly in pleading the cause of the enslaved Africans against the famous report of Barnave on the state of the colonies.

He was deprived of a seat in the legislative body, by the famous self-denying ordinance of the constituent assembly, and accepted the office of public accuser, to which he resigned it in a short time. He was deficient in solid abilities; he had a talent for intrigue which compensated for the want of them; and the modest simplicity of his manners and appearance acquired for him an uncommon reputation for integrity. The ascendancy which he gained over the people of Paris was sufficiently manifest, when he was not only elected a deputy to represent that department in the convention; but had sufficient influence to secure by his recommendation seats for his intimate connexions Marat, Legendre, and Philip Egalité.

He certainly had no part in the events of the 10th of August; and the count de Montgaillard acquits him even of any principal share in the massacres of September, though he probably might be a complacent spectator of those horrid transactions. But he amply compensated for his inactivity by the ferocious malignity with which he afterwards persecuted the fallen monarch and his unhappy family. He probably did not conceive the vast project of raising himself to the supreme authority, till after the death of the king and the defeat of the Gironde party. His ambition in that period appears to have been confined within narrower limits; but after that, it is evident that his whole attention was directed to the removal of every person who might be an impediment to him in the attainment of this object.

As his only predominant passion was ambition, we have already remarked, that he was entirely free from the imputation of avarice or peculation; but that he was deficient of principle is evident from his political versatility. He had no personal attachment to any man; and

what was once his boast, forms the best clue to the development of his moral depravity and hardness of heart. "I was (said he) the friend of Petion, of Roland, of Brissot." (He might have added, of Orleans) "They betrayed their country, and I declared against them. Danton wishes to take their place: Danton in my eyes is only the enemy of his country." The man who can coolly devote to death persons whom he has once esteemed, and to whom he has the most pressing obligations, must be destitute of all those sentiments and feelings, which form the most certain basis of social virtue.

His abilities were probably overrated by his immediate connections, and they are undoubtedly depreciated too much not only by the emigrants, but by the present leaders of the popular party in France. Certain it is, that if he had not himself great talents, he possessed the no less valuable quality of discernment, and knew how to make the best use of the talents of others. He held the political abilities of Mr. Pitt in the most profound contempt, and is known to have expressed his opinion, "that if it had not been for the opposition party so frequently exposing his errors, and affording him an opportunity of correcting them, he (Mr. Pitt) would presently undo himself by pursuing his own mistaken views." Robespierre was probably more of a statesman than an orator: a feeble voice and unprepossessing exterior were impediments which he could never surmount; nor could we ever discover in his orations any traits of fancy, sublimity, or pathos.

Robespierre has been compared to our English Cromwell. Perhaps there was more resemblance in the interior cast of their minds, than in the circumstances which contributed to their elevation. Both indeed were the creatures of accident. Cromwell negotiated with the king even during his fatal captivity; and Robespierre was a royalist till the 10th of August. The prospect of sovereign authority was gradually unfolded to each by a series of favourable circumstances, of which each had the art and the courage to take advantage. Both were destitute of sympathy and affection. Robespierre was more sanguinary than Cromwell, probably because he had a more difficult part to play, and more competitors to contend with. Both affected simplicity in their manners and appearance; both were adepts in cunning and intrigue. Both assumed the mask of hypocrisy. Cromwell adapted his unmeaning harangues to the jargon of the enthusiasts of his day: Robespierre generally seasoned his orations with the words God and virtue. Their hypocrisy was the same, but in each it was adapted to the scene on which they were to act.

While the parallel might perhaps be traced in some other points than those to which we have adverted, there are some very important circumstances in which they entirely differed. The power of Cromwell rested upon a much more solid foundation than that of Robespierre. It was founded upon great military reputation, and supported by a well organized military force, without which no usurper can long maintain his authority. Robespierre rested solely on the fluctuating populace, and on the credit and influence of the jacobin club. Cromwell, though destitute of humanity, was less wantonly cruel than Robespierre; and did not disgust the people by frequent and bloody executions. Cromwell made good laws,

laws, and seems in many respects to have consulted the happiness and welfare of the community at large; all the decrees of Robespierre appear to have only had two objects—massacre and confiscation: Cromwell was his own minister; Robespierre made use of the genius of others, and the public and foreign affairs were generally conducted by the great abilities of Danton, Barrere, Sieyes, and Le Clos. Cromwell was therefore, apparently, the abler statesman; though we think the talents of Robespierre were not to be despised.

The usurpation of Robespierre also differed from that of Cromwell, not only in its duration, but in the consequences of its overthrow. As Cromwell's was a military usurpation, it was more permanent; and the military, instructed in habits of obedience and discipline, were still at the disposal of an individual; and the restoration of monarchy was the consequence. The usurpation of Robespierre existed only on the alarms of the people; some plots which were not imaginary gave occasion to the fabrication of many others; and by these devices the tyrant had the art of continually working on the passions of the multitude, who conceived that the political independence of the nation depended on his vigilance and activity. As soon as the delusion was dissipated, and the people found themselves in a state of security, the whole fabric, which rested only on imaginary alarms and terrors, dropped of itself; and, as the government of Robespierre resembled in its arbitrary nature the government of their former monarchs, the attachment of the people to a republic was only the more firmly rivetted.

Other consequences still more important to France, if possible, than the overthrow of an odious tyranny, have resulted from the fall of Robespierre. With him the influence of the jacobin club, that source of faction and intrigue, that monster in a state, an empire within an empire, was completely crushed. But this was not all—From the fatal 10th of August to the triumph of the 28th of July, the better orders of society, those classes which generally include the great mass of ability and virtue, were extremely depressed. They were silenced by the senseless clamour against aristocracy, and new phrases were invented to indicate that the whole powers of government were vested in the lowest of the populace. The tyranny of Robespierre has removed the absurd and indiscriminate prejudice against aristocracy, that is, against property and station; and the men of property perceiving the necessity of emerging from their inactivity, have once more taken an active share in the public affairs. A still better effect may be supposed, and indeed appears to result from this event. The French republicans, from the moment of the overthrow of the monarchical constitution, indulged in the most visionary speculations, and the most inconsistent theories of government. Even the Gironde party (though it included some men both of ability and integrity) is not exempt from this censure; and the constitution attributed to Condorcet was utterly impracticable. The French nation has now proved the danger of extending theory too far in a public institution; they have seen that on the speculations which were promulgated by well-meaning men was engrafted a shocking system of practical tyranny, and that those

those who promise too much will probably fulfil nothing. They will therefore, it is reasonable to suppose, cease to carry their expectations of perfection too far, and be content with such a practical system as will answer tolerably the great ends of government, the protection of individuals from internal oppression, and the defence of the community from foreign invasion. They have also discarded formally the romantic (and indeed unjust) project of reforming other states and governments. Their language is now—"Let us content ourselves with securing the liberties of France, and let us leave to time and to intellect the task of eradicating despotism." The moderation which has characterized the late proceeding of the convention is in many instances commendable. If any thing is deserving of censure, it is perhaps that they have been too indiscriminate in punishing the adherents of the tyrant. Many might be forced into his service through the system of terror which he established, and some might even be the dupes of his hypocrisy.

The municipal officers and others, who had excited the insurrection in favour of Robespierre, were tried on the 30th, and between sixty and seventy of them suffered death. The vacancies created in the committee of public safety by the fall of Robespierre were immediately filled by l'Eschasseriaux the elder, Tallien, Thuriot, Breard, Laloi, and Triellard; and the following old members were continued in office, viz. Carnot, Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, Prieur and Lindet. The convention at the same time decreed that one-fourth of the committee should go out by rotation monthly. Congratulations were received within the course of a few days from the different armies on the event of the 27th of July.

Conformably with their professions of moderation, the convention proceeded to dissolve and new model the revolutionary tribunal. The prisons were also opened in succession; the cases of the different prisoners were examined by commissioners, and but few were found committed upon any accusation of sufficient validity to warrant their detention. On the 1st of August Barrere presented a new form of government to exist till a constitution should be regularly formed, digested, and voted; and on the 5th his proposition was moulded into the form of a decree, which was as follows:

ARTICLE I. The committee of public safety shall assume the name of "the central committee of government." It shall be composed of twelve members, to be renewed every month, and not eligible again till after the interval of a month.

II. This committee shall be under the direct inspection of the "commission of foreign affairs," and cannot dispose of any of the public funds except for the secret services of government. For this purpose it shall have upon the national treasury a credit of ten millions. The credit which it had formerly, and is hitherto unemployed, is hereby withdrawn.

III. The committee of surety and superintendence shall take the name of "the committee of the general police of the republic." It shall consist of fifteen members: it shall, independently of the convention, have alone the power of arresting citizens. For issuing warrants of arrest against public functionaries, it shall act in concert with the committee charged with the superintend-

cuse of the administration to which such functionary may belong.

IV. It shall neither send to trial those who have been arrested, nor liberate those sentenced by the popular commissions, without being in concert with the central committee of government.

V. The commission of civil affairs of police, and the tribunals, shall make to it a daily report of the police and interior security of the republic.

VI. It shall have under its immediate inspection the police and armed force of Paris, the revolutionary tribunal, the committees of superintendence of the republic, and the popular commissions.

VII. The national treasury shall credit it for nine hundred thousand livres, for extraordinary and secret expences.

VIII. A fifth part of the members of the committee shall be changed every month, and not be re-eligible till after the interval of one month.

IX. All other committees, or commissions of the convention, now in existence, are abolished.

X. The following twelve committees shall be established:

1. One to superintend the commission of agriculture and arts, composed of five members.
2. One to superintend the commission of public instruction, to consist of five members.
3. To superintend the commission of commerce and provisions, five members.
4. To superintend the commission of transports, post-offices, and post-houses, five members.
5. To superintend the commission of arms and powder, six members.
6. To superintend the commission of the movement of the armies, six members.
7. To superintend the commission of the marine and colonies, five members.
8. To superintend the committee of public succour, five members.
9. To superintend the commission of public works, five members.
10. For the superintendence of the public expences and revenues there shall be four sections:—The first, consisting of five members, shall superintend the commission of the public treasury; the second, of ten members, the national revenues; the third, of ten members, the general liquidation; and the fourth, of ten members, the office of accounts.
11. A committee of legislation, composed of fifteen members, which shall have the superintendence of the commission of civil administrations, the police and the tribunals, according to the report of the tribunals and administrative bodies, shall be charged with the revision and classification of the laws, and the details respecting the territorial divisions of the republic.
12. A committee of inspection of the procès-verbaux, consisting of fifteen members, is charged with superintending the transcription of the acts of the convention in its offices and archives, the national press, and the commission of civil administrations.

Article XI. — There shall also be a committee of inspection of the hall, composed of fifteen members, exclusively charged with the police within the limits of the convention, the committees, and the national garden. It shall regulate the expences of the national convention, and its archives, as well as those of the committees; also the travelling expences of the representatives

tatives of the people sent to the departments, or the armies.

XII. It shall verify and adjust the accounts relative to the aforesaid expences; and the resolution of that committee, declaring its verification of the expences of the representatives of the people amounting to such a sum, shall be allowed as admission of that account.

XIII. The national treasury shall give its credit for three millions, to be employed in such expences in the aforesaid payments; and all former credit, hitherto unemployed, is withdrawn.

XIV. Every executive commission shall give a daily account of its proceedings to the committee charged with its inspection, and shall propose to it the difficulties to be surmounted, and the means of removing them. It shall also submit for the approbation of the committee, the agents nominated for the execution of its order.

XV. The commissioners shall every day lay before the committee for inspecting the public expenditure and revenue, a detailed account of the expences incurred in the course of the day.

XVI. The committees shall directly propose to the convention all legislative objects, after having previously communicated them to the central committee of government. They shall concert with that committee through the medium of one of its members, who shall be charged to report the executive objects discussed in the committee.

XVII. All executive objects shall be definitively settled by the central committee of government, which shall be responsible for the resolutions it may take.

These resolutions shall be signed by at least six members of the central committee, and by the commissioner of the committee who shall make the report.

The resolutions shall be sent to be executed by the commissions, and an account of them shall then be laid before the convention.

XVIII. Should there be any difference of opinion in the central committee of government, the affair is to be discussed and decided by a meeting composed of one commissioner from each of the committees.

XIX. In cases of urgency where expedition is required, the central committee of government may call upon one or more of the committee charged with the superintendence of the matter in question, and the result of their deliberation shall be carried into execution. But the members who shall assist in such deliberations shall make an immediate report of it to the general committee.

XX. The convention shall itself nominate the representatives of the people to be sent on any commission; the generals, the members of the executive commission, the members of the revolutionary tribunal, and popular commissions, on the proposition of the central committee of government, united with the committee charged with what relates to that particular object.

XXI. The national convention alone has power to recall the representatives of the people sent upon commissions.

The central committee of government, in concert with the committee charged with that particular affair, may remove the generals, the members of the executive commissions, and other public functionaries, of which a report is to be made to the convention.

XXII. All the committees shall

have a fifth of their members changed every month.

XXIII. All the committees and commissions within the convention shall continue to exercise their functions till the committees that are to replace them are perfectly organized.

On the 15th of the same month, Mr. James Monro, ambassador from the United States of America, was introduced to the convention; and on the 8th of September, Reybaz, ambassador from the republic of Geneva, was received; and the flags of both republics were ordered to be hung up with the national colours in the hall of the convention. On the 26th, Freron delivered a long discourse on the liberty of the press, and concluded by some forcible observations on the unjust severity of penal laws in most civilized communities.

"The revolutionary tribunal (said he) and the general police require also your attention. The police of ignorant and barbarous nations is imprisonment, and their justice, death. Among nations enlightened on the social art, in governments acquainted with human nature, a skilful and well distributed vigilance renders numerous imprisonments unnecessary; and penalties well apportioned to degrees of guilt, render the punishment of death more terrible from being rare. What contempt has been affected among us for these maxims! Into what horrors has this contempt led us! Let experience, which has cost us so dear, bring us back to those eternal principles which the genius of Montesquieu and Beccaria drew from the history of ages. Let us think with them, that the terror of punishment is lost in its frequency, and that to make death be feared, we must seldom inflict it. It is not the axe which is always falling, but the axe which is always ready to fall, on which the imagination and the eye dare not fix. Multiplied punishments, by rendering criminals more desperate, may destroy, in the minds of a whole people, those tender and sublime affections, that exquisite feeling of humanity, which are the principle, the end, and the perfection of all the social virtues. I move that you order your committee of legislation to present a plan of active police and vigilance, which may keep incessantly under the eyes of the magistrate all those whose manner of living or conversing may excite suspicion. It is the weakness, the disorder, and the sloth of government, that fill the prisons. A government of order, vigilance, and energy, makes society itself the guardian of society, without screening from punishment those who are the just objects of it. Good patroles prevent bloody battles. Patroles may be a measure of police as well as of military vigilance; and perhaps, if properly organized, the best fitted for a revolutionary government."

A debate of some length ensued. The speech of Freron was ordered to be printed, but no decisive resolution was passed.

The union which at first appeared among the opponents of Robespierre was not of long duration. The members of the committees had evidently joined the opposition in the convention, not till they perceived that it was likely to prove successful; and the latter soon manifested a degree of jealousy lest they should partake of the honour, and acquire a share of that power and popularity which had been achieved by the courage of others.

On

On the 29th of August, Lecointre of Versailles, in concert with Tallien, Dubois Crancé, and some others, produced an accusation against seven members of the committees of public and general safety; viz. Barrere, Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Vadier, Amar, and David. After a debate of some length, a great majority decreed, that the accusation was unfounded. On the succeeding day the subject was revived; but the seven members were strenuously defended by Bourdon of Oise and others, and the accusation was decreed to be false and defamatory.

Whether in consequence of the part which was taken by Tallien on this occasion, or whether from some other motive, it is not easy to ascertain, but on the 10th of September an attempt was made to assassinate Tallien. As he returned from the convention to his own house at a quarter after twelve at night, he was accosted by a man in a furred great coat, and a round hat.—"Come, villain (exclaimed the assassin) I have staid for thee a long time!" He then struck him in the breast with his fist, and discharged a pistol at him. The ball penetrated his shoulder; but the wound proved only slight, and Tallien was enabled in a few days after to resume his functions. The assassin escaped in the tumult.

The guilt of this attempt was charged upon the jacobin club. After it had been shut up by Legendre, it had been opened again by the influence of Billaud Varennes and others of that party; and several extremely inflammatory speeches and addresses had been uttered. These circumstances, added to the assault on Tallien, afforded a good reason for entirely abolishing the jacobin club; which salutary measure was shortly after effected.

Eschasseriaux, on the 7th of September, in the name of the committee charged with the revisal of the laws against emigrants, submitted their report to the convention. Upon this it was decreed, that "all persons of the following descriptions are emigrants. First, all Frenchmen who quitted the territory of the republic since the 1st of July 1789, and did not return into it by the 9th of May 1792; or having absented themselves from the place of their residence on the 9th of May 1792, or since that day, and cannot prove that they have resided uninterruptedly within the territory of the republic since that period.

"Every person, who having enjoyed the rights of a French citizen, although born in a foreign country, or having two houses, one in France, and the other in any foreign territory, who shall not in a similar way establish the proofs of his residence since the 9th of May 1792. Every person shall also be deemed an emigrant, who may be convicted of quitting, during the invasion of foreign powers, the part of the territory of the republic not invaded, and of having retired into that occupied by the enemy. Lastly, a residence in the territory united to the republic, prior to the proclamation of the re-union, cannot be urged as an excuse."

In the same sitting, Fayau proposed, that such citizens as were not owners of lands, and such as were possessed of but small portions, might be enabled to obtain certain allotments, for which they should account at the end of twenty years; "because," said the orator, "when the national do-

mains are all put up to public sale, they inevitably become the property of the monied part of the community." Barrere supported the good intention of Fayau, and proposed that the committee of public succour should point out a new class of citizens worthy of sharing the favours of the republic, viz. married men destitute of fortune, from twenty-five to fifty years of age. It was also his opinion, that workshops should be opened for the reception of poor artisans out of employment. He deprecated the idea of beholding commissaries and contractors erecting Colossal fortunes out of the money which they had plundered from the public, and wished that the committee of domains would present the plan of a decree, enacting, that the property of the emigrants should be sold in small portions, so that it could not be monopolized by monied men, but might be shared among the real friends to the community—men of small fortunes.

On the 19th of September, some measures were adopted to prevent too great an influx of strangers to Paris; and on the following day, a very ample report on the state of France was presented in the name of the committees of public and general safety, and of legislation, by Robert Lindet.

"When a nation desires to be free," it is not enough," says the reporter, "that the people wish to be so; they must be strong enough to resist the coalition of despots, and to make their liberty be acknowledged and respected. At this period 1,200,000 citizens in arms, who formed the advanced guard of the defenders of liberty, swept the frontiers of Spain, the Palatinate, and the Netherlands. Every thing yielded to their courage; the enemies (adds he) of the new republic, struck with terror, fled to their places of retreat, accused their chiefs and their tyrants, and murmured secret prayers for the success of their conquerors; nations sacrificed to the pride of kings, felt alone the calamities of war, and saw in the French the avengers of the rights of man. A formidable marine, united and wisely directed, rendered impotent the fury of the enemies of France, prepared the ruin of their commerce, and promised the freedom of the seas to Gaul. The nations who had been wise enough to resist the insinuations of the courts of Vienna and London, heard and repeated the victories of the republic. The enemies of the French no longer asked whether they had a government. They knew, that to maintain the most numerous armies, to cover the ocean with ships of war, to fight and vanquish by sea and land, to bring into their ports the commerce of the world, is to govern. The means that France used to attain this height of glory and of power were—When liberty and equality were solemnly proclaimed, every Frenchman felt that he had a country, and for that country was ready to sacrifice himself. They recalled to the minds of men that they are all equal in rights, that they are all brothers. What a spectacle (exclaims this republican orator in language somewhat inflated) for posterity is that of a people sacrificing every day to their country the price of their labour, their clothing, and their subsistence; regardless of themselves, and renewing to-day the sacrifices they had yesterday made, sacrifices which nothing but experience could induce us to believe within the limits of

of human power! The enemies of the French republic had been so numerous, so widely spread, had so many means of insinuating themselves into the administration, the popular societies, and even into their families, that every citizen was obliged to consider himself as a sentinel stationed at a post. The evils which the commune of Nantes had lately suffered, resounded in every ear. This citadel of the west sustained a siege of more than fifteen months; it combated the rebels and the banditti; it preserved to the republic an important place, and the navigation of the Loire.

"The army and navy, with the services requisite for them, had taken from agriculture and the useful professions, more than a million and a half of citizens, and (according to the estimate of the reporter) employed for the republic more on the whole than six millions of men, dispersed over the various communes, independent of the consumption occasioned by great numbers being collected in one place.

"While the revolution was so powerfully agitating the minds of Frenchmen; while invincible courage, the moral qualities of natural men, the civic virtues, were raising them above themselves; vice too (he adds) was making advances. Men were seen who embraced the revolution only for the sake of the crimes they hoped to commit, and the private advantages they expected to derive from it. They wished not for equality of rights; they aimed only at the confounding of fortunes; they hoped to squander or accumulate the wealth of others. Errors, abuses of power, arbitrary acts, are evils (says he) inseparable from a great revolution.

"Some weeks before the army had marched into West Flanders, this country, full of fortresses, was covered with the forces of the allied powers. All the fortresses fell into the hands of the French, and the capitulation of Ostend and Nieuport deprived the English of every communication with the Belgians. The republicans prepared before Charleroy, the success which was to crown them next day in the plains of Fleurus. A new mode of tactics restored Namur to them. They forced the Austrians to retreat. They entered Liege, where they made a successful conquest. They broke the sceptre of a priest, and the chains with which a despot bound his fellow men. At this period all the banks of the Rhine resounded with the victories of republicans. The armies of the Moselle and the Rhine united, put the Austrians and Prussians to flight, restored the communication with Landau, and secured the Palatinate. Collioure and Port Vendre, in the south, were occupied by the Spaniards for a moment, only to give new éclat to the arms of France, and exhibit the best troops of Spain compelled to renounce the honours of war, and lay down their arms. The vallies of Bosson and Lorrain supplied the Gallic soldiers for several months. Fontarabia and St. Sebastian gave the republic ports that secure the navigation of the gulph. Spain lost founderies and manufactories of arms which would have been an eternal source of jealousy, if they had been preserved." Such was the state of France, as reported on the 20th of September. The report is evidently exaggerated in some instances, but experience assures us that it has still much foundation in truth.

The same day the convention passed several decrees, ordering that the

the committee of public instruction should draw up, every decade, a paper of instruction, the object of which should be to revive the love of labour, to confirm the citizens in the principles of morals and attachment to their duties, to remind them of the grand events of the revolution, and to lay before them the advantages of the useful arts and sciences. These papers were ordered to be sent to all the communes, to be read every decade, in the place of meeting of the general assembly, to which fathers, mothers, and their children, should be called and incited to repair. The reading to be followed by hymns of liberty. "The national convention, desirous of accelerating the period at which an uniform mode of instruction may be established over all the republic, also ordered its committee of public instruction to present, within ten days, a plan of regulation for schools, to which shall be called the best informed citizens of all the districts, in order to be taught, by the ablest professors in all branches of human knowledge, the art of teaching others." This project we confess appears to partake too much of the new visionary philosophy; time perhaps may teach the French to rest the principles of morals on a better basis, that of religion.

In the month of September some commotions took place at Marseilles. The principal occasion of it was the desire of rescuing a person of the name of Regnier, who had been committed to prison there, which they effected. The riot, however, was after this soon quelled. Regnier was outlawed, and the rest of the conspirators ordered before the tribunal.

The contests between the party of Tallien, and that of Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, &c. still continued to agitate occasionally the convention; and to this contest the Girondists, who had been imprisoned or outlawed from the 31st of May 1793, are probably in part indebted for their restoration to their functions. On the 22d of October, some of these members were encouraged to make application to the convention for their liberty. A long debate ensued, which afforded but little prospect of a successful termination. In the course of the succeeding month, however, they renewed their application, and on the 3d of December they resumed their seats in the convention to the number of 71. Mr. Thomas Paine, though not imprisoned as having signed the protest against the proceedings of the 31st of May, but as an alien born, was also permitted to resume his seat.

On the 12th of November, Laignelot gave an account of the reasons which induced the committee of general safety to resolve upon the suspension of the jacobin club. "Passion (he said) had no share in this resolution, it was dictated by the interest of the country alone. While they acknowledged the good which that society had done, they shut up their hall, only from respect to those principles which ought not to be infringed. They were at the same time of opinion, that popular societies might be permitted under proper restrictions, because they are inherent in a republican government; but they could not consider the jacobin club as a society truly and purely popular. The jacobins were protected and supported while they vied in virtue, and not in power, with legitimate authority. If they were not now what they formerly were, the true friends of the people would

would see that they had attempted to vilify and degrade the convention. It is necessary (added the reporter) to remind the representatives of the people, of principles that ought to be engraven on their hearts. In a well ordered government, two rival powers ought not to exist. In a republic, there must not be a government by the side of a government. On the 27th of July, the jacobins were in open revolt: since that period, availing themselves of impunity, conceiving that the national representation had neither courage nor character; that it considered them as the sacred ark, which no unhallowed hand was permitted to touch, they have continued their plan of revolt. There is but one republic, there ought to be but one convention. The committees, who love their country, and who wish to unite all the members of the convention, have thought it useful for public liberty, to extinguish a flame of discord, of faction and dissension. The committees were of opinion, that the whole people would applaud the measure they had adopted. It never was their intention to attack popular societies. They acknowledged that they had no right to shut the gates but where factions are engendered, and civil war publicly recommended. The societies of the sections are truly the societies of the people, and the committees declared they would maintain them." This step of the committees met with the warmest approbation of the whole convention, and was also greatly applauded by the people at large.

The next measure which the convention adopted, was to bring to punishment the perpetrators of the horrid cruelties in La Vendée. Carrier, a representative of the people, who had taken a very active part against the rebels in that department, was the principal object fixed upon as a public example. The convention passed a decree of accusation against him. His defence was able and argumentative; and its failure of success may serve to convince future instruments of tyranny and cruelty, that, though criminal actions may be justified by the applause of those who order them, and pass with impunity during the period of their predominant power, yet they will be punished when that power has fallen into other hands. Carrier, after a long trial before the revolutionary tribunal, was sentenced to death, and executed soon afterwards with two of the revolutionary committee of Nantz, who were found participators in his crimes: the rest of the revolutionary committee were acquitted.

After the convention had, in this manner, atoned in some degree for the cruelties committed by Robespierre's party and instruments, they issued a proclamation to the insurgent royalists themselves, which we cannot but allow to be both politic and humane, and containing offers too liberal to be refused without degrading the name of royalists to that of banditti. That proclamation held out a free pardon to all who should deposit their arms in the respective communes within one month after the day of its date; proper commissioners were sent to the rebellious departments to see the decree made upon the occasion properly executed; and it has since appeared, that it has been attended with salutary effects. It is with satisfaction we add to these measures of justice and moderation, that on the 30th of December the abominable decree of Robespierre for

for giving no quarter to the English and Hanoverians was finally repealed, amidst the loudest acclamations of the whole convention and the spectators.

In the course of the summer the ingenuity and enterprise of the French nation were displayed in some remarkable instances. The most extraordinary is the invention of the *telegraph*, a name evidently compounded of two Greek words, τῆλε *distant*, and γράφω *to write*. The construction of the machine is very simple. A number of posts are erected at convenient distances; and on each of the upright posts is fixed a transverse beam with two moveable arms; the beam itself being also moveable. The different forms which the machine is capable of assuming are 16, and these represent the telegraphic alphabet. The signals are repeated from one station to another; and in this manner the recapture of Quesnoy was made known at Paris within an hour after the French troops entered the place.

Another instance to which it is necessary to allude, is the application of the air balloons to military purposes. They were very successfully employed by the French engineers for the purpose of reconnoitring. They were generally constructed of an elliptical form, made of gummed taffeta, and were 29 feet in length, 19 in diameter, and 57 in circumference. They were attached to strong cords, and permitted to ascend to a convenient height; and in the car or gondola was seated a skilful engineer, who gave notice by signals to the army of the enemy's position and movements. The battle of Fleurus is said to have been governed by the whole conversation of the observers and the spectators.

In the course of the summer the art of aeronauts is attached to each of the French armies, whose sole occupation is to prepare balloons.

Of the modes which the French have adopted for the production of saltpetre in such quantities as to preclude the necessity of a foreign supply, we are not yet able to give an exact account, as we believe they have never been made public. One discovery, connected with this subject, is may be proper to notice, as it was presented to the convention by the Lyceum of Arts on the 11th of September. Of that institution the committee of subsistence had requested, that they would undertake some experiments in order to discover a substitute for grain in the fabrication of starch; and they found upon examination of several different materials, that the fruit of the horse-chestnut tree, freed from its acrid parts by a peculiar process, would furnish a quantity of starch which is well adapted to every commercial purpose. They carried their researches still further upon this hitherto useless vegetable, and the result was certainly of high importance to commerce and manufactures. They found that, by burning the horse-chestnut, according to a process described in their memoir, from 12 ounces of cinders they were able to collect the amazing product of 9 ounces of potash of the first quality.

CHAPTER X.

State of the Armies in West Flanders.—Lord Moira lands at Ostend—Marches to support the Duke of York.—Evacuation of Ostend.—Conduct of the Allies in the preceding Part of the Campaign.—Retreat of the Duke of

York.—French enter Tournay, Ghent, and Oudenarde.—Prince of Cobourg defeated near Mons.—The French take Possession of that City.—Prince of Cobourg again defeated.—Evacuates the Netherlands.—French enter Brussels.—Malines taken.—Duke of York again retreats.—Joined by Lord Moira.—Malines abandoned.—Lord Moira returns to England.—Retreat of the Prince of Orange.—Defeat of General Clairfait.—French enter Louvain and Namur.—Pass of the Lier forced.—Antwerp taken.—Brussels submits to the French.—Fort Lillo and Cadsand taken.—Siege and surrender of Sluys.—Battle of Eldickhoffen.—Prussians defeated.—Austrians driven across the Rhine.—Keiserslautern abandoned.—Treves taken.—Recapture of Landrecy, Quesnoy, Valenciennes, and Condé.—Retreat of the British Army.—Action at Boxtell.—Efforts of the Emperor.—Expedition of Earl Spencer.—Prince of Cobourg dismissed.—Defeat of General Clairfait.—French enter Aix-la-Chapelle.—General Clairfait defeated near Juliers.—Surrender of Juliers.—French enter Cologne.—Venlo and Nuys taken.—French enter Bonn.—Action near Andernach.—Coblentz taken.—Frankendal, Worms, and Bingen taken.—Duke of York retreats to Nimeguen.—Fort Crevecœur taken.—Bois-le-Duc taken.—Duke of York defeated.—Retreats and crosses the Waal.—Siege and Evacuation of Nimeguen.—Surrender of Philippine and Sas-de-Gand.—Siege and Surrender of Maestricht.—Successes of the French in Spain.—Surrender of Bellegarde.—Death of General Dugommier and the Count de l'Union.—St. Fernando de Figueres taken.—St. Juan de Luz and Fort St. Barbe taken.—Fontarabia taken.—St. Sebastian and Port de Passage taken.—King of Spain loses Places and Pensions.—Successes of the French in Italy.—Recapture of Guadaloupe.—Treaty between Sweden and Denmark.—Neutral Powers compel Great Britain to make Compensation for their Losses.—Armfeldt's Conspiracy.—Conclusion.

THE importance of the internal transactions of the French nation produced an unavoidable interruption in our narrative of military affairs. In a preceding chapter we left the allies retreating before the victorious republicans after the decisive battle of Fleurus. The duke of York was compelled to quit his position at Tournay, and general Walmoden was obliged to evacuate Bruges, and join the broken and discomfited corps of general Clairfait. To those gallant and able commanders no blame can attach for these misfortunes. The duke of York appears to have displayed in the whole of the campaign that inflexible courage and undaunted military spirit, which has been inherent in his illustrious family; and most military men are agreed, that greater talents as a commander have seldom been found in any man than in general Clairfait, nor were the other generals deficient either in courage or abilities. That the cabinets of the combined powers did not second with equal judgment and vigour the efforts of their generals has been said, and we fear with some foundation. They appear to have had little skill in military arrangements, and seem to have acted like the Athenians, whom Demosthenes compares to an unskilful pugilist, who makes continual efforts to cover the part where he had received a blow, and leaves the rest of his body defenceless. The fate of the Netherlands, and of West Flanders in particular, was no sooner decided

decided, than lord Moira was dispatched to Ostend, with the remains of that army which was to have established royalty in Britanny, and arrived only in time to assist at the evacuation of that place. The reinforcement of lord Moira amounted to 10,000 men, and it was the latter end of June when his lordship arrived at Ostend. By the capture of Ypres on the one side, and of Bruges on the other, the situation of his lordship was rendered critical. The French in the mean time were advancing upon Ghent in great force, and but little expectation was entertained of general Clairfait being able to make any effectual resistance in that quarter. By the reinforcement remaining at Ostend, the place might perhaps have been defended for some time; and while the British remained masters of the sea, the greater part of the troops might have been able to reimbark, should they be closely pressed. On the contrary, to relieve the allies, and to support the duke of York in particular, appeared to the British commander an object of more urgent importance than the precarious possession of a single town; and whatever movement was to be made required dispatch, left the advance of the French armies might completely cut off the communication. A council of war was therefore called by the earl of Moira, and it was determined immediately to evacuate Ostend. This difficult and laborious task was committed to colonel Vyse. On the morning of the 1st of July, he began to embark the troops on board the shipping, which lay at single anchor in the harbour, and the baggage and stores were on board before night. The French entered the town as the last detachment embarked. Three columns of infantry were admitted by the west gate, with two pieces of cannon, and began immediately to fire upon the British transports, which was answered by the frigates and gun-boats. The inhabitants received the French with transports of joy; and the republican general Van Damme immediately convoked them, and desired them to choose provisional representatives. The British fleet, amounting in all to 150 sail, took their departure for Flushing on the 3d. The Gatton East India ship, laden with ordnance stores, unfortunately ran aground in getting out, and it was necessary to set her on fire to prevent her falling into the hands of the republicans. The wealth which was left in the place was considerable, as it was impossible in so short a time to remove the whole of the stores; and from the convenience of the port the acquisition to the French republic was important.

While colonel Vyse was engaged in conducting the evacuation of Ostend, lord Moira with his main army repaired to Malle, about four miles from Bruges, on the great causeway to Ghent, and shortly after effected a junction with general Clairfait. On the 3d of July the duke of York retreated from Renaix to Gramont, and the sick were sent to Antwerp. On the same day the French entered Tournay, the handful of Austrians and Hessians who had been left there by the duke of York having hastily evacuated the place. The inhabitants of this town had been more attached to the English than those of any other in the Netherlands, yet they received the French with every mark of festivity and rejoicing, and liquor was brought to regale them at the gates by which they entered. The republican army entered Ghent on the same day; which

which rendered the situation of the English precarious, as the French were now nearer Antwerp by twenty miles than the duke of York. Oudenarde was evacuated at the same time; and at this place the French found 24 pieces of artillery, besides the magazines and ammunition. At Tournay they found 20 guns spiked, 10,000 musquet balls, a large quantity of gunpowder, 200 rations of forage and barley, and several magazines. Near that city they also took 14 barges laden with ammunition.

About this period a statement of the loss in killed sustained by the combined powers from the capture of Landrecy (30th May) was presented to the national convention; and as no other return has fallen within our knowledge, we embrace the opportunity of inserting it, without pledging ourselves for the correctness of the report, which is given in the words in which it was made.

"On the 2d Prairial, (21st May) in the first combat near the wood of Bonne Esperance, 1500 slaves were killed.

"On the 5th Prairial, (24th May) in the combat near the Abbey of Obbe, 1500 slaves.

"On the 7th Prairial, (26th May) in the attack of Montigny, 1000.

"From the 7th to the 15th Prairial, (3d June) when Charleroy was first blockaded, 2000 Austrians.

"On the 28th Prairial, (16th June) in the very bloody engagement on that day, 6000 of their accomplices.

"On the 30th Prairial, (18th June) near Harleymont, 200.

"On the 7th Messidor, (25th June) 800 bit the dust.

"On the 8th Messidor, (26th June) in the celebrated battle of Fleurus—in that battle which will eternally recall to our remembrance the skilful march of the soldiers of the army of the Moselle, who penetrated the woods of the Ardennes, and crossed the rocks of the Meuse, to afford an example of discipline to the enemy, and to beat the enemy at Charleroi, in concert with the armies of the North and Ardennes—in that battle we have stated the loss of the allies to be between 8 and 10,000. The representatives of the people have informed us that the reports of deserters since the battle of the 8th Messidor estimate the loss of the enemy at 15,000. On this part of the frontier the number of deserters from the imperial standard is 600. To this we may add the garrison of Charleroi, which amounted to 3000 slaves, and which surrendered at discretion.

"Total of the killed, &c. 31,600.

"Besides these, 6000 were taken, and 67 pieces of cannon, in the battle fought before the capture of Ypres. To this number must be added the amount of the garrison of Ypres, which is 7,000 men."

The beginning of July was fatal to the allies in every point. On the 2d, the prince of Cobourg was again defeated near Mons, and that place immediately submitted to the republicans, who entered at one gate while the Austrians retreated through another. The prince of Cobourg next attempted to make a stand near the forest of Soignes, where he intrenched himself strongly. The French attacked the Austrian batteries with the bayonet, and carried them all. The prince of Cobourg is said to have lost 7,000 men in this fatal conflict. With the miserable remains of his army the prince ordered a retreat in the night

night through Brussels and its environs, which he effected in good order. He had previously ordered the magistrates to enjoin the inhabitants, on pain of death, to confine themselves to their houses, lock their doors, and even bar up their windows. Such was the melancholy state in which this representative of the emperor took leave of that place, which his master but a short time before had entered in triumph.

The republican armies of the North, the Sambre, and the Meuse, formed a junction at Brussels about the 19th of July, "with as much gaiety and tranquillity," said the reporter, "as would have been manifested at a civic festival." The magazines and stores which fell into the hands of the French in the course of their progress are beyond computation. The rich harvest of the Netherlands was then on the ground; and contributions of corn and money were levied on the corporations and the monks.

It was expected that Nieuport would have surrendered immediately on the fall of Ypres; it however resisted till the 19th, and the brave garrison sustained a most severe bombardment during the whole siege from an army of 30,000 men, by whom it was invested. A number of emigrants taken in arms at Mons and Nieuport were put to death.

The surrender of Ghent and Oudenarde, added to the other successes of the French, did not permit the duke of York long to retain his position at Gramont. In the morning of the 4th, he began his retreat. The line moved off about seven, and at four in the afternoon they arrived at the heights of Lombecke St. Catharine. The marquis Cornwallis, who had been dispatched on an unsuccessful mission, to dispose the king of Prussia to fulfil his engagements, was at this time on his return, and accompanied the army from Gram to Antwerp, where he left it the 10th.

When the duke retreated fr Gramont, lord Moira's army w Alost. On the 6th, his outpost attacked; and the posts being ven in, the French penetrated to town: his lordship, however, riving with a reinforcement, were repulsed. The loss of British in killed, wounded, missing, was only thirty. Th the moment of their quitting C tend, this brave army had suff ed incredible hardships, as th marched without tents or bagga

From Lombecke St. Catheri the duke of York marched on t 5th of July towards Mechlin; a on the 8th was joined by lor Moira's corps. On the 11th, t outposts occupied by the Brit in front of the canal leading fro Brussels to Antwerp, were attack and driven into Mechlin, up which place the republicans a fired; but on a reinforcem being brought up by the earl Moira, they were obliged to retr with some loss. On the 12t however, the French renewed t attack, and succeeded in oblig the posts on the left of Mechlin to abandon the canal and retreat from the dyke.

Mechlin was immediately evacuated by the Austrian garrison, and Antwerp itself was no longer considered as a safe retreat. On the 20th, lord Moira took his leave of the army; and the duke of York only continued in the vicinity of Antwerp, to give the Dutch time to put their fortifications in repair, and prepare for a vigorous defence. The prince of Coburg at this time informed the duke by letter,

letter, that he meant to have given battle to the enemy, had not the Dutch fallen back and left his army too weak to attempt it. One expression is remarkable in the prince's letter: speaking of the allies (he says) "We seem to be bewitched!" An exclamation which strongly marks the confusion and want of system prevalent in the combined armies.

It is a singular circumstance, that lord Moira conceived it necessary to enter into a justification of his conduct in a written address, which was circulated among the officers. Whether it arose from a mistrust of the ministers, whom he might suspect of an intention of sacrificing him to their own reputation; or from a wish of marking his disapprobation of the mode which they had adopted for the conduct of the campaign, we cannot presume to decide. In the address in question, his lordship informs his brother officers, that the orders under which he embarked, pointed out the restricted object of defending Ostend; and that he had told the ministers, that "any orders for his serving in Flanders must occasion his immediate resignation." The day after his landing, however, he heard so much of the state of affairs in the country, that he thought he could not honestly confine his attention to the service exactly assigned him. He then made a proposal to generals Clairfait and Walmoden to unite their forces, and act from Bruges to Thielt, upon the left wing of the French. On the road to Bruges, however, he received a letter from the duke of York, which had come round by Sluys, desiring "that lord Moira would embark his whole army, and join him by way of Antwerp;" but the other object was too far advanced to leave room for the obedience of this order. From general Clairfait he soon after received a declaration, "that on account of prince Cobourg's defeat, he could not fulfil any engagement with lord Moira, and that he expected to leave Ghent in a few hours." At the same time he was pressed by the duke of York to march by Sluys and Sas de Gand (the other road appearing out of the question) and join the duke's army more rapidly than the passage by sea would allow.

In consequence of this exigence, lord Moira proceeds to state, that he resolved to push forward by the route of Ecloo and Ghent. This arrangement, however, he observes, occasioned many inconveniences from the privation of baggage, &c. The evacuation of Ostend, &c. was therefore immediately determined on. The rapidity of the march (he adds) fortunately exposed nothing to chance, though the French general had orders to strike at the corps at all events, and had taken every preliminary measure for that purpose. Lord Moira was succeeded in his command by general Abercrombie.

The prince of Orange in the beginning of the month had taken post at Waterloo, and here he was at first successful in repelling an advanced guard of the French. He was soon, however, compelled to abandon this post by the advance of the republican armies to Brussels. He attempted afterwards to make a stand along the canal of Louvain; but the French bringing up continual reinforcements, he was obliged with considerable loss to retreat on the 16th across the Dyle, and established for a short time his head quarters at Nyle. It was in vain that

that the ſtadtholder ſolicited the Dutch by repeated proclamations to make a levy of one man in ten throughout the United Provinces. A conſiderable proportion of the people, it appeared, were diſaffected to his government, and the reſt were ſunk in an incorrigible torpidity.

The French generals loſt no time in advancing from Bruſſels to Louvain. General Kleber proceeded on the 15th of July with one diviſion towards that city; while to favour this movement the diviſions under generals Lefevre, Dubois, Championet, and Morlet, advanced in front of the Dyle. At the iron mountain the unfortunate Clairfait again attempted an ineffectual reſiſtance, but was completely defeated by general Kleber, with the loſs, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, of 6000 men; while the generals Lefevre and Dubois ſeized on the poſition of the abbey of Florival. General Kleber's advanced guard next made an attack upon Louvain, which they carried after an obſtinate reſiſtance. General Lefevre at the ſame time drove the Auſtrians as far as Tirlemont, killed an immenſe number, and made many priſoners.

It was at firſt the intention of the commanders of the combined armies to defend Namur, and to form a line of defence from that city to Antwerp; but theſe ſucceſſes of the republicans, and their rapid movements, totally diſconcerted this plan. Namur was abandoned by general Beaulieu on the night of the 16th, leaving behind him only two hundred men, who ſurrendered both the city and citadel on the firſt ſummons. A large quantity of artillery was found at Namur. On the 20th, the keys of the city were preſented at the bar of the national convention.

The important paſs of the Lier, where general Walmoden was poſted, was forced nearly about the ſame time; and on the 29th the French ſent a trumpeter to Antwerp to inform the inhabitants, that they intended to viſit them on the ſucceeding morning, which they did at eleven o'clock, and took quiet poſſeſſion of that city. The allies had previouſly ſet fire to the immenſe magazines of forage there; and deſtroyed in different kinds of ſtores to the amount of *half a million ſterling*. The French commiſſioner however ſtated in his diſpatch, that he found immenſe magazines, eſpecially of hay, undeſtroyed, and thirty pieces of cannon.

The retreat of the Auſtrians from Louvain left open the territory of Liege to general Jourdain, who, with the armies of the Sambre and the Meuſe, loſt no time in improving his ſucceſs, and endeavouring to preſs the enemy more cloſely towards Maeſtricht. His advanced guard marched towards the river Jaar on the 27th. The allied army before Liege reſiſted the cannonade for ſome time, but the republican charge (ſays general Ernouf) ſoon put them to flight." The French were moſt cordially received at Liege, while the enemy retreated to the heights of the Chartreux, where they were entrenched, and in a petty ſpirit of revenge directed their fire againſt the city. In this poſt, however, it appears they maintained their ground for ſome time after the capture of the city.

About the ſame period fort Lillo was evacuated by the allies; and on the 29th the French general Moreau took poſſeſſion of the

iſland

ſland of Cadſand, where he found ſeventy pieces of cannon, a third of them braſs, with a quantity of tents, ſtores, and waggons.

The garriſon of Sluys was ſummoned early in the month of July by general Ahmain, but the commander Vander Dugn returned an anſwer remarkable at once for its brevity and ſpirit—"The honour (ſays he) of defending a place like Sluys, that of commanding a brave garriſon, and the confidence they repoſe in me, are my anſwer." This brave and able commander reſiſted the torrent till the 25th of Auguſt, when honourable terms were granted. The garriſon were made priſoners of war; but marched out with the honours of war "in teſtimony (ſays the French general) of the fine defence they have made."

The armies of the Rhine and the Moſelle were not inactive during theſe ſucceſſes of their brethren. On the 12th of July general Michaud attacked the Pruſſians near Edickhoffen; and, to favour their operations in that quarter, advanced at the ſame time upon the Auſtrians before Spires. The conteſt was long and bloody, and both parties claimed the victory. The French general of diviſion Laboiſſiere, by venturing too far, was taken priſoner. On the following day the French renewed the attack on the Pruſſians with redoubled vigour. The battle laſted from early in the morning till nine at night—general de Saix made himſelf maſter of Freſchboch and Freimerſheim. At the ſame time a ſecond diviſion under generals Siſca and Deſgranges combined its movements to the left of the mountain, with thoſe of the other column. They attacked ſeven times, and at length carried by aſſault, amidſt a terrible fire, the important poſts fortified and occupied by the Pruſſians on Platoberg, the higheſt mountain in the whole territory of Deux Ponts. Nine guns, beſides ammunition, waggons, horſes, and a number of priſoners, were taken by the republicans. The Pruſſian general Piau was killed in the action, and two others wounded. The remainder of the corps under the hereditary prince of Hohenlohe retreated at eleven o'clock at night to Edickhoffen.

On the 14th, the French made an attack upon Tripſtadt; they drove in the out-poſts, but the enemy was ſtrongly entrenched upon ſteep and ſhelving mountains. Here therefore the conteſt was ſharp and bloody. The French took ſix field pieces and two howitzers: they loſt on their part 300 men; and general Moreau ſays that "the loſs of the enemy, many of whom were cut to pieces in their flight, was very great indeed."

On the afternoon of the 15th, the French repeated their attack on the whole chain of poſts from Newſtadt to the Rhine, along the Rebach. From two o'clock till eight, the cannonading continued without intermiſſion. The French were at length victorious, and in the night all the German troops retreated with the utmoſt precipitation. The imperial army paſſed the Rhine, and the Pruſſians under prince Hohenlohe retired towards Gunterſblum by way of Durcheim.—Another corps of Pruſſians took the road of Winweiller towards Mentz. The French are computed to have loſt nearly 4000 men in theſe actions. Keiſerſlautern was abandoned to the republicans in conſequence of theſe ſucceſſes.

The army of the Moſelle proceeded on the 5th of Auguſt in three columns, with a promiſe to meet at Treves at the ſame hour on the ſame day. In their progreſs, they

they encountered and forced several posts of the allies. On the 8th, they united according to compact on an immense plain, and immediately surrounded Treves on every side. One of the columns in the afternoon entered the city, which had been hastily evacuated by the German troops. The magistrates met them in their robes at the gates with the keys, congratulated them on their success, and declared they were glad to receive them *. The good conduct of this army deserves commendation; and an English writer, speaking of it, observes, "They had no sooner entered Treves than they established a municipality; they broke in upon no property whatever, and left the different corporations, and all civil and religious institutions, as they found them."

The good effects of that system which succeeded the bloody tyranny of Robespierre were indeed not confined to the territory of France, but were extended in a conspicuous manner to the conquered countries. The rage for extended dominion, which was the passion of Dumouriez, and but too much favoured by the democratic enthusiasm of the Gironde party, was converted under Robespierre into a vast system of plunder and oppression; and to this system may be attributed in part the slow progress which was made by the immense armies of the republic. They were invincible in the field, but every town which was capable of defence formed an impediment to their advances. No sooner was this conduct changed on the part of the French, than the Flemish and German cities spontaneously opened their gates, and received the French rather as friends than as conquerors. Such a circum-

* The following vacancies in the army were filled up by the convention, (agreeably to the decree for distributing military preferments according to merit) on the day that the keys of Treves were laid on the table.

1. Latis, a captain of grenadiers in the 16th regiment, to be chief of the 14th battalion of Angers, he having first jumped into the boats at the passage of the Straight of Caeyiche, the 10th of Thermidor (July 28th), at the taking of the island of Cazzan.

2. Bonnot, aide-du-camp of general Moreau, to be captain of the 10th regiment of dragoons; he having first steered the boat swimming at the passage of the Straight of Caeyiche, the 10th of Thermidor, at the taking of the island of Cazzan.

3. Boulle, second lieutenant of the 17th regiment of dragoons, to be lieutenant of the said 10th. He singly charged six musketeers at Maconi, cut down two of them; and the four others failing to surrender, and approaching Boulle, and dismounting him, he rose and put two more to the sword, while a dragoon running to his aid killed the remaining two.

4. Michel Manu, dragoon of the 17th, to a second lieutenancy in the 10th. Various actions prove his courage. At the affair of Niederostendack, he killed a hussar and brought off his horse. At the attack of Weyertheim, he killed four foot soldiers, and received two musket wounds. The eve of the capture of Lauterbourg, he killed an Austrian hussar, took his horse, and delivered a French dragoon from the enemy. At Frankendal, he took a dragoon on his horse, returned to the battle, fell on a company of foot, dispersed it, and took the horse of the commander.

5. Charles-Andre-Meda, gendarme of the men of the 14th of July, to be second lieutenant in the 5th regiment of chasseurs. During the expedition of the commune of Paris, on the night of the 9th (July 27), he first fired on the traitors Couthon and Robespierre.

stance

lance ought very forcibly to operate on all who wish for success in war; they may depend upon it, that cruelty and rapacity will counteract the very ends for which they engage in hostility, and, like the armed men of Cadmus, a fruitful crop of enemies will start up in every soil. If we must have war, good policy itself demands that even this abuse of human reason should be rendered as little abhorrent as possible from the principles of humanity.

After these successes, it was not reasonable to expect that the fortresses which had been conquered from the French, insulated as the garrisons were, and deprived of every hope of succour, should long resist. Landrecy was invested by general Scherer, with a division of the army in which were incorporated the national guards and volunteers of the communes of Avesnes, Maubeuge, and the neighbouring territory. The adventurous general, as if to shew his inflexible determination to carry the place without loss of time, opened the first parallel at only 130 toises from the works; and this bold manœuvre eventually spared the effusion of blood: for the garrison, not apprehending the besiegers to be so near, directed their fire in such a manner, that the shot went 100 toises over the ground on which the workmen were employed. Without firing a gun the general summoned the town, and at the same time advertised the garrison, that no capitulation would be admitted. As resistance in such circumstances would have been insanity, the garrison surrendered at discretion on the 15th. It consisted of 2000 men, and besides ninety-one guns, which were originally mounted on the fortifications, the French found twenty-six others as an additional security.

Quesnoy followed the fate of Landrecy, and the garrison surrendered at discretion to general Scherer on the 15th of August. It consisted of 3000 men; and a great quantity of arms, ammunition, and provisions was found in the fortress, with 119 Austrian and Dutch cannon.

Valenciennes surrendered upon capitulation on the 26th of the same month. The garrison were made prisoners of war, but were to be conducted to the first post of the Imperial and Dutch armies, on condition that they were not to serve against the republic till regularly exchanged. Considerable stores of every kind, with 200 pieces of cannon, one million pounds of gunpowder, and three millions of florins in specie, and 6½ millions of livres, were found in Valenciennes; 1000 head of horned cattle, and great quantities of oats and other corn were also included within the fortress. So earnest indeed had the emperor been to retain this important place, that he is said to have expended three millions in repairing and improving the fortifications. What is most to be lamented is, that upwards of 1000 unhappy emigrants were surrendered on this occasion to the vengeance of their enraged countrymen. Surely it would have been wise as well as humane conduct, while the combined powers accepted the services of these unfortunate men in the field, to avoid including them in fortified places, where their inevitable lot, on a surrender, must be death.

The last of these four fortresses which was restored to the French was Condé. Here the allies had formed their depôt, and the maga-

zines and stores which fell into the possession of the besiegers were immense. It was on the 30th of August, in the midst of the violent altercation respecting the accusation of Billaud Varennes, &c. that this intelligence was communicated to the convention by the telegraph, as the re-capture of Quesnoy and Valenciennes had been before. The communication was made in a few hours after the surrender; and by the telegraph a decree of the convention was transmitted back on the same day, changing the name of Condé to that of *Nord-Libre*.

A corps of 1606 men formed the garrison of Condé, and surrendered prisoners of war. Besides a large quantity of provisions, there were found in the fortress 161 pieces of cannon; 6000 muskets, besides those of the garrison; 300,000 lbs. of gunpowder; 100,000 bombs, balls, and shells; 1,500,000 cartridges; 600,000 lbs. of lead; and 191 waggons of stores, provisions, &c. The fortifications were in the most complete repair, and there were casemates for a much more numerous garrison.

The British army after their retreat from the vicinity of Antwerp proceeded to Breda, which it was determined to defend, and a Dutch garrison was stationed there for that purpose. The right column of the English marched through Breda on the 4th of August, while the left went round it. They then took a position which had been previously marked out for them about four miles distant from the town. In this station they continued some days at the particular request of the prince of Orange, while he was occupied in putting Breda in a respectable state of defence. The British army at this time amounted to 25,000 men.

From Breda the British retreated about the latter end of August towards Bois-le-Duc, with little molestation, except a slight skirmish with an advanced party of the French. A Dutch garrison of 5000 men was also left in this fortress. In the beginning of September the British troops were alarmed by the approach of a body of French, under general Pichegru, which the duke of York supposed could not be less in number than 80,000. The posts on the Dommel and the village of Boxtell were attacked and forced on the 14th by the advanced guard of the republicans. The duke therefore considered his situation as no longer safe, and on the 16th of September crossed the Meuse, and took a position which had been previously reconnoitred about three miles from Grave. The loss of the British *only* in the attack on the posts behind the Dommel, and at Boxtell, was 91 in killed, wounded, and missing. Of the Hessians, who suffered most in this engagement, we have no return. The Dutch account states the whole loss of the allies at 2000 men; and adds, that by the retreat of the duke of York an opening was left between Breda and Bois-le-Duc, by which an enemy less daring than the French might penetrate into Holland, by passing the Meuse near Dommel. The French account states that they took 2000 prisoners and 8 pieces of cannon in the action at Boxtell.

The emperor appeared at this crisis completely weary of the war. On evacuating the Netherlands, the prince of Cobourg issued a proclamation to the Germanic circles, exhorting them to make one desperate effort in defence of what he is pleased to term Germanic liberty.

The

The inexhaustible resources of France; its insurmountable cohorts; the inactivity of a blinded people (the Belgians) who would not listen "to the paternal voice of their good prince;" and the secret practices of some of their ambitious representatives, he says, are the causes which have forced the Imperial armies to retreate. He concludes by informing them, that if, like the inhabitants of the Belgic provinces, they should suffer themselves to be misled by secret seducers, he and his army would be obliged to pass the Rhine, and leave them a prey to their enemies, and withdraw from them, without ceremony, whatever the enemy might find among them for subsistence. This singular half-expostulatory and half-threatening manifesto was without effect. The stadtholder issued a proclamation nearly about the same time; in which, after enumerating the immense resources of France, he observes, that "such an enemy cannot be opposed by *scanty contributions*; the force that must be opposed to them requires the *greatest efforts*." This proclamation also was without effect.

On the 17th of August the emperor presented a memorial to the circle of the upper Rhine, presaging the most fatal consequences, unless the most prompt and efficacious measures should be adopted. He states his own resources as being utterly unequal to the contest. He speaks with some degree of feeling respecting the king of Prussia having received a large subsidy from England, and yet having never brought his troops to act. He says, that the progress of the French is so rapid, and their army so formidable, that he must be inevitably obliged to withdraw his troops, and station them for the defence of his own frontiers, unless the *empire* should think proper to oppose to the irruption of the French an adequate force. Here he minds the spiritual and temporal communities, that "they are possessed of *treasures which are still untouched*, but which might be beneficially applied:" and he concludes by a most solemn assurance, "that if the Imperial and royal court is abandoned at this important crisis, it will not be able to save the empire."

It is something extraordinary, that while the Germanic circles, who were "possessed of treasures still untouched," remained perfectly insensible to these exhortations of their chief, the British cabinet should conceive itself more deeply interested in protracting the war, than those whose dominions were immediately threatened. With that singular kind of generosity, however, which has characterized Mr. Pitt's administration, earl Spencer and the honourable Thomas Grenville were dispatched to Vienna, in the utmost consternation lest the emperor should follow the example of Prussia, and prudently withdraw from the combination; and humbly to entreat that his Imperial majesty would condescend to accept a part of that treasure which had been so liberally offered to other princes. It is believed that many difficulties attended this mission of the British negotiators. The oldest and wisest counsellors of his Imperial majesty were impressed with the necessity of giving peace to his dominions; and the leading members of the German diet were avowedly averse to the continuance of a war, from which they could derive no benefit, and by which they might incur irreparable loss. How far it is consistent with true policy in "this sea-girt isle,"

isle," which can be in no danger from invasion while its invincible navy covers the ocean, to exhaust its resources in paying the continental powers for fighting their own battles, the event must determine. All that we can at present say is, that the mission of the English ambassadors *extraordinary* was successful; and thus the prediction of Mr. Fox was verified, that the Prussian subsidy would only encourage in other powers a similar rapacity.

In consequence of these arrangements the prince of Saxe Cobourg, the victorious opponent of Dumouriez, was dismissed from his command; and he took leave of the army on the 30th of August in an affectionate and pathetic address, which foreboded but little success to their future enterprises. Various reports were circulated respecting the cause of this dismission. It was alleged by some that the removal of the prince of Cobourg was an express stipulation of the British cabinet; by others it was asserted, that two persons high in the confidence of the prince had been discovered to be in the pay of the French. To this latter report we cannot affix much credit. The character of the prince of Cobourg is that of an honourable man, and a loyal subject: yet it ought not to surprise us, that any reports relative to the treachery of the Austrians should meet some credit. Their whole conduct was a tissue of inconsistencies, the causes of which no politician, who is furnished with no documents beyond the official details, can possibly unravel. It is an undoubted fact, that the count Mercy Argenteau, the confidential minister and political Mentor of the emperor, who was sent to London on a special mission, and died there in the course of this month, employed as his principal agent Mr. Bellin, who was private secretary to Mirabeau to the day of his death; and, if we are not mistaken, Mr. Bellin at this moment is in a confidential situation at the court of Vienna.

After the defeat at Trevis, that part of the Imperial army which was under the command of the duke of Saxe-Teschen retreated up the Rhine in order to enter Mentz and Coblentz. This army, at the period of which we are treating, amounted to 94,995 men, of whom about 65,000 were the troops of the empire. The Prussian army added to these makes the whole force of the allies acting on the Rhine in the beginning of September not less than 150,000.

From the latter end of July to the beginning of September the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse do not appear to have been engaged in any very important enterprise; but the rapid advances of general Jourdain afterwards amply compensated for this pause. In the neighbourhood of Liege the Austrians were strongly entrenched. On the right side of the river Ayvaille, the banks of which were defended by remarkably steep rocks, a corps of 18,000 men under general Latour occupied two strongly fortified camps. On the 18th the French in four columns attacked the whole line from the Ayvaille to Emeux. All the passages were forced with the bayonet, and the camps taken at full charge. The Austrians left 2000 men dead on the field of battle, and several of their battalions were reduced to 150 men. Seven hundred prisoners, 26 pieces of large cannon, 3 pair of colours, 100 horses, and 40 ammunition waggons, were taken, as well

as

in the general's own carriage, his secretary and papers. The remnant of Latour's army was completely routed and dispersed; and in the night the camp of the Chartreux was hastily abandoned.

The Austrian accounts mention, in addition to these particulars, that the whole left wing of their army was destroyed on this occasion. Three new-raised companies of the legion of the archduke Charles were entirely cut to pieces, or made prisoners. The regiment of Beaulieu lost all its officers and most of its men. The emperor's own regiment of horse was cut to pieces; and Mauray's regiment of infantry lost 900 men. Previous to the action the French launched a balloon with two skilful engineers, who drew down successive notes describing the situation of the enemy; and to this precaution the Austrians in a great measure ascribe the success of their antagonists.

General Clairfait, who was posted between Liege and Maestricht, was no sooner informed of the defeat of general Latour, than he dispatched eighteen battalions to support the left wing; and by this reinforcement general Latour was enabled during the night of the 18th to rally the fugitives. On the following day however the French attacked him again with their usual impetuosity, and forced him to retreat to Hervé with the loss of all his artillery. The corps de reserve, under general Dalton, which was driven by the French to Aix-la-Chapelle, fled in such confusion from that place to Cologne, that the roads were covered with the fugitive cavalry, and they were not able to rally till the third day. General Clairfait was in consequence obliged to retreat as far as Juliers, and on the 21st the French entered Aix-la-Chapelle.

An action took place in the mean time (on the 20th) between a division of the French army and the rear guard of the Austrians at Clermont, which is chiefly deserving of notice, to shew the discrepancy of official accounts. General Clairfait estimates the loss of the French at 2000, and their own at that of 30 killed and 300 wounded; and on the contrary the French commissioner Gillet states the loss of the Austrians at 800, and that of the French at only 9 killed and 12 wounded. It appears from the former account that the French were repulsed.

General Clairfait was not long permitted to enjoy in tranquillity his position near Juliers, which he had taken with his accustomed judgment and military skill. On the 29th the French advanced from Aix-la-Chapelle, crossed the Roer, and attacked all the Austrian general's extensive posts from Ruremonde to Juliers and Duren. The conflict lasted the whole of the 29th and 30th of September, and was renewed on the 1st and 2d of October. The battle was fierce and obstinate on both sides. On the 3d however general Clairfait, unable any longer to resist, and having lost at least 10,000 men, took advantage of a fog which rose early in the morning to make a precipitate retreat. In the course of the contest the republican soldiers assaulted the mountain of Merzenich four times successively. The works on the mountain were uncommonly strong, and defended by 24 pounders. Though repulsed in each assault, they returned to the charge with renewed vigour, and at length obtained possession of the mountain. Several Austrian regiments

ments suffered most severely, and three battalions of Hulans were annihilated. The city of Juliers immediately surrendered at discretion. The arsenal was well provided; and 60 pieces of cannon and 50,000 pounds of gunpowder were found there.

The retreat of the Austrian general was made in haste and confusion, and the French pursued so closely that immense numbers were lost in the retreat. The French state them at between four and five thousand, including 700 prisoners; an account probably exaggerated; but the Dutch accounts estimate the whole loss of the allies in the action and the retreat at 13,000 men, a statement which is probably near the truth. General Clairfait made but a short halt at Cologne, and soon after crossed the Rhine. He was pursued by the French to the very banks of the Rhine; and as the rear of the imperial forces crossed the river, they were insulted by the French soldiers calling out to them, and asking *if that was the road to Paris?* An allusion perhaps to the childish gasconade of some young members of the British parliament.

The French entered Cologne on the 6th of October. "The inhabitants, it is said, pressed upon them with the most unequivocal tokens of joy and admiration." The magistrates had previously sent four deputies to the French general to deprecate the admission of light troops within the walls; the request was granted; and he entered only at the head of 4000 men. The French conducted themselves here in the most honourable manner. Very few of the inhabitants left the place; the persons and property of all who remained were in the most perfect security; and the secular clergy were permitted the free exercise of their functions. Such was the change of fortune since the fall of Robespierre.

Mainz and Mayence submitted in consequence of these victories, and many loaded vessels on the rivers fell into the possession of the conquerors. On the morning of the 7th fifty French chasseurs entered Bonn, and they were followed on the same evening by 1500 more. The committee of public safety had transmitted to general Jourdan a wish that he would send some troops against Coblentz, which was particularly obnoxious to the French, from its having been the first resort of the emigrants. Before this city the allies had been for two months laboriously erecting very strong redoubts. About the middle of October the French commander detached general Marceau thither with his division. On the 22nd he arrived at Andernach, where he met the enemy's hussars, charged them vigorously, killed several, and took 50 prisoners, with the loss of only three men on his own part. General Marceau arrived on the following day before Coblentz. The redoubts were carried by assault by the infantry, and turned by the cavalry, and the Austrians retreated with precipitation across the Rhine. "This important acquisition did not cost the republic one drop of blood," according to the German gazette of Cologne.

While the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse were making this near approach to Mentz, the army of the Rhine was victoriously advancing to the same point from the other side. On the 17th of October Frankendal submitted to the republicans; and on the following day they entered in triumph the episcopal city of Worms. The army of

of the Moselle, about the same period took possession of Bingen; and from this time Mentz may be considered as in a state of siege.

General Pichegru, it is said, had demanded from the convention, that they would reinforce his army to 200,000 men, with which force he pledged himself to subjugate Holland before the close of the campaign. The exertions of that able and indefatigable commander were however not inconsiderable, even previous to his receiving the expected reinforcement. It has been already stated, that after the retreat from Boxtell, the duke of York took a position near Grave. His retreat from the former place, where he occupied a most advantageous position, was attributed to the failure on the part of the Austrians, who had promised to strengthen the communication between the British and their outposts at Waert towards Helmont, and to guard a pass of importance between the morass of Peel and the Meuse. His royal highness was again compelled to change his position by the Austrians having abandoned the Roer, and leaving his left wing unprotected; and in the beginning of October, after throwing a regiment into Grave, he encamped under the walls of Nimeguen.

In the mean time the French directed their principal force against Bois-le-Duc; but previous to the reduction of this place, fort Crevecoeur on the Meuse surrendered to Delmas, general of division, Sep. 27. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and were permitted to retire into the united provinces upon condition of not serving till individually exchanged.

The possession of this fort rendered the French masters of the inundation, and it was always considered as one of the principal keys of Bois-le-Duc. The garrison consisted of 500 men; and there were found in the fortress 29 pieces of cannon, 1000 muskets, and 50,000 pounds of powder.

Bois-le-Duc followed the fate of Crevecoeur on the 10th of October, and the event was announced to the convention by the telegraph on the same day. Similar conditions as at the latter place were allowed to the garrison, which consisted of 2,500 men. The republicans took also in this place 146 pieces of cannon; 107 of which were brass; 130,000 pounds of powder, and 9,000 fusees. After the capture of this place, general Pichegru demanded leave to retire from the command for a short time, in consequence of a cutaneous disease resulting from excessive fatigue. It is remarked in the dispatch of the French commissioners, "that it is in the power of few generals to say, what he can, that he commanded during two active campaigns, without being once beaten." The convention acceded to his wish, and appointed as his successor for the time, general Moreau, the conqueror of Ypres, Nieuport, Sluys, and Cadsand.

It does not appear however that general Pichegru immediately quitted the army after the taking of Bois-le-Duc; as in a dispatch dated from Posthick, October 20th, he mentions the action of the 19th between the Meuse and the Waal as a skirmish. The duke of York's account of this action is more detailed. He says that on the morning of the above day the French attacked the whole of the advanced posts on his right wing in great force; and that the post on the left of the 37th regiment, which was occupied by a detachment of

Rohan

Rohan hussars, being forced, major Hope, who commanded the 37th, was obliged to retreat upon the dyke along the Waal, which he continued for some time without being much annoyed. "Unfortunately, however (adds his royal highness), a strong body of the enemy's hussars being mistaken for the corps of Rohan, the regiment allowed them to come on unmolested; when the hussars immediately attacked, and the narrowness of the dyke, which, on every other occasion, must have afforded a security to the infantry, in this instance acted against them, as they were driven off it by the enemy's charge." We have not been able to find any authentic return of the loss. It was said that the whole of the 37th regiment, except the major and about fifty men, was cut to pieces. General Pichegru in his dispatch states, that they had taken four pieces of cannon and six hundred prisoners, exclusive of sixty-nine emigrants. He also mentions, that three hundred of the latter had been cut to pieces.

All the prisoners who were taken by the English agreed in the intelligence, that the republicans had brought over on this occasion thirty thousand men; and the British commander received a report at the same time, that a very considerable body had passed the Meuse between Ruremonde and Venlo, and were advancing on his left flank. Thus circumstanced, his royal highness determined to pass the Waal, and to take up the different cantonments, which had been marked out for the defence of that river, leaving general Walmoden with a corps to cover the town of Nimeguen.

Little of importance passed in this quarter till the beginning of November, except an attack which was made on the 27th of October by the French on the British outposts in front of Nimeguen, which were driven in with some loss, and a new position taken to the left of the town. On the 4th of November, a sortie was made in the night from Nimeguen by orders of count Walmoden, and conducted by major general de Burgh. The troops employed in the sortie were about three thousand British, Hanoverians and Dutch; and their object was to destroy the batteries which were newly erected to annoy the city. By what means the French were informed of this intention is not ascertained; but it is certain they knew of it, and were accordingly prepared. The resistance was proportionably obstinate; and a terrible carnage ensued on both sides. The loss of the French is stated by the duke of York at five hundred; that of the British and Hanoverians (exclusive of the Dutch) at about two hundred and ten. The brave general de Burgh was among the wounded.

This sortie had the effect of checking the operations of the French till the morning of the 6th, when they opened two batteries upon the bridge of boats, and one on the town. The effect of the former, which very easily sunk two of the boats, determined his royal highness to withdraw every thing from the troops posted in the town, beyond what was barely necessary for its defence; and the bridge having been repaired, all the artillery of the reserve, with the British, Hanoverian and Hessian battalions, marched out in the night, leaving piquets under the command of general de Burgh to the amount of 2,500 men, who

who with the Dutch forces were judged sufficient to maintain the place till the Austrian movements could be determined.

This partial evacuation was however no more than a prelude to the total abandonment of the town, which took place on the following night (the 7th.) The British and Hanoverians effected their retreat in tolerable order; but before the Dutch battalions, who covered the retreat, could reach the bridge, they found that it had been with too much precipitation set on fire. They then attempted to pass the great flying bridge; but when they got upon it, it swung round towards the city, either from the ropes being cut by the French artillery, or from some error on the part of the troops on the right side of the Waal, who fired in the dark on this bridge, supposing it to be in the possession of the enemy; and the Dutch troops either perished, or were taken prisoners by the French, who had forced their way into Nimeguen.

Philippine on the Scheldt, and Sas-de-Gand, both surrendered to different divisions of the French army, under general Michaud, on the 23d of October. Both garrisons were made prisoners of war, but were permitted to retire to Holland, and not to bear arms till exchanged.

The siege of Maestricht was formed by the French soon after the defeat of the Austrian general Latour. On the 22d of September they crossed the Meuse near the town, and blocked it up on the side of Wyk. On the 26th the town was formally summoned by general Kleber, who commanded the besieging army. On the morning of the 28th a detachment of Austrian cavalry made a sortie, and took one piece of cannon; and on the 6th of October they made a second similar attempt, but were repulsed. The French having begun to break ground and construct batteries on the mountains of St. Peter, under the guns of the fort, a third sortie was attempted on the 9th, which partly succeeded; but in less than two days the batteries were re-established on the mountain of St. Peter, as well as other formidable works on the Limberg over against that mountain. On the 20th the French park of artillery was increased by thirty pieces of heavy cannon. On the 23d, they completed their first parallel, and commenced the second. The town was again summoned on the 30th; and the trumpeter had hardly departed from the gate on his return, when the besiegers began to pour a most dreadful shower of shot and shells from all their works, with which they had surrounded the place. This fire lasted the whole of the night. The atmosphere was filled with balls, bombs and howitzer shells: scarcely a place of safety was left in the whole circuit of the city: a number of public and private buildings were demolished; and the groans of the wounded inhabitants and soldiers resounded in every quarter. Three days were passed in this distressing situation; when the governor, moved by the entreaties of the magistrates and people, entered into a negotiation with general Kleber, and the city capitulated on the 4th of November. The garrison surrendered prisoners of war, not to serve till regularly exchanged. About two hundred of the garrison and inhabitants were killed or wounded during the bombardment; more than two thousand buildings were

were either entirely destroyed or greatly damaged: twelve thousand bombs, balls and shells had been thrown into the town, and some of the first weighed two hundred weight. It was the intention of the French commander to have attempted a general storm on the 4th; which the garrison, consisting of five thousand six hundred Austrians, two hundred hussars, and fifteen hundred Dutch troops, would probably not have been able to resist.

At this interesting period of the war, the usual termination of our annual labours obliges us for the present to conclude our narrative of the campaign in the Netherlands, which we shall endeavour to resume with all possible expedition. In the mean time, however, it will be proper to notice briefly the progress of the French in Spain and Italy, and a remarkable change which took place in the state of affairs in the West Indies.

The army of the eastern Pyrenees, under the command of general Doppet, proceeded from Puycerda on the 14th of June to Campredon; where, after carrying Tonges and Ribes, the general established his head quarters on the 17th. He advanced to Ripell on the 21st, where the Spaniards had a manufactory of arms, a large quantity of which the French general added to his military stores. During this time the siege of Bellegarde continued to be closely pressed. A bold attempt was made on the 23th of August, by the count de l'Union for the relief of that place. He had been reinforced by several foreign battalions lately arrived from Africa, whose impetuosity obliged the republicans at first to give way. They however soon rallied, regained the heights from which they had at first been dislodged, and the Spaniards were completely defeated, leaving two thousand five hundred dead on the field of battle. The French general Mirabel, a brave and active officer, was killed in this action, and the republicans lost besides one hundred and eighty-seven killed, and six hundred wounded.

Bellegarde being thus deprived of every chance of relief, submitted to general Dugommier on the 20th of the following month. The garrison consisted of six thousand men. On the day after its surrender, the count de l'Union made another spirited attempt to dislodge the French, but was completely repulsed with the loss of six hundred men and four pieces of cannon. It does not appear that the Spanish commander, when he made this attempt, was conscious that the town was in the possession of the republicans.

General Dugommier concluded his career in this quarter by a signal victory which he obtained over the Spaniards and emigrants at Spouilles. The slaughter of the emigrants was dreadful, but one thousand Spaniards and Portuguese obtained quarter by surrendering as prisoners of war. The republicans took a large quantity of cannon, and tents and camp equipage for twelve thousand men. The brave general Dugommier was killed by a shell upon the Black Mountain, which he had ascended the better to direct the military operations. His death was severely revenged on the 20th of the same month, when his great opponent the count de l'Union was killed, with three other Spanish generals, near St. Fernando de Figueres. For the defence of this post, the Spaniards had spent six months

months in erecting from eighty to one hundred batteries mounted with heavy cannon. Their force amounted to forty thousand men strongly intrenched; and yet they were put to flight, and the batteries carried by the republicans in the space of three hours. The fort of St. Fernando de Figueres was then attacked, and surrendered on the third day. The garrison amounting to nine thousand one hundred and seven men were made prisoners of war. The French found in the fort one hundred and seventy-one pieces of cannon, and five thousand stand of arms; they also took twelve founderies for cannon; and an immense quantity of ammunition, &c. The towns of Ascoita and Aspetea soon after submitted; and in the course of a few days another victory was announced to the convention, in which five hundred prisoners, one brass cannon (the only one remaining in the possession of the Spaniards) and the military chest were taken.

The army of the western Pyrenees was not less successful. In the latter end of July the redoubt of Mary Louisa, the camp of St. Jean de Luz, and the fort of St. Barbe were stormed and carried in one day by the republican general of division Delaforde. Great numbers of the Spaniards were killed, and three hundred and twenty prisoners taken, with seven pieces of cannon, two hundred tents, and great quantities of ammunition and small arms. The villages of Bera and Lesfaca were also taken at the same time, in which were abundant granaries for the supply of the army.

These however formed but the prelude to a still greater victory; for on the 1st of August fifteen thousand Spaniards posted near the mountain of Haya fled before a body of six thousand French. By this retreat immense magazines, two thousand muskets, six stand of colours, two hundred cannon and howitzers, tents for twenty-five thousand men, and two thousand prisoners, among whom were two entire regiments, who grounded their arms, fell into the hands of the conquerors. On the evening of the same day Fontarabia, which guards the entrance of Spain, and which cost the duke of Berwick eight thousand men, was taken almost instantaneously by a detachment of the French army.

On the following day a single division, commanded by general Moncey, seized the port of the Passage. On the 3d St. Sebastian was invested, and capitulated on the succeeding morning. The garrison consisting of two thousand men surrendered prisoners of war. More than one hundred and eighty pieces of brass cannon were taken, with considerable magazines and stores; and after the reduction of these places two Spanish ships, laden with powder and ball, wine and cod-fish, entered the port of the Passage. The same good conduct which was observed by the other armies of France, characterized the measures of the commissioners with that of the western Pyrenees. A proclamation was issued, annexing severe punishments to any acts of plunder or devastation; and the freedom of religious worship was every where guarantied.

On the day that general Moncey advanced against St. Sebastian, another division under generals Fregeville and Laborde proceeded against the Spanish posts at Ernani; but disheartened by their repeated defeats, the Spaniards fled on

on the first approach of the republicans. The French after these victories extended their advanced posts to the gates of Tolosa. In the beginning of September the Spaniards again attempted to rally; and according to the French dispatches, six thousand of them were repulsed by an advance guard of six hundred men. At the same time it is to be remarked, that one hundred and fifty of the Walloon guards deserted to the French: so that the victory is perhaps more to be attributed to the disaffection of the Spanish troops, than to the valour of their opponents.

In the beginning of the succeeding month the Spaniards encountered another signal defeat. A line of posts had been established upwards of forty leagues in extent. The French, however, did not wait to be attacked, but assailed these posts in twelve different points at once. The Spaniards were entrenched on the heights, and well fortified; but all their entrenchments near Beddaditz, Cubeg, Villaneuva, &c. were carried with the bayonet, and the works destroyed which they had laboured upwards of a twelvemonth to erect. It was the intention of the French generals to surround the whole Spanish army: but one of the columns which was to have co-operated arrived a day too late; and the Spaniards, favoured by a thick fog, were enabled to retreat to Sangonella, with the loss of two thousand five hundred men killed, and an equal number of prisoners.

Amidst these accumulated distresses, it was expected that the cabinet of Spain would be prudent enough to propose a negotiation for peace; and at one time it was said that some progress had been made towards this desirable object. An infatuation, however, appears to have possessed that weak and dissipated court. Attempts were made in vain to excite the people to rise in a mass, and considerable efforts were employed to provide resources. One measure of this cabinet proves at least their sincerity in the support of the war, since they voluntarily submitted to tax themselves. In the month of September a tax of 25 per cent. was laid, *at the desire of the placemen themselves*, upon all places, salaries, and pensions whatever. A large sum was levied at the same time on the opulent clergy; and it was determined "that no minister, person or persons of any class or condition whatever, should receive *more than one salary*, though they might possess various employments under the government." These self-denying ordinances are truly honourable to the grandees of Spain, who, instead of battening on the spoils of their country, are the first to bear a part in the public distress.

The experiment of raising the people in a mass was made by the king of Sardinia in Piedmont in the month of July; but in such a manner as justifies fully the king of Prussia's censure of this absurd mode of warfare in a regular government, where the people are not actuated by a strong enthusiasm. Ten thousand of these raw and undisciplined recruits were dispersed by a few French battalions. On the 14th of September the Piedmontese were again defeated with considerable slaughter by the army of the Alps. In the same month a grand plan was formed for attacking the French posts in the vicinity of Genoa, and afterwards, it is said, the city of Genoa itself. The French anticipated this plan, carried the Austrian and Sardinian posts

posts with the bayonet, pursued them to Alexandria, and forced them to evacuate Le Caise with considerable loss. The war on the part of the Austrians and Sardinians was defensive during the following months; and in some inconsiderable attacks they were so fortunate as to repulse the republicans.

In our eighth chapter we related the rapid and brilliant successes of sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis in the West Indies. The British arms received a check in that quarter before the close of the campaign which they have not yet recovered, and to which it is necessary now to advert. The force originally sent out under those gallant commanders was comparatively small, considering the magnitude of the undertaking; and the diseases so fatal to European constitutions in that climate made dreadful havoc among the soldiers in the course of the summer, and greatly reduced their numbers.

That accomplished officer major general Dundas fell among other victims of this unfriendly climate, and died of a fever at Guadaloupe, after a few days illness, early in June. "In him (says sir Charles Grey) his majesty and his country lose one of their best and bravest officers, and a most worthy man. I too feel severely the loss of so able an assistant on this arduous service." This irreparable loss was immediately followed by other disastrous circumstances; for on the 3d of June a French squadron, consisting of two 50 gun ships, one of 40 armed *en flute*, one frigate and 5 transports, appeared off the island, and manifested an intention of attacking fort Fleur d'Epée. It appears that colonel Drummond, who commanded there, was at first mistaken with respect to the number of the invaders, whom he supposed not to exceed 300 men. He therefore acceded to the earnest solicitation of the royalists, and dispatched a party of them under the command of captain M'Dowal in the hope of surprising the republicans at the post where they had established themselves near the village of Gozier. On the first fire, however, the royalists fled and dispersed, and only a few returned to the fort. On the 5th the French landed thirteen boats crowded with men, and on the following day attacked fort Fleur d'Epée, which they carried by storm; and the English garrison retreated with considerable loss to fort Louis. This post, however, not being considered as tenable, was also evacuated, and colonel Drummond, with the shattered remains of his garrison, retired to Basseterre.

The French commissioner, Victor Huguet, a man of uncommon enterprise and daring courage, and who seems to have acted in a double capacity both political and military, lost no time in making the necessary arrangements both to defend himself in case of an attack by the English fleet, and to reduce the British who remained on the island. Conformably to the famous decree of the convention, he declared the negroes free, and equipped with clothing and with arms a strong body of these, and such of the mulattoes as appeared well affected to the French cause. Sir Charles Grey, on the other hand, was equally active. He sailed from St. Kitts with all the troops that he could collect upon a short notice, and landed on the 19th of June at Guadaloupe, under cover of the English fleet. Unfortunately the force of the British general was inadequate to a contest with the numerous

merous bands of negroes and mulattoes which Huguet had collected. The gallantry of the British troops procured them a temporary success in some slight skirmishes; but as nothing effectual was done, and the rainy season being already set in, the general determined to make one grand effort for putting an immediate end to the campaign. On the 2d of July, therefore, he dispatched brigadier Symes with three battalions of grenadiers and light infantry, and a battalion of seamen, to attack the town of Point-a-Petre before day-light, and to take it by surprise. By accident or design the British troops were misled by the guides, and entered the town in a part where they were most exposed to the fire of the French, and where it was impossible to scale the walls of the fort. After suffering greatly from round and grape shot, as well as by a continued fire from the houses, a retreat became unavoidable, which was made with considerable loss. General Symes was wounded; colonel Gomm, and capt. Robertson of the navy, were both killed, with several other officers, and nearly 600 men were killed, wounded, and missing in this unfortunate attempt *. The British general after this took measures for the defence of Basseterre, and re-embarked the remainder of the troops during the ensuing night. Thus the French were left in full possession of the whole island except Basseterre, which made a long and gallant resistance, the detail of which we must defer to our succeeding volume.

Thus ended a campaign the most extraordinary, in our opinion, that has occurred in Europe since the age of Charlemagne. In the number of battles which were fought; in the duration of those fierce engagements; in the brilliant victories which were achieved by the French; the number of fortresses which were taken; and the extent of territory on which their military operations were conducted; we have not a parallel in modern history. We forbear to make any comment on these events. The conclusions are obvious; and though naturally flowing from the facts, we should be accused of party views if we were to introduce them here. In so complicated a detail we have studied perspicuity; and we have given the most authentic information which we could collect from every channel. While we have greatly exceeded our usual limits, however, we are still apprehensive that we have not been able to do justice to so important a period of history; our only consolation is in the hope, that our readers will in candour consider the magnitude of the task compared with the early appearance of the volume. We certainly cannot charge ourselves with indolence or inattention; on the contrary we truly can say, that nothing on our part has been left undone to render our narrative as full, as perfect, and as authentic as possible. We flatter ourselves that nothing of moment has been omitted; and we can assert, that nothing has (at least wilfully) been misrepresented. Before we conclude this chapter, we must yet trespass on the patience of our readers to notice one or two circumstances, which could not with propriety have been introduced before.

It is frequently found, that too much ardour in any pursuit defeats its own purpose. Thus the violence

* The French accounts say 860.

of

of the combined powers in their earneſtneſs to ſubjugate France, recoiled upon themſelves; and the manner in which they had treated the neutral nations, compelled thoſe powers to form a combination for their mutual protection. In the month of March a treaty was concluded between Sweden and Denmark, the principal object of which was the maintenance of perfect neutrality during the preſent conteſt; diſclaiming any advantage which was not clearly founded on their reſpective treaties with the belligerent powers, and on the univerſal law of nations. For this purpoſe, each power engaged to fit out eight ſhips of the line, with frigates, &c. This convention, it was further agreed, ſhould be communicated to the belligerent powers, together with the aſſurances of a deſire to preſerve perfect harmony with them; adding, however, that ſhould the innocent navigation of Sweden and Denmark be moleſted, thoſe countries would firſt uſe every conciliatory method to obtain ſatisfaction and indemnity; but if unſucceſsful, they ſhould after the expiration of four months proceed to repriſals.

This treaty was immediately followed by an edict iſſued by the king of Denmark, commanding that no veſſel belonging to Daniſh ſubjects ſhould be allowed to clear out for a foreign port without ſuch paſſes as had been ſtipulated between Denmark and the belligerent powers, and that the maſter of any veſſel carrying ſuch goods as (if conſigned to the harbours of the belligerent powers) would be contraband, ſhould be bound to make a ſpecial declaration of the quantity and value, and bring back a certificate from ſome authoriſed perſon at the deſtined port; in failure of which he ſhould be ſeverely fined.

An indemnity was alſo claimed from Great Britain for the captured Daniſh and Swediſh veſſels; and it was required, that in future a ſtop ſhould be put to the capturing of Daniſh ſhips which were not laden with ſuch goods as were deemed contraband by the ſeveral treaties. With theſe requiſitions the Britiſh miniſtry were obliged to comply. The ſum which was paid on this account was immenſe; a very conſiderable part of the corn was ſuffered to rot in the king's warehouſes, as we have been credibly informed; while the French, deprived of this ſupply, were driven to other markets, where they completely anticipated the Britiſh. To this cauſe many attribute in part the dearth and ſcarcity which has ſince afflicted Great Britain. The attempt to ſtarve the French into ſubmiſſion, they allege, was as inhuman and diabolical as it was weak and puerile; it was as contrary to ſound policy as to humanity, and in the end has only fallen upon thoſe who conceived the baſe and abſurd project.

While we are upon the ſubject of Sweden, it may not be improper ſlightly to notice a circumſtance which is at preſent involved in much myſtery and darkneſs. In the concluſion of the year 1793, a conſpiracy was diſcovered, at the head of which was baron Armfeldt, and ſome others of the nobility. The particulars, as communicated by the chief of the conſpiracy to his aſſociates, are ſaid to be as follow: The baron had applied to the empreſs of Ruſſia to favour a revolution in Sweden by ſending a Ruſſian fleet to cruize near Stockholm, and in caſe of neceſſity to land ſome troops at Delaro, about twenty

taken from that capital. In this revolution it was proposed to oblige the duke regent to dismiss his present counsellors, and replace them with Armfeldt and his associates. The young king was to be conciliated by having a place in the council; and the pretence for introducing anarchy and confusion into the state, was asserted to be the extermination of jacobinism, with which the present government of Sweden was said to be strongly infected.

The knowledge of this conspiracy was acquired by the regency in October 1793, but was not made public till the December following, when an attack on the life of the regent was apprehended. The public court have since published extracts from the correspondence between baron Armfeldt, whose ambition, necessitous circumstances, profusion, and hatred of those who stood in the way of his elevation, are very discernible; the secretary Ehrenstrom, who appears to have been chiefly actuated by avarice; and the countess Rudenskiold, maid of honour, who with a genius for political intrigue, which rendered her peculiarly serviceable to the projects of Armfeldt, maintained (though he was a married man) a criminal intercourse with that conspirator.

One of the chief plans of the conspirators was, to prevail on the young king to write such a letter to the empress as might be construed into an approbation of Armfeldt's undertaking; a rough sketch of which the countess was to deliver to the king. She accordingly seized a favourable moment to inform him of her wish to give him a paper of much importance; but to her infinite surprise and consternation, he refused to receive it without the concurrence of his governor, count Gyllenstolpe, who was, however, secretly an enemy to the regent, and endeavouring to instil into the mind of his pupil suspicions to the duke's disadvantage; but was not sufficiently attached to the party of the conspirators to meet their entire confidence. This was a severe blow to the hopes of the countess; but the conspirators proceeded, and endeavoured to introduce discontents amongst the people. The high court of parliament sentenced Armfeldt, Ehrenstrom, and the countess Rudenskiold to lose their nobility, to be beheaded, and to have their property confiscated for the use of the crown; but with a mildness and moderation which does honour to the duke regent, he changed the sentence of death against Ehrenstrom and the countess into perpetual imprisonment. Armfeldt never appeared, and a sentence of outlawry was consequently passed against him; and Gyllenstolpe was quietly dismissed from his post as governor, and only punished by an order from the court to retire to his own estate.

With respect to the charge of jacobinism, the Swedish administration have expressed their abhorrence of the atrocities of France; and nothing appears to have favoured the charges propagated by the conspirators, that the regent had a design to undermine the Swedish constitution. The Swedish conspiracy has been represented in the British house of lords as the detestable contrivance of a *neighbouring potentate*, whose ambition and tyranny have long disturbed the peace of Europe: and as the assertion remained uncontradicted, many will still continue to believe it well founded.

WE

WE cannot dismiss our volume without a few reflections on the very awful crisis to which the affairs of Europe in general, and of Britain in particular, appear to be reduced. We have never entered into the alarms by which so considerable a portion of this nation was terrified in the two preceding years: alarms excited by the clamour of a very small number of turbulent persons, and, there is reason to suspect, artfully magnified by others for interested and evil purposes. We have uniformly asserted, that at the commencement of the present war the number of disaffected persons in this kingdom was extremely small; this was apparent from the first associations, and indubitably proved by the late trials. We were convinced, that while the nation enjoyed tranquillity, plenty, an extended commerce, and its concomitant luxury; democratic principles, however specciously introduced or recommended, could make no progress among us. The higher classes had too much to lose; the middle classes too much to risk by unsettling the established order of government; and even the poor were in full employment, and enjoyed a moderate portion of happiness and content. The troubled state of the continent only served to increase the wealth, extend the commerce, and enlarge the power of Great Britain, while we were wise enough to cultivate a happy and enviable neutrality.

This state of things has undergone a melancholy reverse; and it is the duty of every man, who entertains a spark of patriotism latent in his heart; of every man indeed who feels the strong and imperious impulse of interest; of every man *who has any thing to lose*, calmly but seriously to inquire by what means we have been reduced to our present state, and what means are yet left to save us from destruction.

We dread, and we deprecate popular insurrection and tumult; and those who sympathize with us in these apprehensions, will only do their duty to themselves, and to their posterity, coolly to inquire, what are the steps which have generally conducted to this fatal termination of all that is good and estimable in society. Public prodigality; the rapacity of contractors; the extravagance and profligacy of the great; improvident wars; the increase of the public burthens; the growth of taxes; the stagnation of commerce; the phrensy of military parade and general idleness; united with a supine and lethargic inattention in men of property and independence to the state of public affairs; these are the steps that infallibly conduct to national ruin. Even where internal anarchy is not the immediate result of this inattention, there are always consequences which are not less to be apprehended. The Dutch republic fell an unresisting prey to her conquerors, only because the men of property were too timid or too indolent to adopt in time measures which might have united the people, and to stop the rash and intemperate career of the court.

It is full time (and we express ourselves with confidence, because what we utter is the voice of truth) it is full time for every man who has a sense of honour, or any extended views for the good of himself and his posterity, to lay aside for a short period private interests, private prejudices, and private animosities. There is one means, and one only, left to save the country. Let every man dispassionately exa-

mine for himself the state of the country, and the conduct of administration. If ministers shall appear, on a fair examination, to have conducted themselves wisely, disinterestedly, and on every occasion for the good of the community, let them be supported. If the war was entered into, not from an imaginary, but from a real necessity, and has been conducted with ability to a definite end, and upon a rational and steady system; let them only be exhorted to specify that end to the people of this country, and use every means for securing us a speedy return of the inestimable blessings of peace. If contracts have been made, not with a view to ministerial influence, but on true principles of œconomy, and upon a fair competition among the contractors: if our commissaries abroad, by their waste, extravagance, and rapacity, have not accumulated oriental fortunes, while misery, sickness, and want have thinned the ranks of the British soldiery, and impeded their operations: if our administration has not been the dupe of foreign intrigue, and the treasure of Britain lavished upon faithless allies: if, in the midst of our external calamities, prudent means have been employed to protect our trade, to encourage our manufactures, to redress grievances, to promote agriculture (but not by remote and speculative plans) to procure a constant and proper supply of the necessaries of life: if, in their own persons and conduct, ministers have set a laudable example of morality and disinterested virtue: if they have not disgraced themselves by low contemptible intrigues: if they have openly and candidly explained their views; in no instance made a prodigal use of the public treasure, but brought every item to a fair and *open* account: if, what with honesty they have planned they have executed with ability: if they have employed the most competent men in every department, encouraged genius and merit upon every occasion, promoted literature and science, disregarded family or parliamentary connections; and for that religion which they exclaim (and we fear with reason) is in danger, if they have evinced a laudable zeal, not merely by their speeches, but by their conduct; and manifested an ardour for the support of the constitution, not merely in the regal but even in the popular parts of it: if measures wisely concerted have been spiritedly and gloriously executed; let us revere them as the saviours of their country, and support them at the risk of our lives.

We are far from saying that this statement is not warranted by facts. The facts lie before the public; and all that any true lover of his country can wish is, that the public will examine and judge for themselves. Success, it is true, is not in every particular instance the result of good conduct; but it rarely happens, either in p... , or in private life, that a series of disgrace and misfortune occurs without some misconduct; without either incapacity in the head, or depravity in the heart. It is of little importance to a people, whether public calamities are the result of incapacity, or dishonesty in the public agents. These qualities, however, are more commonly found united, than mankind are aware of. Weak men in high stations are obliged to have recourse to art and stratagem to conceal or to palliate those errors, which perhaps had their source only in folly, or in pride, which is proverbially

verbially the predominant vice weak men. If however we have son to distrust the qualifications ministers, the remedy is obvious; remedy is perfectly legal, and ut be effectual.

We should indeed despair of the itish constitution, were we not rsuaded that it still possesses ener- sufficient to correct in a legal y the errors of any administra- n. In an illegal way they never n be corrected, but by a remedy, hich, to speak in trite but intelli- ble language, is more to be feared an the disease. Experience, and en recent experience, has taught the consolatory lesson, that there no power in this kingdom suf- ciently independent to withstand e wishes of the people, decently nd legally expressed. Neither the oted corruption of a Walpole, the extended influence of lord Bute, was able to resist the great iv of the people, expressing by PETITIONS their sense of the cala- ities of the nation.

But whatever may be the ad- visable measure, it is impossible at- tentively to peruse the debates of parliament, as contained in this vo- lume, or in any other authentic re- port, and to reflect on the events which have since occurred, and not to see that some immediate steps are necessary to restore the prospe- rity, the credit, the commerce of the nation; and to save it from per- haps still greater calamities. It is a self-evident fact, that instead of drawing their support from an ex- tended foreign commerce, the poor of the country are becoming daily an intolerable and inevitable bur- then upon the rich. Independent of the numbers who are supported in the various departments of the army and navy, the expence of which falls chiefly on the landed in- terest, it is a truth, that cannot be controverted, that the poor's rates in various parts of the kingdom are increased beyond expectation, while the voluntary contributions have been liberal beyond precedent. These supplies, however, it is ob- vious, must have a limit—We can- not—we dare not anticipate conse- quences: we can only say that it is *time* for men of property, and for those who venerate the constitution as we do, to *reflect*. It is not in the machinations of a few discon- tented individuals—it is not inflam- matory publications that can sub- vert that constitution, while well- administered. It is public distress alone that can exasperate the public mind. There is a point when the affairs of nations are not to be re- trieved; that point we trust we have not yet reached, but of its distance we dare not predict. We can only say, that it is undoubtedly acting on the sure side to stop in time—to think in time; and if men will only *dispassionately think*, we can easily foresee in what plan of proceeding the nation will be unanimous. This is the crisis when moderate measures may suc- ceed, and the time is even favour- able for their adoption. Men must however agree to discard little per- sonal interests, for the sake of that great interest which is to preserve every other. Patriotism becomes, at such a crisis, the immediate dic- tate of self-love; and to save our country is to save ourselves, our property, our constitution, our li- berties, our posterity.

PRIN-

PRINCIPAL

OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1794.

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1794.

JANUARY.

1. LAST week arrived from Sierra Leone, the Felicity, captain Wenham, with a cargo of wax, camwood, &c. The dispatches by this ship contain very flattering accounts of the health of this colony, and of its progress in commercial pursuits; but we are sorry to add, that they bring also an account of the death of prince Naimbonna, who died on the evening of his arrival at Sierra Leone, of a putrid fever, contracted by him on shipboard, in the course of his passage from this country. This amiable young man had been for some short time in England under the protection of the Sierra Leone company. He possessed a very excellent understanding, a disposition earnest in the pursuit of knowledge, and great facility in receiving instruction. His mental acquirements, during his stay in this country, were the subject of much admiration, and his easy address and suavity of manners endeared him to all those to whom he was introduced. He had imbibed, and he professed to the last moment of his existence, the strongest attachment to the principles of the Protestant faith; and by his will (made in the beginning of his illness), he earnestly requested his relations to set their faces against the slave trade, and to befriend the Sierra Leone company to the utmost of their power.

10. On Monday came on, before the high court of justiciary, at Edinburgh, the trial of Mr. William Skirving, accused of having circulated a certain seditious paper, dated "Dundee Berean Meeting-house, July, 1793," *(the same for which Mr. Palmer was sentenced to be transported. See Vol. XIV. p. 37)*, and accused also of other seditious practices, particularly with having acted as secretary to a number of people who had assembled at Edinburgh, under the denomination of "The British Convention of Delegates of the People, associated to obtain Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments;" the members of which association did, in October, November, and December last, in imitation of the French Convention, call each other by the name of citizens, divide themselves into sections, appoint committees of various kinds, such as, of organization, of instruction, of finance, and of secrecy; denominate their meetings, sittings; grant honours of sittings; and inscribe their minutes with "The first Year of the British Convention."—Mr. Skirving, after a long trial, which lasted till one o'clock on Tuesday morning, was found guilty, and sentenced to be

transported for fourteen years. After the sentence had been pronounced, he declared, in a short address to the court, that the sentence did not at all appal him; that he had long ago learned to throw aside all fear of man; that this sentence would be rejudged, and that that was all his comfort and all his hope.

11. On Wednesday, the king in council signed an order for the transportation of Messrs. Muir and Palmer to New South Wales, for the term sentenced by the court of justiciary. *See Vol. XIV. p. 31 and 37.*

Edinburgh, Jan. 11. On Thursday morning, about ten o'clock, a vast crowd assembled in front of the Black Bull Inn, where Maurice Margarot lodged. He shortly after came out, attended by three friends. When he got the length of the Register Office, the mob forced all the four into a chaise, which they had provided, and from which they had previously taken the horses. This done, they immediately drew the carriage to the Parliament Close, where Mr. Margarot and his friends alighted; and walking into the Parliament House, he assisted himself at the bar.

When the court met, the solicitor-general informed their lordships, that he had that morning received a note from the lord advocate, intimating, that being much indisposed, it would be impossible for him to attend the trial. The solicitor-general then moved, that their lordships would postpone it till Monday next. The court agreed to this adjournment; and Mr. Margarot, after finding new bail, was dismissed from the bar.

Mr. Margarot, on his way home, was again forced into a carriage by the mob, along with five of his friends, and the horses being taken from the coach, the mob drew him to his lodgings at the Black Bull.

Early this morning, three farmers from East-Lothian, who were particularly active on Thursday in exciting the mob to draw the carriage in which Mr. Margarot came to the Parliament-house, were brought to town by George Williamson, messenger, and are now under examination. To prevent such indecent rioting in the streets in future, there has this day been issued the following

Proclamation by the right honourable Thomas Elder, lord provost of the city of Edinburgh; and John Pringle, esq. sheriff-depute of the county of Edinburgh.

"Whereas, upon occasion of the trial of Willian Skirving for seditious practices, printed hand-bills had been previously dispersed and posted up in several conspicuous places in the city and county, inviting people to assemble for the purpose of accompanying him to his trial; and that in consequence thereof, numbers of evil-disposed persons had convened, whereby tumults and disturbances had been excited to the breach of the public peace:

"And that on the 9th current, when the high court of justiciary had met, in order to proceed on the trial of a person indicted before them, for similar practices, a number of idle and disorderly persons collected together in the streets of this metropolis, and not only accompanied the said person, in a tumultuous and riotous manner, to the justiciary court-place; but took out the horses from a carriage in which he was proceeding to said court, and dragged the same along the streets:

"These are therefore prohibiting

ing and discharging all such tumultuous meetings and riotous proceedings in future, as being subversive of good order, the peace and quiet of the city, and that respect which is due to the supreme criminal court: certifying all such as may be found contravening this proclamation, that they will be taken into custody, and proceeded against in terms of law, as riotous and disorderly persons disturbing the public peace.

Given at Edinburgh, this 10th of January 1794, and of his majesty's reign the 34th year.

God save the king.

"Thomas Elder, Provost,
John Pringle, Sheriff-depute."

Edinburgh, Jan. 14. Yesterday came on the trial of Maurice Margarot, for seditious practices, at a late meeting called the British Convention, when he was found guilty, and sentence of transportation for fourteen years was passed upon him. Alexander Callender, indicted for a similar offence, having failed to appear, was outlawed.

17. Yesterday, at the Old Bailey, James Lyon was indicted for feloniously publishing and uttering several forged scrip receipts for 16,000l. stock, 3 per cent. annuities, with intent to defraud Francis Barroneau, esq. and the governors and company of the bank of England. In this indictment there were twelve counts, to all of which he pleaded guilty. The lord chief baron admonished the prisoner in a very pathetic manner to alter his plea, it being repugnant to the wish of all criminal courts in this country, as well as diametrically opposite to the intent of the law, to convict a subject upon his own confession. His lordship also apprised him of his fate, in case he did not recant, and begged him not to deceive himself in apprehending, that by such a plea there was a greater probability of mercy being shewn to him: That by pleading guilty, he probably was the cause of his own death, as there might be some circumstances in the course of the evidence to be brought in support of the indictment, that would, in point of law, prove favourable to him. On the indictment being read a second time, and being asked whether he was guilty of the felonies therein mentioned, he answered as before; when Mr. Garrow, counsel for the prosecution, addressed him to the same purport as the lord chief baron, but with as little effect: in consequence of which, judge Grose asked the prisoner what were his reasons for pleading guilty, after he had been advised to the contrary; to which he answered, the poignancy of his own feelings, on reflecting that his sister was the principal evidence against him. Immediately on which, his counsel, Messrs. Wood and Knowles, directed him to demur to the indictment, as by so doing the determination of the case would devolve to the judges, which he complied with. The prisoner's sister had been employed by him, to appear in the dress of a man, in order to sell the said receipts; but the forgery being discovered, before the transaction could be completed, she was apprehended, and, to save her own life, consented to become evidence.

20. This day the demurrer of James Lyon to the indictment charging him with forgery, came on to be argued at the Old Bailey; but the decision of it was postponed to a future day.

21. A melancholy accident happened in a coalpit, near Newcastle,

by holing an old waste, charged with inflammable air, which instantly took fire from one of the workmen's candles. An explosion ensued, by which were killed 25 men and boys, and 16 horses.

Bath, Jan. 23. At our quarter sessions came on the trial of George Wilkinson, a journeyman printer, for seditious expressions. The indictment alleged, that the prisoner frequently wished "success to the French, and down with the allies;" that "The king and his ministers were villains," &c. The words being proved, the counsel for the prisoner rested his defence upon the words being the vague and idle expressions of a thoughtless young man, that carried with them no design of a pernicious import. The jury found him guilty, and the court pronounced a sentence of four months imprisonment, to pay a fine of 20s. and find security for one year, himself in 50l. and two sureties in 25l. each.

28. The following are some circumstances attending a late marriage between a branch of the royal family and the daughter of the earl of Dunmore.

About eighteen months ago, lady Dunmore, whose husband is governor of the Bahama Islands, went with her two daughters to Italy, where they resided till very lately. His royal highness prince Augustus, being at Rome, met with those ladies, and very naturally courted their agreeable society; the consequence of which was a mutual attachment between his royal highness and lady Augusta Murray, and they were there married.

Lady Augusta became pregnant, and returned to England. His royal highness did the same; and, at the instance of the lady and her friends, a second marriage took place.

The parties were regularly asked in the church of St. George's Hanover-square, in November last, and, on the 5th of December, were again united, according to the ceremonies of the church of England, under the names of Augustus Frederick and Augusta Murray.

The circumstances having come to the king's knowledge, his majesty has instituted a suit of nullity, in his own name, in the arches court of Canterbury, to set aside the validity of this marriage, on the ground of an act of parliament passed early in the reign of his present majesty, for the prevention of the marriage of any male branch of the royal family, without the previous consent of his majesty, under the great seal, declared in council.

On Saturday, Mr. Heseltine, the king's proctor, served a citation on lady Augusta Murray, to answer the charges of the suit. *See p.* 16.

Dublin, Jan. 30. Yesterday came on, in the court of King's Bench, the trial of Archibald Hamilton Rowan, esq. on an information *ex officio*, for publishing, on the 16th of December, 1792, a false, scandalous, malicious, and seditious libel, purporting to be an address from the United Irishmen of Dublin to the volunteers of Ireland, signed by Mr. Rowan, as secretary, against his majesty's government, &c. A person, who, in June last, received an ensigncy in the 40th regiment without purchase, was called to prove the publication. Exceptions were taken to the credibility of his testimony, on account of his formerly having been a witness to two bonds passed by his father to his younger brother, which were suspected of being forgeries. Three witnesses were called to his credibility, two of whom said

said they did not know enough of him to speak positively, and a third, that he was not to be believed, even on his oath.

A second witness was called in support of the prosecution, whose evidence was defective, and admitted by the court to go for nothing.

Mr. Curran made an admirable defence for the prisoner, to which the attorney-general and the prime-serjeant replied; and lord chief-justice the earl of Clonmell having summed up the evidence, the jury retired a few minutes, and returned with a verdict—Guilty. Mr. Rowan was immediately conveyed to Newgate, and Mr. Curran was escorted by the people to his own house. *See p.* 8.

FEBRUARY.

1. The total amount of the French emigrants brought off by the British from Toulon, appears now, from the muster returned to government, to amount to 14,877 men, women, and children.

4. Yesterday evening, a dreadful accident happened at the Little Theatre in the Hay-market. Their majesties had commanded the play, and there was a great crowd assembled before the pit-door. A poor woman having been thrown down, the people kept pushing forward, others were thrown over her, and all were trampled upon by the crowd, who passed over their bodies into the house. The pit lies lower than the threshhold of the door leading into it: those therefore who go in must go down a step. Here it was that the mischief happened: for the people who were the unfortunate sufferers, either not knowing any thing of this step, or being hurried on by the pressure of the crowd behind, fell down, while those who followed immediately were, by the same irresistible impulse, hurried over them. The scene that ensued may be easier conceived than described; the screams of the dying and the maimed were truly shocking; while those who were literally trampling their fellow-creatures to death, had it not in their power to avoid the mischief they were doing. One could scarcely have believed that so many could have been killed in so small a space. Seven bodies, completely lifeless, were carried into Mr. Wynch's the druggist, next door to the theatre, some to the shops of other medical gentlemen, and the remainder to St. Martin's watch-house, to be owned. Medical aid was called in, and every thing done to restore animation, if it were only suspended; but we are sorry that success attended the process in one case only, which was that of Mr. Brandram, Tooley-street, whose sister-in-law, nephew, and niece, were killed.

The following is the melancholy list of those who perished:

Mrs. Fisher, sister-in law to Mr. Brandram.

Miss Brandram, niece of Mr. Brandram.

Mr. Brandram, his nephew. Mr. Brandram himself was carried out apparently dead, but was recovered.

Benjamin Pingo, esq. York Herald, of the Heralds' College.

J. C. Brooke, esq. Somerset Herald, of ditto.

Mrs. Willis. } Wife and son
Master Willis, } of Mr. Willis, attorney, Gray's Inn.

Mr. Garbutt, late master of the Three Sisters, Whitby.

Mrs. Gwatkin, wife of Mr. Gwatkin, dancing-master, Bartlet's Buildings.

Mr. Spencer, St. James's Market.

Miss Williams, daughter of Mr. Williams, Shoe-Lane, Pall Mall.

Mr. Robinson, of Clerkenwell, farrier.

Miss Bushnell, niece to Mr. Norton, of Berners-street; and two gentlemen not yet owned—In all fifteen persons.

This melancholy circumstance was not generally known in the theatre till late in the evening; and it was kept from the knowledge of their majesties till the play was over.

Exclusive of these lamented victims, who were all respectable persons, near twenty others suffered material injuries, in bruises and broken legs and arms.

7. Yesterday morning, the arrival of the Swallow packet at Torbay, with marquis Cornwallis, part of his suite, colonel Ross, private secretary, and captain Apsley, aid-du-camp, on board, was announced at the India House.

The Swallow left Madras the 10th of October, and was convoyed by admiral Cornwallis to the southward of the equator, arrived at St. Helena the 15th of December, and sailed thence the 19th.

When the Swallow left India, all the presidencies and possessions of the company were in an unexampled state of prosperity.

Tippoo Sultan had made all his payments, and, what is still better, given the most decided opinion against the conduct of the French, pledging himself to have no concern or alliance with the convention.

The nabob of Arcot and rajah of Tanjore had also used the most spirited exertions in supplying our forces with provisions, &c. on their march to Pondicherry.

Dublin, Feb. 7. A motion having been made in the court of King's-bench, to set aside the verdict in the case of the king against Mr. Rowan, the chief justice delivered his sentiments on the three grounds on which the motion rested, as stated in Mr. Rowan's affidavit. The two first were objections to Mr. Giffard, the sheriff, and Mr. Perrin, one of the jurors, which, after some observations, were both over-ruled. With respect to the third ground of the motion, the incredibility of the evidence, he observed, that it would be productive of the most formidable consequences, if evidence were suffered to be adduced after a trial, to invalidate evidence which had been given upon the trial. If that were admitted, a conviction could never take place, while a man could be found to swear, that he believed another was not to be credited on his oath. It would induce perjury, and that kind of perjury which would elude punishment. It would transfer the office of the jurors to the judge, and totally subvert the trial by jury. He cited a case, to prove that, even in cases where incompetent witnesses had been examined, that incompetence was not judged a sufficient ground for setting aside the verdict, though the incompetence was a point entirely within the power of the court, whereas the province of determining on the incredibility of the evidence was peculiar to the jury.

The defendant's council, he observed, had surprised the prosecutors with a new ground of objection to the verdict, not mentioned in the notice, viz. the illegality of the charge given by the court to the jury.

His lordship said, he would repeat that part of the charge alluded to,

to, which was in substance this—"that the council for the prosecution which stated the non-production of evidence on the part of the defendant as strongly tending to prove his guilt, had struck him very forcibly; that he had adverted then to the nature of the fact charged, which was of a very public nature, and of course afforded means of refutation; that if the jury believed an event of such publicity, that between one and two hundred persons were concerned in it, had happened, it was in his mind a volume of evidence against the defendant, that he had produced no witness to rebut the facts charged on him."

This, his lordship insisted, did not amount to an assertion that the silence of the defendant should be taken to supply the deficiency of his evidence.

Council had said, that the affidavits now before the court ought to be taken as true. Even if they were, his lordship observed, they did not contradict any one specific fact proved on the trial. He here recapitulated the evidence, and observed it was on the fulness of this testimony of Mr. Rowan's guilt, he had charged the jury, and not on the principle that his silence should be taken as proof of the fact. If, however, the charge to the jury were really liable to objection, the objection now came too late, as it had not been mentioned in the notice served on the prosecutors. His lordship concluded by declaring his opinion, that the verdict ought not to be set aside. Mr. justice Boyd and Mr. justice Downes concurred in the same opinion, the latter observing, in particular, that even in cases of felony, where no evidence appears for the prosecution, perhaps, but that of a common informer, the non-production of exculpatory evidence by the culprit is considered as adding weight to the testimony against him, otherwise perhaps little deserving of credit.

Mr. justice Boyd then pronounced the sentence, which was imprisonment for two years, a fine of 500l. and security for good behaviour for seven years—Mr. Rowan in 2000l. and two others in 1000l. each.

Falmouth, Feb. 8. The Antelope packet sailed from Port Royal, Nov. 27. On the 1st of December, on the coast of Cuba, not far from Cumberland harbour, she fell in with two schooners, of some force; upon which the master bore up for Jamaica. The Atalante, one of the privateers, outsailed her consort, left her, continued the chase all day, and till about four P. M. when the wind failing, she rowed up with the packet, and having exchanged several shots, sheered off again. During the night she frequently bore down, and shot was fired on both sides. At five on Monday morning, it being calm, she rowed up and grappled the Antelope on the starboard side, pouring in a broadside, and made an attempt to board, which was repulsed with great slaughter.

By this broadside, unfortunately, Mr. Curtis, the master, who commanded, fell, as did the ship's steward, and a French gentleman, aid-de camp to monsieur Loppinot, a passenger; and the first mate was shot through the body. The command then devolved on the boatswain, (for the second mate had died of the fever after their sailing from Port Royal) who, with the few brave men left, assisted by the passengers, repulsed repeated at-

attempts to board, during a considerable time the vessels were along-side. The boatswain, at last, observing that they had cut their grapplings, and were attempting to sheer off, ran aloft himself, and lashed the privateer's square-sail yard to the Antelope's fore shrouds, and immediately pouring in a few vollies of small arms, which did great execution, the survivors of the schooner's crew called for quarter, which was immediately granted them, notwithstanding they had the bloody flag hoisted during the whole of the action. The prize was taken possession of, and carried into Annotta Bay about eleven next morning.

The Antelope sailed from Port Royal with 27 hands, but had lost four before the action by the fever, and had then two unfit for duty; so that reckoning four dead, two ill, and the doctor, who must necessarily go to his quarters in the cockpit, they entered the engagement with only 20 men, beside the passengers.

The following is a list of the killed and wounded on board the privateer:

1st Captain wounded, since dead.
2d Ditto, ditto.
30 Men killed during the action.
3 since dead of their wounds.
14 wounded.
16 unhurt.
—— 65 men, consisting of French, American, and Irish.

L'Atalante was fitted out at Charleston, and had been out a month, during which period she had captured a Bermudean brig.

The behaviour of Mr. Nodin, formerly a midshipman, is said by monsieur Loppinot to surpass description. He stood by the helm and worked the ship, armed with a musket and pike, which he alternately made use of. When he perceived the men climbing the quarters, he quitted the helm, and with the pike dispatched all that came within his reach, returning at proper intervals to right the vessel. With this instrument, and the musket, he killed several men, and continued his astonishing exertions for more than an hour and a quarter.

When the enemy called for quarter, more than twenty men lay dead on the decks, and several more had fallen into the water: on boarding her, they found a very large quantity of ladies' and gentlemen's wearing-apparel, pillaged, no doubt, from some vessels they had previously fallen in with.

A representation having been made to the lieutenant-governor of Jamaica, and to the House of Assembly, of the gallant conduct of the officers and crew belonging to the Antelope packet, the sum of 500 guineas was immediately voted to be distributed as under, viz.

200 to the widow and family of Mr. Curtis, the late master.
100 to the mate.
100 to the boatswain.
100 to the crew.

10. Yesterday came on, in the court of King's Bench, the case of Mr. Purefoy. It was stated that a bill of indictment was found against the prisoner by the grand jury for the county of Kent, for the wilful murder of Henry Roper; and that he not having appeared and pleaded to that indictment, the process of outlawry had issued against him, and in consequence he stood attainted of felony and murder. He was therefore asked, what cause he could shew why execution should not be awarded against him according to law? Mr. Purefoy prayed that a writ of error might be allowed, on the ground that at the

the time the process of outlawry was awarded against him, and long before and after, he was in parts beyond the seas, to wit, at Tournay in Flanders, and that consequently he could not surrender himself: and therefore he prayed that the outlawry might be reversed. Mr. attorney-general admitted the truth of that fact. Mr. justice Ashhurst therefore ordered the outlawry to be reversed, and Mr. Purefoy to be restored to every thing he had lost by the judgment. Mr. attorney-general then obtained a writ of procedendo to carry the indictment back to the assizes, in order that the prisoner might be tried. The lord chief justice then ordered Mr. Purefoy to be remanded.

11. Yesterday morning early Mr. Muir, under sentence of transportation, was conveyed from Newgate to the place appointed for his embarkation for New South Wales. Mr. Palmer was sent off some days ago.

13. Information was on Monday received at the Sierra-Leone house, of the progress of the colony at Sierra Leone to the 20th of December last. The natives continued perfectly friendly; the neighbouring chiefs shewed every desire of being connected with the company; some had sent their children to be educated at Sierra Leone, and many others proposed to send them in the ensuing dry season. The rainy season had passed over without any considerable mortality; and the Nova Scotia colonists had maintained their health, and appeared to have become well inured to the climate.

The trade was much more brisk; the cultivation was advancing both in the colony and parts adjacent; and there appears to have been no difficulty in procuring the native labourers.

The rice, cotton, and other articles in the company's plantation, thrive exceedingly, the sugar-cane excepted, which had been hurt by the white ants. The schools of the company contained between 300 and 400 children, chiefly Nova Scotians, who appear to have made full as much improvement as is common in European schools under similar circumstances. The colony had gradually improved in order, and appeared to be advancing in every respect.

An unfortunate fire, however, had happened on board the company's storeship York, by which she was entirely consumed, together with all such articles as happened to be then on board, of which the value, if estimated at prime cost, might be 8000l. or 9000l.; several thousand pounds thereof being African produce, which was on the point of being sent to England. The whole loss, including the value of the ship and the estimated profits and charges to be added to the prime cost of the goods, is computed by the governor and council, on a rough calculation, to amount to between 14,000l. and 15,000l.

19. There never was a measure so completely effectual, as that immediately proved, which was last year adopted by parliament, for granting aid to private credit by the means of exchequer bills.

Though it was said, that five millions would be a sum too small to be of service, and that nothing could stop the tide of bankruptcy; yet of the 5,000,000l. of exchequer bills that were allowed, there were applied for, before the 5th of August, to no greater amount than 3,723,824l. of which were

were granted only 2,129,200l. The two first payments of this loan have been punctually made: a fact which proves, that temporary relief only was wanted, and to no great amount. The alacrity of parliament to support the credit of the country, was itself relief. The month of May, 1793, was the epoch of the greatest number of bankruptcies; they greatly decreased in June; they decreased still more in July; they continued to decrease in August; and in September they fell to be nearly on a par with the numbers in September 1792.

The merchants in the capital received something less than one million; at Manchester, about 250,000l. at Liverpool 130,000l. and at Bristol only 40,000l. It appeared that most of the bankruptcies arose from illegal speculations, and an avaricious extension of capital.

21. At the sessions-house in the Old Bailey, on Wednesday, Mr. justice Buller delivered the opinion of the judges upon the reserved case of Jeremiah Reading, who had been tried and convicted at a former sessions, of forging the acceptance to a bill of exchange, purporting to be drawn at Bristol, and directed to John King, of Berkeley-square. It appeared upon the trial, that no such person was to be found as John King. The indictment stated the bill to be directed to John King by the name and description of John Ring. The judges were of opinion, that this description was erroneous, and repugnant to the precision the law required in the form of indictments, and that therefore the judgment ought to be arrested. The case, however, being of great public importance, the judges were of opinion that the prisoner ought not to be discharged, as the prosecutor was at liberty to prefer a new indictment against him. The prisoner was of course detained in custody. *See Vol. XIV. page* (37).

24. This day accounts were received in town by the Minerva, from Bengal, for Ostend; that the Princess Royal East Indiaman, outward-bound, on the 27th of September last, near the Sunda Islands, fell in with three French frigates, and engaged them for upward of one hour, when she was obliged to strike to their superior force.

25. Yesterday came on, at the sessions-house in the Old Bailey, the trial of Mr. Eaton, bookseller, in Newgate-street, for a libel, contained in a pamphlet, entitled 'Hogs Wash, or Politics for the People.' The libel charged was a story told at a debating society, of a man who kept a game cock. The indictment charged, that under this fable of a Game Cock, the present King was intended; and that it was published with a view to excite disaffection to the king and the regal government of this country, and to stir up sedition. The indictment was opened by Mr. Fielding for the crown. Mr. Gurney appeared as counsel for the defendant. The jury found the defendant, not guilty. *See Vol. XIV. page* (20) *and* (26).

28. This day came on to be tried in the Court of Common Pleas, an action for damages, of considerable importance to authors and reviewers. The plaintiff, Mr. Swinton, published, in 1792, 'Travels into Norway, Denmark, and Russia, in 1788, 1789, 1790, and 1791.' This work was reviewed in July 1792, in the Critical Review. The plaintiff alleged, that in this review of the book, it

was

was insinuated that he was one of those writers of travels, 'who are scarcely ever out of their closets;' the work, in other respects, was roughly handled; and he, conceiving that he had been injured both in his character, and in the sale of the book, brought the present action against messrs. Robinson, booksellers, the publishers of the Critical Review.

The lord chief justice explained to the jury, that this was a case very different from common libel cases. It was a case of criticism, which, if not left fair and open, the greatest injury would accrue to literature. The plaintiff had made out no case of loss or damage whatever; and as to its being insinuated that he had composed this work in his closet, the public might perhaps be as desirous to read the book, as if he had actually travelled: they might be desirous to know how well a man can write fiction. His lordship instanced two books, with which he presumed the jury were well acquainted—Gulliver's Travels and Robinson Crusoe. He did not conceive that the plaintiff had proved any loss from the review, which, however, the jury might read and consider; and if they were convinced that he had been injured, they would no doubt afford a compensation.

The jury, without going out of court, gave a verdict for the defendants.

MARCH.

1. Yesterday was tried, in the court of King's Bench, an action for criminal conversation, brought by Bernard Howard, esq. presumptive heir to the duke of Norfolk, against Mr. Bingham, son of the earl of Lucan, for seducing his wife, lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the earl of Fauconberg.

The counsel for the defendant admitted, that Mr. Bingham had lived in intimacy with lady Elizabeth, since the time of the separation, which took place the 24th of July, 1793.

The counsel for the plaintiff produced several witnesses to shew the great attention of Mr. Bingham to lady Elizabeth, previously to the separation, by which he was deprived of the affections of his wife, and which was the cause of her separating from him. The proper respect paid by Mr. Howard to his lady, was also fully proved.

Mr. Erskine, for the defendant, stated, that Mr. Howard married lady Elizabeth on the 24th of April, 1789. He had issue by her the 12th of August 1791; and he was happy that it was universally allowed, that this issue was the child of Mr. Howard, presumptive heir of the duke of Norfolk. The parties had separated the 24th of July 1793, and no evidence produced, made against his client, but cohabitation since the separation. He observed, that this unfortunate woman was dragged a victim to the marriage-bed, without having the least love for Mr. Howard. He lamented the little attention paid to matches among the nobility. He wished they were concluded by the dictates of love, and not by the regard of fortune and connexions. It was too often the case, that the object of matrimony among them was, to blend the escutcheon of one noble house with that of another, and exalt the unfortunate couple to imaginary consequence by the sacrifice of private happiness. He would prove, that

that the privilege of a husband was denied Mr. Howard for months, which fully shewed her rooted aversion to him. He said, that damages could not be the object of the plaintiff: to ground a divorce, was what caused him to look for a verdict. He would show, he said, the noble conduct of his client in endeavouring to subdue his passions, by withdrawing from the object of his love and adoration; to whom he paid unremitting attention previously to her marriage with Mr. Howard; and he concluded with remarking, as to the damages, that it would not be creditable for the jury to give what it would be disgraceful to the plaintiff to receive.

The witnesses were then called in behalf of the defendant: Mrs. Bishop deposed, that she was attendant on lady Elizabeth; was with her, in her own chamber, the morning she went to be married to Mr. Howard; that that morning she cried very much, and appeared extremely unhappy. The marriage was celebrated in lord Fauconberg's drawing-room. After the service, they left town: the witness had left town before them, to prepare things for receiving them. On their arrival, they went into the room where the witness was: when Mr. Howard left the room, lady Elizabeth cried much: she attended lady Elizabeth to bed that night; she again wept, appeared distressed, and trembled extremely. Lady Elizabeth was young, beautiful, and about the same age with Mr. Howard. When she was quitting the room, lady Elizabeth desired the witness to call her early the next morning. The witness called her at nine o'clock. On Mr. Howard's quitting the room, lady Elizabeth threw herself round the witness's neck, cried bitterly, but said nothing. The witness put her to bed the second night, but lady Elizabeth continued in the same situation above a fortnight. They remained in the country three weeks. Lady Elizabeth then returned to be presented at St. James's: when they came to town, she returned home very late, sometimes at three or four o'clock. Mr. Howard constantly retired to bed before lady Elizabeth: when they came home, she often cried, threw herself in a chair, often went to sleep in it, and with difficulty was prevailed on to go to bed. On the witness's asking her once to go to bed, she said she would as soon go to Newgate. She recollected lady Elizabeth's returning from walking in Kensington gardens: when she came home, she appeared extremely unhappy. On asking what ailed her ladyship, she replied, 'that she had seen Bingham, but that he turned up his nose and frowned at her.' The witness spoke once to lady Elizabeth about her wedding clothes, but lady Elizabeth answered, 'Indeed, *Polly*, when I had them m de, I did not mean to marry Mr. Howard.' The witness remembered lady Elizabeth leaving her husband's bed, and going to sleep with her sister, who was in the same house. She never heard that the least animosity subsisted between Mr. Howard and lady Elizabeth, or that they had any words. On her cross-examination, she said, she did not know Mr. Bingham, nor ever heard any discourse in the family about Mr. Bingham; nor ever heard that Mr. Howard had proposed marriage to lady Elizabeth at the duchess of Devonshire's ball. The witness concealed every thing which passed between lady Elizabeth and her.

The

The meeting at Kensington was in the first year of her ladyship's marriage.

Mr. Greville deposed, that he was firmly persuaded that the love and attachment of lady Elizabeth and Mr. Bingham were reciprocal. He well remembered the marriage: the effect it produced on Mr. Bingham was the impairing of his health. Mr. Bingham, in order to forget lady Elizabeth, went to Bath and Cheltenham before the marriage, and did not return to London for many months.

Mark Singleton, esq. deposed, that Mr. Howard frequently complained of his wife's want of affection, and had told him, in particular, that, for two months together, she had refused him the privilege of a husband.

Lord Kenyon interrupted this evidence. This, said his lordship, is a very melancholy case. The plaintiff has been unfortunate in not having the affections of the woman he espoused, but his treatment of her has been nowise improper. He wished the counsel would (as a verdict must be for the plaintiff) leave the ascertaining of the damages to him and the jury.

Mr. Erskine said, he wished to Heaven his being an umpire could have prevented this business from coming into a court of justice, but that his client had several witnesses to produce, which would fully exculpate him in the eyes of the jury.

Lord George Conway said, he knew Mr. Bingham before Mr. Howard paid his addresses to lady Elizabeth. His impressions were, that lady Elizabeth and Mr. Bingham were much attached; and he knew, that immediately subsequent to the marriage, Mr. Bingham avoided lady Elizabeth as much as possible.

Charles Morris, esq. was sworn, whom Mr. Erskine interrupted, by saying, I am sorry, my lord, it has been necessary to hear so much of this cause. Your lordship sees the nature of the evidence I mean to produce. I have some of the most noble characters in the country; I must also be obliged to introduce some of the near relations, whose feelings I wish not to wound. I will rest on those I have produced, and will leave the ascertaining of the damages to your lordship and the jury.

Lord Kenyon. Gentlemen of the jury, you are now to give your decision on this melancholy case. Since the time I have had the honour of presiding over this court, I have endeavoured to make the laws of the land subservient to the laws of morality; and, also, to enforce the sacred precepts of religion. I have often had the happiness of finding juries going with me, by giving heavy damages, punishing the libertine who violates the law of God, of social duty, and religion. Sometimes, plaintiffs have procured small damages, and at other times large; but, gentlemen, said he, emphatically, this is a most unfortunate case. You do not here observe the plaintiff making use of the defendant's friendship, and introducing him into the affection of his wife; or, what is equally criminal, being privy to their illicit amour; but, alas! it has appeared that the plaintiff never had the affection of this woman: her love was engaged, and though the object absented himself for a time, yet when they met, the unextinguished flame lighted again. The defendant, it is true, used his endeavours, for some time, to bridle his affection: he retired into the country. The husband has not,

not, I fear, been *deprived* of his wife's ſociety; for he appears never to have poſſeſſed it. I think, gentlemen, the damages can neither be great, nor at the ſame time nominal. This young man ſeemed to withdraw himſelf from the ſnare into which his paſſions had led him.

The jury, without retiring, found a verdict of 1000l. damages.

4. Yeſterday, an officer arrived at lord Grenville's office, with letters from Francis Groſe, eſq. lieutenant-governor of New South Wales, and from captain King, lieutenant-governor of Norfolk Iſland, which mention that the colonies were in a flouriſhing ſituation, through the induſtry of the convicts, &c.

7. A decree of divorce was laſt week given from the commiſſary (or eccleſiaſtical) court in Scotland, at the inſtance of the ducheſs of Hamilton, againſt the duke of Hamilton, for *crim. con.* by which the marriage is diſſolved, and either of the parties may marry again, with certain reſtrictions as to the after marriage of the duke, laid down in the laws of Scotland, following the Roman law in this reſpect, which is different from the laws of England. We underſtand that theſe reſtrictions prohibit the perſon who is divorced from marrying the perſon with whom he or ſhe had, by the judgment of the commiſſaries, been found to have cohabited.

10. The ſubſtance of the libel given in the eccleſiaſtical court, between his majeſty and lady Auguſta Murray, ſets forth the act of parliament of 12 Geo. III. for the better regulating the future marriages of the royal family. It goes on to ſtate the birth of prince Auguſtus Frederick, at the queen's houſe, on the 27th of January, 1773, and his baptiſm on the 27th of February, by the then archbiſhop of Canterbury; to prove which, a copy is exhibited of the entry of the baptiſm taken from the regiſter book of baptiſms for the royal family, kept by the biſhop of London: That prince Auguſtus Frederick is a deſcendant of the body of king George II. and therefore within the meaning and intent of the act of parliament; and, in conſequence of the reſtrictions therein contained, and of his being under the 25th year of his age, he was incapable of contracting marriage without the king's conſent, ſignified under the great ſeal, and declared in council.

The libel alleges, that his majeſty hath not at any time, ſignified under the great ſeal, or in council, his conſent that prince Auguſtus Frederick ſhould contract matrimony. It then proceeds to charge, that in 1793, his highneſs being on his travels, in Italy, on account of his health, met with lady Auguſta Murray and her mother at Rome, and they became acquainted, and were frequently in company together; at which time lady Auguſta was of the age of 31 years, and the prince a minor under 21: That ſoon after their acquaintance, lady Auguſta, notwithſtanding the act of Parliament, prevailed on the prince to conſent to be married to her, and a ſhew of marriage between them actually took place at lady Dunmore's houſe in Rome, on the 4th of April, 1793. It ſtates, that ſome time in 1793, his highneſs arrived in England, and lady Auguſta came to England in November laſt, and went to live at her mother's houſe in Berkeley-ſtreet, Mancheſter-ſquare; and that lady Auguſta took lodgings at, and occaſionally went to, the houſe of Mr. Jones, a coal merchant, in South Moulton-ſtreet, with a view of obtaining a marriage with the prince,

prince, in St. George's church, Hanover-square: That in November, 1793, lady Augusta prevailed upon the prince to consent to be married to her at such church, in which parish she had obtained a residence by her lodgings in South Moulton-street; and she gave directions for the publication of bans between herself and the prince, by the names of Augustus Frederick and Augusta Murray, of St. George's parish: That, in pursuance of the bans, on or about the 5th of December, 1793, a shew of marriage was solemnized in St. George's church, between the prince and lady Augusta by the rev. Mr. Downes, who pronounced them lawful husband and wife; and an entry of the marriage was made in the parish register book, an extract from which is as follows:—

"Augustus Frederick and Augusta Murray, both of this parish, were married in this church, by bans, this 5th day of December, 1793.

"By me, T. Downes, Curate."

"This marriage was solemnized between us

"Augustus Frederick,

"Augusta Murray."

The libel then proceeds to state, that both the said shews of marriage, at Rome and St. George's church, were had without his majesty's consent, as required by the act, and therefore the same are absolutely null and void; and it concludes with praying the right hon. sir William Wynne, dean of the arches court of Canterbury, (before whom the suit is brought) to pronounce the same null and void accordingly.

Boston (*N. America*) *Feb.* 8. In the assembly of New York, on the 13th ult. Mr. Wilcocks moved,—"That the titles of excellency, honourable, esquire, and every other characteristick designation, not warranted by the constitution, and which are unnecessary, and inconsistent with the plainness and real dignity of republican manners, be abolished."

On the 17th, the house took the motion into consideration, and negatived the same.

Edinburgh, March 13. On Monday, came on the trial of Mr. Joseph Gerald, charged with being a member of a seditious meeting, called the British Convention, which met here in November and December last, with seditiously addressing that meeting in a speech, &c. The trial not being finished that evening was postponed till this day, when the jury unanimously found the prisoner guilty, and the court sentenced him to be transported for fourteen years.

15. A free pardon was lately sent to Newgate for Jeremiah Reading, who was convicted in September sessions last, for uttering a forged and counterfeit note, purporting to be drawn on John King, esq. with which he had defrauded Dalby and Co. linen-drapers, Bishopsgate-street. *See p.* 12.

Vienna, Feb. 8. A shock of an earthquake was very sensibly felt in this capital on Thursday last, at about one o'clock P. M.—*London Gazette.*

Copenhagen, March 1. On Wednesday evening, about five o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out in the royal palace of Christianbourg, which communicating from the hereditary prince's apartments, where it began, to the rest of the building, in the space of seven or eight hours reduced the whole to a heap of ashes. The royal family have happily escaped without accident, but the greater part of their

their valuable effects have been a prey to the flames. It is not yet known what number of lives have been lost, but it is to be hoped, considering the rapidity of the conflagration, which was increased by a very strong wind, that the number is not great. This palace, one of the most commodious and most sumptuously furnished in Europe, was built in the reign of Christian VI. and is said to have cost (in building only) considerably above a million sterling; it seems therefore not an exorbitant calculation to suppose that, with the loss sustained by the hundreds of individuals by whom it was inhabited, the whole damage may amount to two millions sterling. It is some consolation, in so great a disaster, that the royal library, consisting of between two and three hundred thousand volumes, which stood detached from the principal pile, has been fortunately saved. During the whole of this distressful scene the garrison and the citizens were under arms, and every effort was made, both by the military and the sailors, to prevent disorder and pillage.

His Danish majesty is lodged for the present in an apartment at count Bernstorff's, and the rest of the royal family are dispersed in different quarters of the town, where they will remain till houses proper for their reception can be got ready.—*Lon. Gaz.*

Exeter, March 27. At our assizes, J. Warren, was indicted for speaking seditious words. Two witnesses swore, that the defendant, in a public-house, wished "Success to the French arms all over the world, and the downfall of the British government."—Upon cross examination, they said the defendant had been drinking, and appeared much intoxicated. The counsel for the defendant made an impressive speech to the jury, in the course of which he said, that if the present horde of spies and informers were still to be encouraged, Englishmen would in time become a race of barbarians, living upon the destruction of each other; and that no man, lately, could go to a coffee-house, or other place of public resort, and exchange his sentiments with his fellow citizens upon any subject, without some hired spy standing at his elbow to catch some unguarded expression, and convert it into sedition. The jury brought in their verdict, *Not Guilty.*

Leicester, Mar. 27. On Saturday, came on, at our assizes, the trial of Robert Erpe, of Castle-Donington, watch-maker, for speaking certain seditious words.

The indictment contained two counts; that on the 17th of November 1792, he wickedly, maliciously, &c. &c. said "king George III. shall not reign next March;" and on the 19th of the same month, —"the justices of the peace will not have it in their power much longer to grant licences to public houses; but the people will do it very soon. There is a body of people, at Sheffield, going to London: they will remember the enemies and burners of Paine at Donington, on their way to London: If the words of the people are not sufficient, they will take the point of the sword to defend the rights of the people."

Samuel Baker, an excisman, gave evidence on the part of the prosecution, that he called at the Horse, Castle-Donington, on the 17th day of November, where he found Mr. Erpe, and three other persons, engaged in a private conversation. The subject was politics,

ties, and relative to the divine right of kings. He listened to the conversation, and as he considered it to be seditious on the part of Erpe, on the same evening he committed to writing the words in the first count of the indictment. On his cross examination, it appeared he had not written the words till some days after, nor could he recollect the connection of the words with the general conversation; he also acknowledged that he was instigated to inform by an association at Castle Donington.

William Hearson, the master of the Turk's Head, Castle-Donington, proved the words in the second count. It appeared, that he had not written them down till seven days afterward, when he was instigated to inform by the same association. Like Baker, he was unable to relate the connexion of the words with the context of the conversation, but collected them as he passed to and fro in the business of his house.

On behalf of Mr. Erpe, Mr. John Dore, one of the persons in the company at the Horns, proved that Baker, the exciseman, was not sober, and that the conversation was relative to some chapters in the first book of Samuel; in particular the eighth, which states, that "kings were given in the wrath of God, &c."

Mr. John Bakewell, a respectable inhabitant of Castle-Donington, gave evidence against the character of Baker; also two other witnesses, who had taken part in the conversation at the Horns, proved that the words were part of a speech of the illustrious lord Chatham, and that the words had not been used so as to imply the construction put upon them in the indictment.

Mr. Galley, counsel for the defendant, explained to the jury the nature of the doctrines in the new libel bill. He said that they ought not to find a verdict of guilty, on the simple proof of words merely spoken, but that the innuendoes, as well as the malicious intention, were necessary to be fully substantiated.

Baron Thompson, in his charge to the jury, told them, if they were satisfied Mr. Erpe had spoken the words with the intention stated in the indictment, they ought to find him guilty, but if the malicious intention did not appear to be established, he ought to be acquitted.

The jury retired, and in about twenty minutes returned with a verdict, "Guilty of speaking the words, but not with the seditious intent." His lordship refused to accept that verdict, and the jury after retiring again, in ten minutes brought in another verdict, "Guilty of speaking the words, but not with an intent to disturb government." This also was rejected by the court. The jury then brought in a general verdict, of "Not guilty;" but being repeatedly interrogated by his lordship, and some of the officers of the court, whether they were unanimous, and one of the jury appearing to hesitate, they were sent back once more. They returned however, a fourth time, and brought in a general verdict, Not guilty; which was recorded.

APRIL.

Lancaster, April 3. Yesterday came on the trial of Mr. Thomas Walker, merchant, of Manchester, for conspiring, with nine other persons mentioned in the indictment, to overturn the constitution by force of arms, and to raise men for the purpose of assisting the French, in case of an invasion.

There was another indictment,

separately, for seditious expressions against the king. These indictments were to be supported principally by the testimony of one Thomas Dunn, on whose evidence Mr. Paul, of Manchester, had been already committed to Lancaster Castle, on a warrant for high-treason; and another unfortunate person (Benjamin Booth) had been sentenced to the same place for twelve months by the justices of peace at the Manchester sessions in July last. *See Vol. XIV. p. 28.*

The counsel for the prosecution were Mr. Law, (the attorney-general for the duchy) Mr. Wood, Mr. Topping, and Mr. James: for the defendants, Mr. Erskine, serjeant Cockel, Mr. Chambre, Mr. Lloyd, and Mr. Vaughan.

Mr. Law opened the case, stating, that Mr. Walker and the other defendants were accustomed to meet privately in societies of persons calling themselves the Constitutional, the Reformation, and the Patriotic Societies; that at those meetings, seditious writings were read, violent and seditious expressions were commonly made use of against the king, the constitution, and the government of the country; and, moreover, that many of the members were accustomed, at those meetings, to be regularly trained and exercised with musket and bayonet, for the express purpose of being ready to assist the French in case of an invasion.

This opening the witness, Dunn, supported, by swearing that he was present at forty or fifty of these meetings, in the warehouse of Mr. Walker; that they consisted of from 50 to 150 persons; that he had heard read there Paine's Rights of Man, and other seditious writings; that he had heard Mr. Walker and others damn the king, and all kings; that such expressions were common among the members of those meetings, and that he had seen repeatedly several persons under arms, who, he understood, were so training for the purpose mentioned by Mr. Law.—On his cross examination he prevaricated much; and it appeared, also, that he did not inform, till he himself was taken into custody for seditious practices; that at those meetings, any person was admitted who came; that no questions were asked; that the doors were never shut; and no secrecy was enjoined.

One Kynaston was called to prove that he had been appointed to watch the doors of Mr. Walker's house and warehouse; that he had repeatedly seen persons go in there in the evening when the meetings were supposed to be held, but that he never went in himself.

Mr. Erskine opened the defence. He stated the undoubted legality of peaceable meetings for the purpose of considering the question of a reform in the representation of the country, (*in which the judge acquiesced*), that he himself belonged to a society for that purpose; that the right of a free discussion of the measures of government indubitably belonged to every British subject. He lamented that the violence of party spirit should be prolonged by prosecutions of this nature, which kept alive animosities among those, whose mutual interest, as well as that of the public, was to be found in peace and harmony: That upon the question of a parliamentary reform, reasonable and peaceable men might easily be led to adopt the opinion of its necessity, especially when the very county in which the cause was tried exhibited a strong instance of inequality of representation: The boroughs

roughs, of Cuthero and Newton, with a handful of electors, bearing twice as much weight in the scale of legislature, as the county of Lancaster, containing at least 30,000 freeholders. After many other striking observations, he stated the defence he had to make, and called the evidence in support of it.

This evidence consisted of several members of the Patriotic and Reformation Societies, who met at Mr. Walker's. These witnesses proved that they met there only in consequence of being turned out of their usual places of meeting by the publicans of Manchester, and the house of Mr. Gorse, where they subsequently met, being destroyed by the rioters; that no seditious writings were ever read, seditious proposals made, or seditious expressions to their knowledge used at any of those meetings, either by the defendants or others; that no persons were excluded or questioned on entering; that the doors were never kept shut, or any secrecy used; that there never was any training or exercising of men at arms, nor any such measure proposed at any of those meetings; that no arms were seen by any of the witnesses, excepting a few small swivels, which were brought there by Mr. Walker the day after the house was attacked by the rioters, and a few other arms brought by his friends on that occasion. That the only real, as well as the avowed object of the meeting, was to procure, by peaceable and constitutional means, a reform in parliament; and, in the emphatic language of one of the witnesses, "That nothing passed at the meetings of those societies which they need be ashamed of before God or man."

Several of Mr. Walker's servants proved, that the meetings of those societies took place only subsequent to the riots in Manchester in December 1792; that the doors were never kept shut; that they had free access to the warehouse at those times; that no men were ever exercised there, on any occasion, or at any time; that it was impossible for such transactions to take place without their seeing or hearing them; that there never were any muskets and bayonets carried into the warehouse, or kept there for that or any other purpose; that the arms belonging to Mr. Walker, and brought by his friends on occasion of the riots, were kept locked up in a room in his house, and never brought out when the riots were over; that they never saw or heard any seditious or improper conduct or conversation, either of Mr. Walker, or any of the defendants, or any other persons, at the meetings in question.

Five witnesses were then called, who proved that Dunn had voluntarily confessed to them the innocence of Mr. Walker; that Mr. Walker never had used the expressions which Dunn had charged against him in the information; that he (Dunn) had been bribed to accuse Mr. Walker; that he could not sleep till he had made this confession; that he had, in their presence, gone down upon his knees to Mr. Walker, and asked his pardon for having injured him, with tears in his eyes and in great agitation; that [illegible] had wished to speak to Mr. W[illegible] alone, who had refused this; but on being asked [illegible] had bribed him, he refuse[illegible] not [illegible]

Dunn was called to confront each of these witnesses, and persisted in declaring that their testimony was false; but [illegible] Law [illegible] counsel for the prosecution, at

length declared, that the characters of some of these witnesses were, to his knowledge, so respectable, that he could not think of proceeding with a case supported only by such testimony as Dunn's, and accordingly gave it up.

The Court declared, that Mr. Law had acted very properly, and ordered Dunn into custody for perjury. The judge (Heath) then said, "I hope Mr. Walker that this will be an admonition to you to keep better company in future." To which Mr. Walker replied, "I have kept no bad company, my Lord, except the wretch who stands behind me; nor is there a word or act of my life that I wish unsaid or undone as far as relates to the public, or that, under similar circumstances, I would not repeat."

Court. You have been honourably acquitted, and the witness is committed for perjury.

So ended this important trial:—important to the defendant, whose character has been completely cleared, and to the public, who will be enabled hence to judge upon what slight grounds worthy and respectable men may be put in jeopardy of life, character, and fortune; punished by imprisonment; harassed by expence, and injured in reputation, by rumours equally malignant and ill-founded. On the testimony of this man thus committed for perjury, Mr. Paul of Manchester was imprisoned nine weeks on a charge of High Treason, and then dismissed; and another (Booth) is now actually in prison, committed for a twelve-month, for words spoken, although, upon his trial at the Manchester sessions, the evidence of Dunn was even then directly contradicted by a witness in the cause.

5. On Saturday, at two o'clock, the lord mayor, accompanied by a select committee of the corporation of London, proceeded from the mansion-house to New Burlington-street, the residence of marquis Cornwallis, attended by the city marshals on horseback, music, and colours, to present that nobleman with the freedom of the city, elegantly embellished with emblematical ornaments, and curiously written by Mr. Tomkins, inclosed in a gold box of one hundred guineas value, agreeably to the order of common council some months ago.

When the gold box was delivered by the chamberlain, the lord mayor addressed his lordship in a handsome speech.

The marquis returned his thanks to the lord mayor, for the very flattering manner in which the freedom had been presented. The committee then returned, accompanied by the marquis and his friends. The populace took the horses from his lordship's carriage in Pall-mall, and drew it to the mansion-house.

The lord chancellor and the speaker of the house of commons joined the committee at Temple-bar. On their arrival at the mansion-house, the marquis took the oath of a citizen. After which Mr. chamberlain Wilkes addressed the noble citizen on his meritorious conduct in the east.

A magnificent entertainment was provided by the lord mayor. The tables were decorated with a number of emblematical ornaments: at the principal table were two historical pictures in variegated sanding, of the delivery of the hostages from the sultan to marquis Cornwallis. The front of the mansion-house was illumin-

ated

ated in a superior way to what it has usually been; and in the centre, between the two columns, was introduced a very large and exquisitely well painted transparency, of the delivering of the two sons of the sultan, by the ambassador, to the marquis, with several figures as large as life, executed by Mr. Singleton, under the direction of Mr. Powell, one of the committee.

Bristol, April 15. Yesterday, at the assizes for this city, came on the trial of Mr. Richard Vining Perry, surgeon, on the statute of Henry VII. for forcibly taking away, and marrying Miss Clementine Clark, an heiress.

It appeared on the trial, that Miss Clark had been placed by her uncle, in 1786, at the boarding-school in Bristol, then kept by Miss More, and, in 1790, transferred to the Miss Mills. The uncle died in Jan. 1791, and left to Miss Clark a considerable estate in Jamaica; that she was a most mild, gentle, modest girl, and was much afflicted both in mind and body, by the news of her uncle's death, and by that of her father in Feb. 1791; that she continued in this weak state until she left the school; and that it was unknown to the Miss Mills, that Miss Clark was become entitled to so large a fortune. The conduct of the Miss Mills, it appeared, had been most attentive to the interest of this young lady; and that no letters were received or sent by any of the young ladies of the school, but such as were read by the Miss Mills; that on the 19th of March, a forged note was sent to the school by a servant in livery, inviting Miss Clark to the house of Mr. Gordon in Bristol, to see a relation of hers from Scotland, which relation was supposed to be her aunt Mrs. Ogilvie. That Miss Clark was always prepared to go out; but that she was immediately dressed, and sent in the carriage; and, on Miss Mills going to Mr. Gordon's, the next morning, the fraud that had been practised on Miss Clark, was discovered. Miss Mills became much alarmed for the loss of Miss Clark, and the more so, as she then heard from Mrs. Gordon, that she was become a person of very great fortune; and, upon great enquiry, it was found that a woman servant, of the name of Betty Baker, who had gone from Miss Mills on the day before, had been traced to the house of Mr. Perry, and that a coach and four had set out from the same (19th March) at eleven o'clock at night, and had gone to Newport in Gloucestershire. Upon this discovery, one of the Miss Mills, attended by two gentlemen, set out for Scotland, in pursuit of Mr. Perry and Miss Clark, whom they met, on their return, between Penrith and Shap, in Westmorland; and, on the carriages stopping, Miss Mills saw in the chaise she met, Mr. Perry, Miss Clark, the servant Baker, and an apprentice of Mr. Perry's. That the apprentice sat in the front, before Miss Clark, and Mr. Perry put out a pistol to Miss Mills; and although she pressed very much to speak to Miss Clark, he refused to permit her, saying, there was no Miss Clark there, but Mrs. Perry, and immediately ordered the chaise to drive on. The next fact that was proved was, that a marriage had taken place at Gretna Green, and this was proved not only by the famous man for this business at Gretna, but by the production of a certificate of the marriage,

riage, under the hands of the married couple. At the opening of the Court, Mrs. Perry was introduced, and she sat the whole time of the trial with the counsel for Mr. Perry, who were, Mr. Erskine, Mr. Fielding, and Mr. Mills; and a child she had had by Mr. Perry was brought into the court and shewn to the jury.

A very learned argument then took place among the gentlemen of the law, as to the admissibility of Mrs. Perry to be a witness for her husband, and after a variety of cases were stated by Mr. Erskine, and replied to, our new recorder (Mr. Gibbs) decided, that Mrs. Perry was a competent witness for her husband.—She was accordingly examined, and stated that she had seen Mr. Perry in her walks to the Down, with the young ladies of the school, and that she had conceived an affection for him; that she never was in company with him before the 10th of March (the day she left school) and set out for Scotland; but that she had received a note from him about five days before, through the medium of the servant, Betty Baker, settling the elopement, and that she sent an answer to it—that she knew perfectly well where she was going, and that the whole business was with her full consent and approbation. The Recorder was of opinion that this evidence of Mrs. Perry intitled the defendant to be acquitted, and about seven o'clock in the evening he was acquitted.

Cork, April 25. On Tuesday came on here, before prime serjeant Fitzgerald, the trial of the Rev. Dennis Driscoe, for a scandalous libel against the constitution of this country, under the title of "Truths," and inserted in "the Cork Gazette," of which he was the printer, publisher, and proprietor. After the indictment, which consisted of two counts, had been read, Mr. Emmet, counsel for the traverser, challenged the array, on the ground that one of the sheriffs had declared in company with gentlemen, who were ready to prove it, that the traverser should be sent to Botany Bay. Mr. Egan, for the crown, opposed the challenge. Mr. Emmet's objection had such weight on the prime serjeant, that he sent to the county court for the chief baron, to take his opinion: when the chief baron came, the matter underwent an able discussion; and after the judges had consulted together, their opinion was, that there is room to lay the matter before the twelve Judges; but that they did not consider it sufficient to quash the indictment. In consequence of this decision, the jury was sworn in.

Counsellor Egan opened the case; and the publication being proved, the judge explained the law of libel to the jury, observing very emphatically, that if they saw the traverser had not the intention imputed to the publication in question, they must acquit him.

The jury retired, and, after fifteen minutes, returned with a verdict, acquitting the traverser on the first count, and finding him guilty on the second.

Yesterday, the traverser was again brought into court, when Mr. prime serjeant sentenced him to two years imprisonment, and to find security for his good behaviour for three years.

Admiralty-Office, April 28, 1791.

The letters, of which the following are extracts, were this day received from rear admiral Macbride.

Minerva,

Minotaur, Plymouth Sound, April 26.

SIR,

Be pleased to acquaint my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that the Echo sloop arrived here yesterday morning, bringing with her a letter from sir John Warren, of his majesty's ship Flora, who was on his passage to Portsmouth, with the Pomone and La Babet, French frigates, captured by the squadron detached under his command.

The Concorde and La Nymphe arrived yesterday evening with L'Engageante, another French frigate, captured by the Concorde. Inclosed are the letters from the captains, sir John Warren and sir Richard Strachan, to me on the occasion. The Resolue, another frigate that was in company, escaped, by her outsailing the Melampus and La Nymphe, who chased her into Morlaix. I am, sir, &c.

JOHN M'BRIDE.

P. Stephens, Esq.

Flora, at Sea, April 25, 1794.

SIR,

In pursuance of your orders, I proceeded with the ships named in the margin *, to cruise on the coast of France; and on the 23d instant, from variable winds being in the westward of Guernsey, Rock Dover, bearing E. by S. four or five leagues, the Severn Islands S. S. W. four or five leagues, Guernsey N. E. half east, seven or eight leagues, I discovered, at four in the morning, four sail, standing out to sea upon the larboard tack, the wind S. S. W. and, as the morning began to break, I saw from their manœuvres, and firing of guns, they were some of the enemy's ships of war. They soon afterward appeared in a line of battle on the larboard tack; and, as our ships, from having chased, were not collected, I made the signal to form in succession. We crossed each other on contrary tacks, and the enemy began an action at a considerable distance; their sternmost ship having passed over, they again tacked; but the wind changing two points in our favour, I perceived it was impossible to weather them, and therefore made the signal for the ships to engage as they came up, so as to prevent the enemy gaining their own shore, and to oblige them to come to a close action: I am happy to say we succeeded in this object.

The engagement lasted nearly three hours, when two of the ships struck: I then made the signal for those who were coming up to pursue and engage the enemy, as, from the situation of this ship, having led the line into action, she was incapable of continuing the pursuit.

I am much indebted to sir Edward Pellew, in the Arethusa, who was my second astern, and to the other officers and ships under my command, who exerted themselves in engaging and pursuing the enemy.

The French squadron consisted of L'Engageante, 36 guns, 18 pounders, 300 men, monsieur Desgarceaux chef d'escadre; La Pomone, 44 guns, 24 pounders, 400 men; La Resolue, 36 guns, 18 pounders, 320 men; La Babet, 22 guns, 9 pounders, 200 men: they sailed from Cancale Bay the evening before we met them.

I owe every obligation and acknowledgment to the officers and crew of this ship for their zeal and exertions upon this and every former occasion in the service of their

* Arethusa, Melampus, La Nymphe, Concorde.

king

king and country, and trust you will recommend them to their lordships' notice and protection.

Enclosed are lists of the killed and wounded, and also of the ships taken from the enemy. I have the honour to remain, &c.

JOHN BORLASE WARREN.

A list of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships Flora and Arethusa, on the 23d of April, 1794.

Flora. 1 seaman killed, 3 ditto wounded.

Arethusa. 1 master's mate killed, 2 seamen killed, 5 seamen wounded.

A list of the killed and wounded on board the conventional frigates La Pomone and La Babet, on the 23d of April, 1794.

La Pomone. Between 80 and 100 killed and wounded.

La Babet. Between 30 and 40 killed and wounded.

La Concorde, Plymouth Sound, April 25, 1794.

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you of my arrival here with his majesty's ship under my command, with a French frigate, which we took in the afternoon of the 23d instant. The early transactions of that day have been detailed to you by sir John Warren; but as the Flora was at too great a distance to observe my proceedings in the afternoon, I beg to relate the particulars of my conduct from the time we passed the Pomona after she had surrendered. About eleven A. M. we were near enough to receive and return the fire of the enemy's two frigates, which were making off. It was my intention to endeavour to disable the sternmost, and leave her to the ships of his majesty, which were following us, and push on to attack the leading ship; but in this I was disappointed, for the leading ship bore down, and closed to support her second, and laying herself across our bows, soon disabled us in our sails and rigging so much, that we dropped astern.

We soon got our sails on the ship again, and I purposed to keep the enemy's two ships in check till ours arrived, as the only means of taking them both; but finding the day far advanced, and little probability of our being assisted, as our ships rather dropped; and expecting our main-top mast, which was shot through, to go every minute, knowing that if our mast went, both the ships must escape, I determined to secure the one I was nearest. She was assisted for some time by her second, but, changing sides in the smoke, it prevented her from annoying us. She was defended with the greatest bravery from twelve till a quarter before two P. M. when being silenced, and totally unmanageable, they called they had surrendered. She proved to be L'Engageante, of 34 guns, and four carronades, with 300 men.

The other frigate, La Resolue, after firing a few shot, stood on, and our ship, much cut up in her sails and rigging, was not in a condition to follow her. The mast of the L'Engageante, in the evening, as we attempted to tow her, fell; and expecting ours to go also, I availed myself of seeing the Nymph and Melampus, returning from the chase of the Resolue, to make the signs for assistance. The Nymph joined us at night, and we steered for this port.

I must request you will please to inform their lordships, that the zealous, cool, and steady conduct of the officers and ship's company was

as highly meritorious in the action; and their efforts in refitting the ship, after the fatigue they had experienced, exceeded any exertion I ever saw before. As the first lieutenant, Charles Apthorp, was mostly with me, I had an opportunity of observing the spirit of enterprize, which pervaded his conduct, and I must acknowledge the great assistance he was of to me from the able manner in which he performed the various duties I employed him upon; and am convinced also of the good conduct of lieutenants Boys and Evans, who commanded on the main deck. I have the honour to be, &c.

R. STRACHAN.

Rear-admiral M'Bride, &c.

Coventry, April 28. This day, Charles Reynolds, of this city, was tried at the general quarter sessions, before a respectable Jury, for speaking seditious words. The Jury retired about half an hour, and returned with a verdict of "Guilty of speaking the words charged in the indictment, but not with a malicious intention."

Mr. Daryl, steward of the court, refused to receive this verdict, and informed the jury, that they must bring in a verdict of either *Guilty*, or *Not Guilty*; immediately upon which they pronounced a verdict of—NOT GUILTY.

MAY.

Leicester, May 1. At our quarter sessions, before the recorder and corporation justices, on the 28th ult. came on the trial of Mr. George Harle Vaughan, of this borough, for publishing a handbill, of a seditious tendency, chiefly consisting of observations on war, and its general effects on the poor.

Mr. Percival, counsel for the prosecution, stated, that the plain intention of the paper was to render the people dissatisfied with the king and his government, at a time when we were at war for the preservation of our country.

The informer called in support of the prosecution, was one William Davis, a dealer in second-hand clothes, who stated, that, on the 26th of September, as he was returning home, between eleven and twelve in the evening, he saw the defendant giving away some papers: he asked if he would give him one; and the defendant gave him a bundle of them.

On his cross examination, he admitted that the defendant and he had been neighbours many years; that Mr. Vaughan made no observation about the king, or the ministers, or the war, or the paper; that the next morning he met the recorder, and mentioning the circumstance, he desired him to attend at the Exchange the morning following, when he gave his information to the magistrates.

Mr. F. Vaughan, counsel for the defendant, made a forcible appeal to the jury, on the alarming precedent attempted to be established; namely, that the measures of administration were not to be subjects of criticism, and that merely giving a paper to one asking for it, without a word said on it by way of recommendation, or shewing that the defendant knew its contents, should be evidence of the malicious intent. The innuendoes, which were wholly unsupported, and were hints to the jury to find a strained point which could not be proved, were also for their serious consideration. But above all it was essential to reflect, that when a nation is taxed for public purposes,

poses, the reason of them should be known, discoursed of, and analysed.

The recorder, Mr. Wigley, having summed up the evidence, the jury retired for about a quarter of an hour, and brought the defendant in guilty, *with a recommendation to mercy.*

The sentence of the court was then delivered by the recorder, three months imprisonment.

It was a singular circumstance that three persons of the same name were concerned in this trial, all of them bred to the bar, and none of them related to each other, viz. Mr. George Harley Vaughan, the defendant, Mr. Felix Vaughan his counsel, and Mr. John Vaughan, who, with Mr. Percival, were counsel for the prosecution.

Dublin, May 5. The following proclamation was published on Friday:

Westmorland. Whereas Archibald Hamilton Rowan, late of Rathcoffey, in the county of Kildare, esq. was, in the last hilary term, committed to his majesty's gaol of Newgate, in the city of Dublin, under a sentence of the court of King's-bench, of imprisonment for two years, for publishing a sedious libel.

And whereas the said Archibald Hamilton Rowan has lately been charged with high treason, and whereas we have received information on oath, that the said Archibald Hamilton Rowan did, in the night of Thursday, the first day of May instant, make his escape from the said gaol.

Now we the lord lieutenant and council, being determined to bring the said Archibald Hamilton Rowan to condign punishment, do hereby offer a reward of one thousand pounds, to any person or persons, who shall discover and apprehend the said Archibald Hamilton Rowan wherever he may be found, or so discover the said Archibald Hamilton Rowan as that he may be apprehended and committed to prison.

And we do hereby strictly charge and command all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other his majesty's loving subjects, to use their utmost diligence in apprehending the said Archibald Hamilton Rowan.

Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 2d day of May, 1794.

R. Dublin	Carleton
Chan. Castel	G. L. Kildare
Clanricarde	B. Yelverton
Shannon	H. Cavendish
Bective	Her. Langrishe
Glandore	Theo. Jones
Carhampton	Wm. Conyngham
Ely	R. Cunninghame
Clonmell	James Cuff
Mountmorris	Arthur Wolfe
Dillon	James Fitzgerald
Muskerry	

God save the king.

And this day, at a quarter assembly, for the election of magistrates for the ensuing year, a message from the aldermen having announced the flight of A. H. Rowan, esq. and praying the concurrence of the commons in a proclamation offering 500l. for his apprehension, it was immediately agreed to. The gaoler of Newgate has also offered a reward of 200l. for Mr. Rowan's apprehension.

10. This day, Mr. William Stone, of Rutland-place, in Thames-street, coal merchant, after several examinations, on different days, before the privy council, was committed to Newgate, on a charge of treasonable practices.

Dublin, May 15. Alexander and Wil-

William M'Dowell, the under-jailors of the new prison, are now under commitment, to take their trials for wilfully and corruptly enlarging A. Hamilton Rowan, and permitting him to escape from the above-mentioned prison.

Whitehall, May 17. The king having been pleased to order that the colours taken at Martinico, which were lately brought to the palace at St. James's, should be deposited in the cathedral of St. Paul; and this day being appointed for that purpose, proper detachments of horse and foot guards were ordered to parade at St. James' at ten o'clock, and march before his majesty, who was pleased to see them pass by in the following order:

A captain and forty life guards.

A serjeant and twelve grenadiers.

Music of the first regiment of guards.

Twenty-nine serjeants with the French colours.

Four companies of grenadiers.

A field officer, and one hundred of the life guards.

In this manner they proceeded to the west gate of St. Paul's, where the colours were received by the dean and chapter, attended by the choir; about which time the guns at the Tower and in St. James's Park were fired.

20. Beside Mr. Stone, several other persons have been lately apprehended, and examined before the privy-council, six of whom were this day committed to the Tower; namely, John Horne Tooke, esq. the rev. Mr. Joyce, secretary to earl Stanhope; Mr. Thelwall, a political lecturer; and messrs. Bonney, Richter, and Lovett. Mr. Adams, secretary of the constitutional society; Mr. Hardy, secretary of the London corresponding society; and Mr. Saints, secretary to a society at Norwich, are in custody of the messengers.

28. Yesterday Mr. alderman Combe moved, that the thanks of the court be given to sir Charles Grey, K. B. and sir John Jervis, K. B. for their gallant conduct in the West Indies, which was seconded by Mr. Alderman Pickett, and unanimously agreed to. The freedom of the city was voted unanimously to each of the said commanders, in a gold box of 100 guineas value, and the lord-mayor was requested to transmit copies of the said resolutions to them.

Dublin, May 24. Last night, alderman Warren, chief commissioner of the police, assisted by the high sheriffs, and Mr. Carleton, high constable, and a number of peace officers, repaired to the Taylors' Hall, in Back-lane, dispersed the society of United Irishmen, and seized the books of their proceedings with a number of printed papers addressed from the society to the people of Ireland.

Dublin, May 29. Yesterday came on, in the court of King's-bench, the trial of John Rhab, printer of a newspaper called the Northern Star, and twelve proprietors of the same, for publishing a libel, under the form of an address to the people, from a society styling themselves the Jacobins of Belfast; in which it is asserted, that there is no national government in this kingdom, and several other matters, with intent to excite sedition and tumult.

The attorney-general called witnesses to prove the publication and the proprietary of the paper.

Mr. Curran, counsel for the defendants, submitted to the court, that the proprietors came not within the scope of the information, being responsible only in civil and not in criminal cases.

The

The earl of Clonmell was clearly of the same opinion; and as the law in this case was on a criminal statute, said he thought it his duty to continue it strictly, especially as that part which was mandatory on the printers and proprietors of newspapers to swear to certain facts, and register the affidavits, to stand in future as records of evidence against themselves, was contradictory to common law, which says, 'No man shall be obliged to give evidence to his own crimination.' His lordship, therefore, charged the jury to acquit the proprietors, as no evidence whatever of publication appeared against them. In the case of the king against Topham, reported in 4 Durnford and East, and cited by the attorney-general, his lordship observed, that there it appeared the proprietor had taken a very active part in the publication.

The jury accordingly acquitted the twelve proprietors; but found the printer guilty.

JUNE.

Admiralty-office, June 7. The following is an extract of a letter from William Parker, esq. captain of his majesty's ship Audacious, to Mr. Stephens, dated in Plymouth sound, on the 3d inst.

I have the honour to acquaint you, for their lordships' information, that, on the 28th ult. in the morning about eight o'clock, his majesty's fleet, under the command of the earl Howe, then in the latitude 47 deg. 33 min. north, longitude 14 deg. 10 min. west, got sight of that of the enemy.

The wind blew strong from the southward, and the enemy's fleet directly to windward.

Every thing was done by his majesty's fleet, per signals from the earl Howe (preserving them in order) to get up with the enemy, which appeared to be formed in order of battle. But, as I apprehend, his lordship considered their conduct began rather to indicate an intention of avoiding a general action, at 55 minutes after one o'clock he directed a general chase.

It was just becoming dark, when his majesty's ship under my command arrived up with the rear ship of the enemy's line. I immediately commenced a very close action, which continued near two hours without intermission; never exceeding the distance of half a cable's length, but generally closer, and several times in the utmost difficulty to prevent falling on board, which, as his last effort to appearance, at about ten o'clock he attempted to effect. At this time his mizen-mast was gone by the board, his lower yards and main top-sail-yard shot away; his fore-top-sail being full, (though flying out from the top-sail-yard, the sheets being shot away) he fell athwart our bows, but we separated without being entangled any time. He then directed his course before the wind, and, to appearance, passed through or close astern of the ships in the rear of our line.

When the enemy separated from athwart our bows, the company of his majesty's ship under my command gave three cheers, from the idea, taken from the people quartered forward, that his colours were struck. This I cannot myself take upon me to say, though I think it likely, from his situation obliging him to pass through or near our line: but certain it is he was completely beaten; his fire slackened toward the latter part of the action, and the last broadside (the ships' sides almost touching each

ch other) he sustained without turning more than the fire of two three guns.

His majesty's ship under my command, at the time we separated, lay with her top-sails aback (every place bowling, most of her standing, and all her running rigging shot away) in an unmanageable state. It was some time before I could get her to wear, to run to leeward from the French line, under cover of our own ships; which, by what I could judge by their lights, were all pretty well up, and tolerably formed.

This being effected, I turned all hands to the repairing our damages, to get into readiness (if possible) to resume our station at daylight. The rear of the French line had been engaged at a distance by rear-admiral Pasley's division, and some other ships that did not fetch so far to windward, a considerable time before I arrived up with them; and this very ship was engaged by one of his majesty's ships, at some distance to leeward, the time I did.

The night being very dark, I could form but little judgment of the situation of our fleet with respect to the French, in point of distance, other than, not hearing any firing after our own ceased, I concluded they were scarcely far enough to windward.

Soon after daylight the next morning, to our utmost chagrin and astonishment, we discovered nine sail of the enemy's ships about three miles to the windward.

The Audacious then, with her standing rigging but very indifferently scoppered, her fore-sail and top-sails unbent, main-top-sail in the top in the act of bending, we put before the wind with the main and fore-top-mast stay-sails only ill set, from the stays being shot away; but, it being hazy, with rain, and soon becoming thick, we, for a time, were covered from their view, and before, as I apprehend, they had formed a judgment of what we were.

The greatest exertion was used by every officer and man in the ship to get the other fore-sail and main-top-sail bent. The fore-top-mast being so badly wounded, the fore-top-sail was of but little moment; however, the people brought the damaged sail to the yard again, though it could not be hoisted; but, before we got the fore-sail and main-top-sail set, the haze cleared off, and we soon discovered ourselves to be chased by two of the enemy's ships. At this period we saw the ship we had engaged, without any mast standing, and passed her at about a mile and a half distance. The ships coming up with us very fast, our situation became very alarming; until we got the main-top-gallant-sail, main-top-mast, and top-gallant studding sails set, when it was judged we nearly preserved our distance. However, from the fore-mast being in a tolerable state of security, at half past nine we were about setting a lower studding sail, when three sail, that had been discovered to the eastward some time before, (viz. two ships and a brig) coming pretty near us, hoisted French colours.

The state of our masts did not admit of making alteration in our course; they observing our shattered state, and two ships in chase of us, stood athwart of us boldly within fire, and shot were exchanged; the one a large frigate, and the other two corvettes; but, as we had so much sail out, they fell astern for a considerable time; at

at length the frigate came within shot of us again, and harassed us, by a distant cannonade upon the quarter, upward of an hour, but without doing us any material injury, we only firing some of our after guns upon each deck at her. She was observed to make a signal to the ships astern, and soon after, viz. about half past twelve o'clock, with the two corvettes, hauled her wind; and, by its becoming hazy, the whole were soon out of sight.

Having been chased twenty-four leagues directly to leeward, and the crippled state of the bowsprit being such as I judged impossible to stand if the ship was hauled to the wind, I considered the endeavouring to find the fleet again might put his majesty's ship (in her defective state) to too much risque, and therefore judged it most advantageous for the service to proceed to port without loss of time to refit; which I hope may meet with their lordships' approbation.

I must beg you will be pleased to represent to their lordships, that the conduct of the lieutenants of his majesty's ship under my command, during the action, merits all the praise I can bestow upon them; as also that of lieutenant Croston, of the 69th regiment, whose alertness and activity with his men at small arms, in supporting the seamen armed to defend the boarding, (which occurred twice during the action) gave me perfect satisfaction.

The conduct of my ship's company, also that of the soldiers of the 69th regiment, exceeded every possible expectation; in fact, the whole of the officers and men, in their different departments, behaved in a most exemplary manner.

'Tis wonderful, after such an action, that I have the happiness to say, the whole number killed and wounded are but 22; three killed on the spot, one died soon after, and the lives of two more despaired of.

The captain and some of the officers of a French corvette, which we took possession of and burnt a few mornings before, by the earl Howe's orders, viewed the ship we had engaged, while passing her in the morning, and were of opinion she is called La Révolutionnaire, formerly the Breslaine.

In case their lordships should have any enquiries to make further, I have dispatched lieutenant Joseph Bingham, my senior lieutenant on board, with the charge of this letter; who is a very excellent officer and an intelligent young man, and, I trust, capable of giving every requisite information.

Admiralty-office, June 9. Extract of a letter from Francis Laforey, esq. captain of his majesty's ship Carysfort, of twenty-eight guns, to Mr. Stephens, dated in Plymouth Sound the 7th instant.

On the 29th of last month, being in lat. 46° 38′ N. long. 9° 40′ W. his majesty's ship fell in with, and, after an action of an hour and fifteen minutes, captured a French frigate (late his majesty's ship the Castor) commanded by monsieur L'Huillier, mounting 32 guns, and manned with 200 men.

She had parted company from the French squadron on the 22th, in chase of a Dutch brig, which she had in tow when we first discovered her, and which, upon our coming up, was enabled to effect her escape.

I have the satisfaction of reporting to their lordships the uniform good conduct of the officers and crew of his majesty's ship I have the honour to command; and I feel myself indebted to lieutenants Worsely and Sayer, for the spirited

ed example they set to a new ship's company.

Herewith I transmit a return of the loss sustained by his majesty's ships in killed and wounded, with as accurate a one as we have been able to obtain of that of the enemy.

Caryafort.—One seaman killed; five seamen, and one marine, wounded.

Le Castor—Sixteen seamen, killed; nine seamen wounded.

Admiralty-office, June 10. Sir Roger Curtis, first captain to the admiral earl Howe, arrived this evening with a dispatch from his lordship to Mr. Stephens, of which the following is a copy.

Queen Charlotte at Sea, June 2, 1794. Ushant, E. Half N. 140 leagues.

Sir,

Thinking it may not be necessary to make a more particular report of my proceedings with the fleet, for the present information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, I confine my communications chiefly, in this dispatch, to the occurrences when in presence of the enemy yesterday.

Finding, on my return off of Brest on the 19th past, that the French fleet had, a few days before, put to sea; and receiving, on the same evening, advices from rear-admiral Montague, I deemed it requisite to endeavour to form a junction with the rear-admiral as soon as possible, and proceeded immediately for the station on which he meant to wait for the return of the Venus.

But, having gained very credible intelligence, on the 21st of the same month, whereby I had reason to suppose the French fleet was then a few leagues farther to the westward, the course before steered was altered accordingly.

On the morning of the 28th, the enemy were discovered far to windward, and partial actions were engaged with them that evening and the next day.

The weather-gage having been obtained in the progress of the last mentioned day, and the fleet being in a situation for bringing the enemy to close action the 1st instant, the ships bore up together for that purpose, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning.

The French, their force consisting of twenty-six ships of the line, opposed to his majesty's fleet of twenty-five (the Audacious having parted company with the sternmost ship of the enemy's line, captured in the night of the 28th) waited for the action, and sustained the attack with their customary resolution.

In less than an hour after the close action commenced in the centre, the French admiral, engaged by the Queen Charlotte, crowded off, and was followed by most of the ships of his van in condition to carry sail after him, leaving with us about ten or twelve of his crippled or totally dismasted ships, exclusive of one sunk in the engagement. The Queen Charlotte had then lost her fore-top-mast, and the main-top-mast fell over the side very soon after.

The greater number of the other ships of the British fleet were, at this time, so much disabled or widely separated, and under such circumstances with respect to those ships of the enemy in a state for action, and with which the firing was still continued, that two or three, even of their dismasted ships, attempting to get away under a spritsail singly, or smaller sail raised on the top stump of the foremast, could not be detained.

Seven remained in our possession, one

one of which, however, sunk before the adequate assistance could be given to her crew; but many were saved.

The Brunswick, having lost her mizen mast in the action, and drifted to leeward of the French retreating ships, was obliged to put away large to the northward from them. Not seeing her chased by the enemy, in that predicament, I flatter myself she may arrive in safety at Plymouth. All the other twenty-four ships of his majesty's fleet re-assembled later in the day; and I am preparing to return with them, as soon as the captured ships of the enemy are secured, for Spithead.

The material injury to his majesty's ships, I understand, is confined principally to their masts and yards, which I conclude will be speedily replaced.

I have not been yet able to collect regular accounts of the killed and wounded in the different ships. Captain Montague is the only officer of his rank who fell in the action. The numbers of both descriptions I hope will prove small, the nature of the service considered; but I have the concern of being able to add, on the same subject, that admiral Graves has received a wound in the arm, and that rear-admirals Bowyer and Pasley, and captain Hutt of the Queen, have each had a leg taken off: they are, however, (I have the satisfaction to hear) in a favourable state under those misfortunes. In the captured ships the numbers of killed and wounded appear to be very considerable.

Though I shall have, on the subject of these different actions with the enemy, distinguished examples hereafter to report, I presume the determined bravery of the several ranks of officers and the ships' companies employed under my authority, will have been already sufficiently denoted by the effect of their spirited exertions; and, I trust, I shall be excused for postponing the more detailed narrative of the other transactions of the fleet thereon, for being communicated at a future opportunity; more especially as my first captain sir Roger Curtis, who is charged with this dispatch, will be able to give the further information the lords commissioners of the admiralty may at this time require. It is incumbent on me, nevertheless, now to add, that I am greatly indebted to him for his counsels as well as conduct in every branch of my official duties: and I have similar assistance, in the late occurrences, to acknowledge of my second captain, sir Andrew Douglas.

I am, &c. HOWE.

List of French ships captured on the 1st of June, 1794.

Le Juste	80 guns.
Le Sans Pareille	80
L'Amerique	74
L'Achille	74
Northumberland	74
L'Impetueux	74
Le Vengeur	74 sunk almost immediately upon being taken possession of.

N. B. The ship, stated to have been captured on the evening of the 28th of last month, is said by the prisoners to be the Revolutionnaire of 120 guns. *London Gazette Extraordinary.*

Supplement to the London Gazette Extraordinary of the 11th of June. Published June 14.

Admiralty Office, June 14, 1794.

A letter was received yesterday from admiral earl Howe, to Mr. Stephens, dated that day, off Dunnose in the Isle of Wight, giving an account of his safe arrival with the six captured French ships of the line mentioned in his former letter of the 2d instant, and with a great part of his majesty's fleet under

der his command, having sent the remainder into Plymouth Sound. The following are the returns of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships in the actions with the French fleet on the 28th and 29th of May, and the 1st instant; and also of the numbers killed and wounded on board the French ships captured and sunk on the last mentioned day.

A Return of the Killed and Wounded on board his Majesty's Ships.

Ships.	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
Cæsar	18	37	55
Bellerophon	4	27	31
Leviathan	10	33	43
Sovereign	14	44	58
Marlborough	29	90	119
Defence	18	39	57
Impregnable	7	24	31
Tremendous	3	8	11
Barfleur	9	25	34
* Culloden	—	—	—
Invincible	14	31	45
Gibraltar	2	12	14
Queen Charlotte	14	29	43
† Brunswick, parted company 1st of June			
Valiant	2	9	11
Queen	36	67	103
Orion	5	24	29
Ramillies	2	7	9
Alfred	—	8	8
Russel	8	26	34
Royal George	20	72	92
Montagu	4	13	17
Majestic	3	5	8
Glory	13	39	52
Thunderer, none killed or wounded.			
‡ Audacious, parted company in the night of the 28th of May.			
Grand Total	235	669	904

Names of Officers Killed and Wounded on board his Majesty's Ships.

KILLED.

Ships' Names.	Officers' Names.	Qualities.
R. Sovereign	William Ivey	Midship.
Marlborough	Abra. Nelham	Ditto.
Defence	Wm. Webster	Master.
	Jo. Fitzpatrick	Boatswain.
Impregnable	David Caird	Master.
Tremendous	Francis Rols	1st. Lieut.
The Charlotte	R. Rawlence	7th Ditto.
	John Neville	Lt. Q. reg.
Queen	Wm. Mitchell	Master.
Royal George	Geo. Heigham	8th. Lieut.
	John Hughes	Midship.
Montagu	J. Montagu, esq.	Captain.
Glory	Geo. Metcalfe	Master.
	David Greig	Midship.

WOUNDED, and unable to come to Quarters.

Bellerophon	T. Pasley, esq.	R. Ad. of Wh.
	Smith	Cap. of Marin.
	Chapman	Boatswain.
Leviathan	Glen	Midshipman.
R. Sovereign	Graves, esq.	Ad. of Blue.
	Money	Cap. of Marin.
	Mitchell	Lt. of ditto.
Marlborough	Berkeley	Captain.
	Ruddack	2d Lieutenant.
	Seymour	5th ditto
	Fitzgerald	Midshipman.
	Shorland	Ditto.
	Linthorne	Ditto.
	Clarges	Ditto
	Pardoe	Master's Mate.
Defence	Elliott	Ditto
	Boycott	Ensign, Q. reg.
Impregnable	Buller	Lieutenant.
	Patterllo	Boatswain.
Barfleur	Bowyer, esq.	R. Ad of Wh.
	Prowse	6th Lieutenant.
	Fogo	Midshipman.
	Clements	Ditto.
Q. Charlotte	Holland	Ditto.
Queen	Hutt, esq.	Captain.

* By a separate return it appears that she had two men killed, and Mr. Tristram Whitter, the third lieutenant, and four men, wounded.

† The return, since she came to Spithead, is as follows:—Killed, 1 master's mate, 1 midshipman, 1 captain of marines, 41 seamen and marines.—Wounded, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 midshipman, 1 ensign of marines, 111 seamen and marines.

Names of officers killed and wounded.—Killed, Mr. Thomas Dalton, master's mate, Mr. James Lucas, midshipman, captain Alexander Saunders, 19th regiment.—Wounded, Captain John Hervey, lieutenant Rowland Bevan, ensign Vernon, 29th regiment, Mr. Hurdi, midshipman.

‡ The return of the killed and wounded has already been published in the Gazette of the 7th instant.

Queen	Dawes	2d Lt. since D.
	Lawrie	6th ditto.
	Crimes	Acting ditto.
	Kinnier	Midshipman.
Russel	Stewart	Ditto.
	Kelly	Ditto.
	Douglas	Boatswain.
Ro. George	Ireland	2d. Lieutenant.
	Balmbrough	Master.
	Boys	Midshipman.
	Pearce	Ditto.
Montagu	Bennet	Ditto.
	Moore	Ditto.

The second captain, sir Andrew Douglas of the Queen Charlotte, was wounded, but resumed his station on deck during the further continuance of the action on the 1st instant.

HOWE.

Killed and wounded on board the French ships captured and sunk, 1st June, 1794.

Le Juste 100 killed, 145 wounded.—Le Sans Pareille 160 killed, 120 wounded.—L'Achille 36 killed, 30 wounded.—L'Amerique 134 killed, 119 wounded.—Northumberland 60 killed, 100 wounded.—L'Impetueux 100 killed, 75 wounded. Total 690 killed, 580 wounded.

Le Vengeur 320 sunk.

Le Jacobin, sunk in action, not a man saved.

Admiralty-Office, June 21. A letter, of which the following is a copy, from the admiral earl Howe to Mr. Stephens, supplementary to his lordship's letter of the 2d instant published in the London Gazette Extraordinary of the 11th, was received late last night.

In the extract of the journal herewith enclosed, the proceedings of the fleet are stated from the time of leaving St. Helen's on the 2d of last month to that of the first discovery of the French fleet on the 28th of the same. For the farther information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, I have now therefore to relate the subsequent transactions not already communicated in my dispatch of the 2d instant, to be delivered by my first captain, sir Roger Curtis.

Early in the morning of the 28th, the enemy were discovered by the advanced frigates, far distant on the weather bow. The wind then fresh from S. by W. with a very rough sea.

They came down, for some time, in a loose order, seemingly unapprised that they had the British fleet in view. After hauling to the wind when they came nearer, they were some hours before they could completely form in a regular order of battle upon the starboard tack; the British fleet continuing as before in the order of sailing.

The time required for the enemy to perfect this disposition, had facilitated the nearer approach of his majesty's fleet to them, and for the separately appointed and detached part of it, commanded by rear admiral Pasley, to be placed more advantageously for making an impression on their rear.

The signals denoting that intention being made, the rear admiral, upon the close of the day, led his division on with peculiar firmness, and attacked a three-decked ship (the Revolutionnaire) the sternmost in the enemy's line.

Making known soon after that he had a top-mast disabled, assistance was directed to be given to him in that situation. The quick approach of night only allowed me to observe, that lord Hugh Seymour Conway in the Leviathan, with equal good judgment and determined courage, pushed up alongside of the three-decked French ship, and was supported, as it appeared, by captain Parker of the Audacious, in the most spirited manner.

The darkness which now prevailed did not admit of my making any more accurate observations on the conduct of those ships and others concerned in the same service; but I have since learnt that the Leviathan stretched on farther a-head, for bringing the second ship

from

from the enemy's rear to action, as soon as her former station could be occupied by a succeeding British ship; also that the three-decked ship in the enemy's rear as aforesaid, being unsustained by their other ships, struck to the Audacious, and that they parted company together soon after.

The two opponent fleets continued on the starboard tack, in a parallel direction, the enemy still to windward the remainder of the night. The British fleet appearing in the morning of the 29th, when in order of battle, to be far enough advanced for the ships in the van to make some farther impressions on the enemy's rear, was tacked in succession with that intent.

The enemy wore hereupon from van to rear, and continued edging down in line a-head to engage the van of the British fleet; when arrived at such distance as to be just able to reach our most advanced ship, their headmost ships, as they came successively into the wake of their respective seconds a head, opened with that distant fire upon the headmost ships of the British van. The signal for passing through their line, made when the fleet tacked before, was then renewed.

It could not be for some time seen, through the fire from the two fleets in the van, to what extent that signal was complied with. But as the smoke at intervals dispersed, it was observed that the Cæsar, the leading ship of the British van, after being about on the starboard tack, and come abreast of the Queen Charlotte, had not kept to the wind; and that the appointed movement would consequently be liable to fail of the purposed effect.

The Queen Charlotte was therefore immediately tacked; and, followed by the Bellerophon, her second astern (and soon after joined by the Leviathan) passed through in action, between the fifth and sixth ships in the rear of the enemy's line. She was put about again on the larboard tack forthwith, after the enemy, in preparation for renewing the action with the advantage of that weathermost situation.

The rest of the British fleet being at this time passing to leeward, and without the sternmost ships, mostly of the French line, the enemy wore again to the eastward in succession for succouring the disabled ships of their rear; which intention, by reason of the then disunited state of the fleet, and having no more than the two crippled ships, the Bellerophon and Leviathan, at that time near me, I was unable to obstruct.

The enemy having succeeded in that operation, wore round again, after some distant cannonading of the nearest British ships, occasionally returned, and stood away in order of battle on the larboard tack, followed by the British fleet in the same order (but with the weather gage retained) as soon as the ships coming forward to close with the Queen Charlotte were suitably arranged.

The fleets remained separated some few miles, in view at times on the intermission of a thick fog, which lasted most part of the two next days.

The commander of a fleet, their lordships know, is unavoidably so confined in his view of the occurrences in time of battle, as to be little capable of rendering personal testimony to the meritorious service of officers who have profited, in a greater extent, by the opportunities to distinguish themselves on such occasions.

To discharge this part of my public duty, reports were called for from the flag officers of the fleet, for supplying the defects of my observance, under the limited circumstances above-mentioned. Those officers, therefore, who have such particular claim to my attention, are the admirals Graves and sir Alexander Hood; the rear admirals Bowyer, Gardner, and Pasley; the captains lord Hugh Seymour, Packenham, Berkeley, Gambier, John Harvey, Payne, Parker, Henry Harvey, Pringle, Duckworth, and Elphinstone. Special notice is also due of the captains Nicholls of the Sovereign, and Hope of the Bellerophon, who became charged with, and well conducted those ships when the wounded flag officers, under whom they respectively served therein, were no longer able to remain at their posts; and the lieutenants Monckton of the Marlborough, and Donnelly of the Montagu, in similar situations. These selections, however, should not be construed to the disadvantage of other commanders, who have been equally deserving of the approbation of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, although I am not enabled to make a particular statement of their merits.

To the reports from the flag officers are added those required from the several captains of the fleet; whereby their lordships will become more particularly acquainted with the meritorious services of the several commanders, and animated intrepidity of their subordinate officers and ships' companies; to which the defeat of the enemy, with every advantage of situation and circumstance in their favour, is truly to be ascribed. To the like purport, I beg my testimony, in behalf of the officers and company of every description in the Queen Charlotte, may be accepted.—*London Gazette Extraordinary.*

On the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday immediately following the publication of the London Gazette Extraordinary of the 10th instant, there were illuminations in all parts of the metropolis, on account of this glorious victory; a subscription was almost immediately opened at Lloyd's coffee-house, for the widows and children of the seamen who fell in the engagement; and the proprietors of Drury Lane theatre gave a clear benefit, which produced upwards of 1,300l. in aid of the subscription, which soon amounted to a vast sum.

The following has been given out, in Public Orders, to the fleet at Spithead:

PUBLIC ORDERS.

Queen Charlotte, at Spithead, June 20.

The commander in chief is directed, pursuant to the king's pleasure, to make known in the fleet, that his majesty has deigned to express the highest satisfaction in the account, reported by the admiral, of the bravery and gallant behaviour of the officers and men serving in the fleet, in the actions with the enemy on the 28th and 29th of May, and 1st of the present month; and is charged, in the manner judged most proper, to acquaint all the officers and men (more especially the admirals Graves and sir Alexander Hood, K. B. the rear admirals Bowyer, Caldwell, Gardner, and Pasley; and sir Roger Curtis, first captain to the commander in chief) with the just sense his majesty entertains of the zeal and courage they have so eminently exerted in his service on those occasions.

The commander in chief has also been

been required by the lords spiritual and temporal, and by the honourable the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, to convey the thanks of their respective houses to the flag officers already named as above; and to the captains and other officers of the fleet, for their bravery and gallant conduct; with their approval and acknowledgement of the services of the seamen, marines, and soldiers, serving in the said fleet, in the several actions with the enemy as aforesaid.

The commander in chief, with the highest sense of pleasure, communicates in this manner, such approval and acknowledgement as above stated, to the said officers and ships' companies; and desires, in consequence, that the captains of the different ships will signify the same to their respective officers and crews accordingly.

He is, moreover, to make known at this time, that in a court of common council, holden in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, the 18th instant; on consideration (as it is expressed) of the very gallant conduct of the seamen, &c. who served on board the fleet in the said actions, and in token of the gratitude of the said court of common council, the chamberlain of the city is directed to pay into the hands of Mr. Thomas Tayler, the master of Lloyd's coffee-house, the sum of 500l. for the relief of the wounded warrant officers, petty officers, seamen, &c. and also the widows and children of those who so gloriously fell on the days before mentioned, in the service of their king and country.

It is likewise to be noticed, that a very considerable sum of money had been previously subscribed (and still increasing in amount) by many respectable and generous private gentlemen, making their deposits with Mr. Tayler, for the like purposes; consonant to the tenour of which, the several captains of the fleet have been desired to transmit to the said Mr. Tayler, the names of the killed and wounded seamen, marines, and soldiers, with adequate descriptions of the persons entitled to such relief, with all convenient dispatch.

20. The Paris papers contain a letter from Morlaix, by which it appears, that Archibald Hamilton Rowan landed from a small vessel at Poscot, a village in the Department of Finisterre. The vessel set sail again as soon as he had landed. The committee of vigilance at Morlaix, being informed of Mr. Rowan's landing, immediately ordered him to be conveyed to Morlaix, where he underwent an examination. He was afterwards sent to the Deputy Jean Bon St. André.

26. On Wednesday afternoon, about three o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out at Mr. Clove's, boat-builder, at Cock Hill, Ratcliffe. It was occasioned by the boiling over of a pitch kettle that stood under his warehouse, which was speedily consumed. It then communicated to a barge, lying adjoining to the premises, and laden with saltpetre and other stores. Several other vessels and small craft, lying near the barge, soon took fire, without any possibility of getting them off. The blowing up of the saltpetre from the barge occasioned large flakes of fire to fall on the warehouses of the East India Company, which took fire. Soon after, the saltpetre, which they also contained, blew up, with different explosions, like the roll-

ing, as it were, of subterranean thunder. The wind blowing strong from the S. W. and the high-street of Ratcliffe being narrow, both sides of it caught fire, which prevented the engines from being of any service. Add to this, it was low water, so that no supply of water could be procured for many hours. In the course of the evening, the fire extended to the premises of Mr. Joseph Hankes, timber merchant, in London-street, where it raged very furiously, and communicated to Butcher-row, the whole of the West and part of the East side of which were consumed.

The fire had also taken its course up Brook-street, caught the premises of Mr. Shakspeare, ropemaker, and burnt through to the fields on the one side, and the whole of the dwellings on the other; till, at length, it ceased for want of materials to consume, having reached an open space of ground where the connexion of combustible substances was broken; but, toward Limehouse, it continued to rage till about ten in the evening. What is very remarkable, the dwelling-house of Mr. Bere, a large insulated building, stood uninjured amid the vast surrounding ruins, that were burning almost incredibly near it; and yet not even a single pane of glass in it was cracked. Mr. Bere was in the house the whole time.

A survey was yesterday taken by the warden and other officers of the hamlet of Ratcliffe, whose report was, that out of 1200 houses, of which the hamlet consisted, not more than 570 were saved.

On account of the great distress in which this fire involved numbers of poor families, government lent 140 tents, which are now pitched in a field adjoining Stepney church-yard, and accommodate the unfortunate sufferers till they can be more comfortably provided for.

More houses have been destroyed by this fire than by any one since the memorable conflagration of 1666.

Yesterday a subscription was opened at Lloyd's coffee-house, for the benefit of the sufferers, which meets with great success; and collections are made at the gate of the camp, and at all the avenues leading to the extensive ruins.

JULY.

1. On Thursday, June 26, their majesties and three of the princesses, arrived at Portsmouth, about ten in the morning; the three younger princesses having come down the day before. The royal party then proceeded in barges, in the customary procession, and receiving the customary honours, to visit lord Howe's ship, the Queen Charlotte, at Spithead. Here his majesty held a naval levee, and presented lord Howe with a diamond-hilt sword, valued at 3000 guineas, and a gold chain (to which a medal is to be suspended) to be worn round the neck. After which the royal party dined with lord Howe, on board the ship.

During their majesty's stay at Portsmouth there were great illuminations, and other rejoicings. At nine in the morning, yesterday, they embarked on board the Aquilon frigate, landed in the afternoon at Southampton, and immediately set off for Windsor.

2. On Sunday afternoon, about four o'clock, the earl of Waldegrave, a youth about ten years of age, was unfortunately drowned as he was bathing in the Thames, near

ear a field called the Brocas, in ie parish of Eton. His lordship was educating at Eton school, nd going out with two of his ompanions, the latter were inuced, from the heat of the day, o bathe, but desired his lordship, s the water was deep, and he not n expert swimmer, not to venture n. Lord Waldegrave, however, jumped into the river, and was never perceived to rise, as it is supposed he got entangled among the weeds. The body was not found till Monday morning, and was taken up close by the place where he sunk.

3. On Monday, a dreadful fire broke out in that part of the town which is called West End, in Tiverton, in the county of Devon. The buildings being mostly thatched, and extremely dry, it spread with great rapidity, and was not got under till four o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, destroying between 40 and 50 houses in that quarter. The wind, being rather high, occasioned the fire to communicate with the houses in the main street, several of which are totally consumed, and others much damaged.—By this dreadful fire, about 200 houses are supposed to be consumed.

Dublin, July 26. Yesterday, the trial of Alexander M'Dowell, and William M'Dowell, his son, underkeepers of the New Gaol, indicted for aiding and assisting Archibald Hamilton Rowan, esq. in escaping from the said prison on the night of the first of May last, came on in the court of King's Bench before the honourable justice Chamberlaine.

After a strict examination of evidences, who were Mr. sheriff Jenkin, Mr. Tresham Gregg, and the serjeant of the guard on duty at the prison that night, the Jury brought in their verdict—Guilty.

30. Yesterday came on, before lord Kenyon, at Guildhall, the trial of Mr. Daniel Isaac Eaton, bookseller in Newgate-street, for a libel against lady Elizabeth Luttrell, in a book called "The Female Jockey Club."

Mr. Erskine opened the case on behalf of the prosecution. He entered into a short history of the character of the first Jockey Club, to which the Female Jockey Club was in the nature of a supplement. He dwelt on the malignity of such publications, and the necessity there was to check them; and having made some observations on the value of character, and the necessity of protecting it, he proceeded to call evidence: after which, Mr. Gurney, for the defendant, made an apologetical speech, asserting, that he had acted merely as publisher; was ignorant, at the time of publication of its libellous contents; that the moment he was informed of them, he had discontinued the sale, and had offered every reparation in his power, and to pay the costs of suit.

Lord Kenyon was clearly of opinion, that this was a gross libel; but he desired the jury to form their own opinion upon the subject.

The foreman of the jury pronounced a verdict of Guilty;—and it seemed to be assented to by the rest; but as the officer repeated it, and was going to record it, one of the Jury said, "I have not been asked a question." The jury then said they must retire.

Lord Kenyon—"Certainly, if you *can* find any doubt in the case."

The Jury retired, and were out above an hour and a half, and returned their verdict—"Guilty of publishing

publishing this book, which is a libel."

Lord Kenyon—"Take the verdict—Guilty."—"Gentlemen of the jury—Really, upon this evidence, it would have been a reproach to the administration of justice, if the verdict in this case had not been guilty—No man living, feeling the obligation of an oath, could possibly entertain a doubt of it."

AUGUST.

1. The commissioners appointed by an act of the last session of parliament, for the purpose of issuing Exchequer bills for the relief of the commercial credit of the nation, have made their final report upon the business entrusted to them. It appears that this measure has completely answered the purpose for which it was intended. The public has seen, that the intention was scarcely announced, before it began to operate most powerfully, and to stop the progress of that evil which at one moment seemed to threaten with ruin the whole commercial part of the nation. By this report of the commissioners, it appears, that the whole sum advanced to relieve different persons, has been repaid, and that there remains a profit to the nation, arising from the difference of interest paid by the borrowers, and that due on the exchequer bills.

The following is a short statement of the account:

Amount of the exchequer bills granted under the act of parliament, -	5,000,000
Lent upon different applications, -	2,202,200

There were applications for above 1,000,000l. more; but they were withdrawn, as the power of obtaining the loan rendered it in these instances unnecessary to obtain it. There were also some few applications refused, the parties not being able to give the security required by the act of parliament.

Profit arising from interest paid by the borrowers,	13,033
Expence of executing the commission, - -	8,685
Profit paid into the exchequer,	4,348

To the gentlemen who have executed this duty, the mercantile part of the nation are much indebted; but they are more particularly so to the indefatigable industry and the penetration of the minister, to whom, it is said, this measure is entirely to be ascribed.

2. At the West Riding sessions, Yorkshire, James Gleadhill, a reforming schoolmaster at Halifax, was found guilty of publishing and distributing a seditious hand-bill in that town and neighbourhood, exciting the people to take up arms, plant the tree of liberty, &c. He was sentenced to be imprisoned in York castle one year, and until he find sureties for his good behaviour for two years; himself to be bound in 100l. and two sureties in 50l. each.

At Rotherham sessions, Charles Gaskin, of Sheffield, filesmith, found guilty of sedition, in damning the king, queen, and all the royal family, and also the government of this country, was sentenced to be confined in a solitary cell in the house of correction in Wakefield, for three months.

7. On Wednesday, the 30th ult. came into Leith Roads, his majesty's brig, King's Fisher, J. M. Gosselin, commander, who relates, that on the 24th ult. he retook the Dundee

Dundee Greenlandman, of Dundee, going into Bergen; which vessel, with the Raith, of Leith, was taken by a squadron of French ships on the 21st. The Dundee also picked up a boat at sea with nine Frenchmen, who said they were part of a crew of sixteen men, who were put on board the Raith Greenland ship, to navigate her into Bergen, but that the mate and another man had retaken her, and set them adrift in the boat.

The Royal George Excise cutter brig is arrived in Leith Roads, and has on board seven Frenchmen received from on board the Raith of Leith, at Lerwick, retaken by Burrish Lyon the mate, and another man, from sixteen Frenchmen. The latter having indulged very freely with a cask of whisky, seven of them were drunk, whom Mr. Lyon secured below: the remaining nine, he and his companion attacked on deck with a whale slicing knife, drove them into a boat along side, and immediately cut her adrift. The Royal George saw the vessel with a signal of distress, and helped her into Lerwick.

8. A few days ago, at the suit of his majesty, the cause respecting the marriage of prince Augustus Frederick and lady Augusta Murray, which had been solemnized at the parish church of Saint George, Hanover-square, was finally determined in the Arches Court, Doctors Commons; when sir William Wynne, delivered the judgment of the court, that the said marriage was utterly null and void; and also declared that a former marriage, pretended to have been at Rome, was also, by the law of this country, invalid and illegal.

York, August 9. On Thursday, at two o'clock, John Wilkinson, of this city, was detected, in court, picking the pocket of David Armytage of his handkerchief. Sir William Milner granted a warrant to search his house, when 36 stolen handkerchiefs, six pair of gloves, and other articles, were discovered. A bill of indictment was immediately presented to, and found by, the grand jury, for the above theft. He was tried, convicted, and sentenced to seven years transportation before five o'clock the same afternoon. It is said he is possessed of property, amounting in value to some hundred pounds.

And yesterday George Thompson was tried before Mr. Justice Lawrence, for publishing a seditious libel. It was entitled—"A Serious Lecture for the Fast Day;" and stated, that the combined powers are despots and tyrants, and that their conduct will bring down divine vengeance on them. The author compares the present times to those mentioned in the 18th chapter of Kings.—The indictment stated, that the author thereby meant to charge the king of England with being a tyrant. The case was so made out; and the jury brought in their verdict of —"Guilty of publishing *only*." The judge sent them back, and desired they would consider certain parts of the libel: they returned, and said: they had; and then brought in their verdict—Not Guilty.

Naples, June 17. On the 13th ultimo, at ten o'clock at night, all Naples was sensible of the shock of an earthquake, with an horizontal motion, which lasted about thirty seconds. On Sunday last, the 15th, about the same hour, the earthquake was repeated, which was followed by a violent eruption of Mount Vesuvius. The mountain opened

opened in two places, toward the centre of its line; when columns of black smoke, mixed with liquid inflamed matter, issued from each mouth, and in a line toward the sea. The explosions of all these mouths, louder than thunder, mixed with sharp reports, as from the heaviest pieces of artillery, accompanied by a hollow subterraneous noise, like that of the sea in a storm, caused all the houses to shake to their very foundations. The lava gushing from these mouths, after having run four miles in a few hours, destroyed the greatest part of the town of Torre del Greco, about a mile from Portici, and made a considerable progress into the sea, where it formed a promontory about ten feet above its surface, and near a quarter of a mile broad, having heated the water to such a degree, that a hand could not be borne in it at the distance of one hundred yards from the lava.

It cannot yet be ascertained how many lives have been lost in that town. Many families are missing; but whether they have escaped, or are buried under the ruins of their houses, is not known. Naples is covered with ashes, and every object is obscured as in a thick fog; but Vesuvius, though not visible, continues very turbulent; and more mischief may be expected, although the lavas are all stopped at this moment. The head of St. Januarius was carried in procession yesterday, and opposed to the mountain by the cardinal archbishop of Naples, attended by many thousands of the inhabitants of this city.

Naples, June 24. Mount Vesuvius is still covered with a thick cloud of ashes; all noise has ceased, and the running of the lava is stopped. The former crater has fallen in, and the cone of the volcano has lowered 400 or 500 feet, the present crater being enlarged, and nearly upon a level with the top of the mountain of Somma. The ashes that were carried up, with a column of water and smoke, to the perpendicular height of four miles, have fallen and done infinite mischief to the town, villages, and country at the foot of that mountain, throwing down some houses, and beating in the roofs of many. Several families from Torre del Greco are still missing; but it is believed that very few lives have been lost. The lava that ran over the greatest part of that town in its way to the sea, where it has raised a promontory, is in some places seventy feet high, and its breadth about a quarter of a mile. The whole of its course may be about four miles, which it performed in less than four hours.

Naples, July 1. The mischief done by the lava and ashes, during the late eruption of Mount Vesuvius, is very considerable. The former has covered and totally destroyed above 5000 acres of rich vineyards and cultivated land, and driven 17,000 inhabitants out of the town of Torre del Greco, most of the houses there being either buried under the lava, or so injured by it as to be rendered uninhabitable. The temporary damage done to the vineyards on the Somma side of the volcano, and for many miles round it, by the prodigious fall of ashes (in some places not less than four feet deep) is immense. It appears that not more than fifteen lives have been lost at Torre del Greco.

Naples, July 8. The late eruption of Mount Vesuvius seems to have occasioned a sensible altera-

tion

tion in the season. For three weeks past scarcely a day has passed without a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and heavy rain, quite unusual here in the month of July; and the damage done to the fertile lands at the foot of the mountain, by torrents of water mixed with the Puzzolane ashes (and which immediately formed into a hard cement) is inconceivable. In some places the soil is covered by it not less than four feet in thickness. The volcano begins now to make its appearance from under the clouds of ashes and smoke which had obscured it ever since the beginning of the eruption. It has lost near one-third of the height of its cone; and to make up for that loss, several very considerable conical hills, with deep and extensive craters, some not less than a mile in circumference, have been formed by the late eruption, and are visible on its flanks towards the sea side.

11. A case of considerable importance lately came on to be heard before the magistrates of Lincolnshire, at the general quarter sessions. It was the king against William Hardy. The defendant, who was one of the principal linen drapers *resident* at Louth in the county of Lincoln, rented a shop, *by the year*, at Alford, a market town twelve miles from Louth; attended such shop *every market and fair day* at Alford, to sell his goods by *retail*, and kept it *shut* on other days. George Cuthbert, one of the drapers at Alford, gave information to a magistrate, that the defendant, on a certain day (when it was alleged no public mart, market, or fair was held there) exposed goods to sale by *retail* in the said shop; for which exposure he was thereupon, and upon the testimony of a witness, convicted in the penalty of 10l. under the act of 29 Geo. 3. chap. 26. which declares, 'that (except in public marts, markets, and fairs) no hawker, pedlar, petty chapman, *or any other trading person opening a room or shop*, and exposing to sale any goods by *retail* in that town, parish, or place, such person not being a householder there, or the same not being an *usual* place of his abode, *or of his carrying on business*, shall expose to sale any goods whatsoever in any *market town* in England, without being subject to the penalty of 10l.—' The defendant appealed against the conviction to the next general quarter-sessions, held at Spilsby on the 22d ult. when the court unanimously quashed the conviction, upon the principle, 'that no man is restrained by law from carrying on business in more places than one, nor from opening or shutting his shop, held by the year, at pleasure; and therefore that the appellant's shop at Alford, held and frequented by him in the manner before mentioned, must be considered as '*a usual place for carrying on business*,' where he had an indubitable right to sell his goods by *retail at any time*.'

12. Accounts were received at Lloyd's, on Wednesday, of the arrival at St. Malo, of nine cartel ships, with French prisoners, from Barbadoes, Martinique, and Guadaloupe.—The names of the ships are, the Six Brothers, Stuart; the Sally, Ferguson; the London, Kewan; the William, Burnet; the Betsy, Brown; the Benjamin and Elisabeth, Jones; the Britannia, Gowland; the Providence, Gardner; and the Atalanta, Emery. The above vessels, as soon as they arrived at St. Malo, were seized by the French, contrary to the laws of

of nations as well as of justice and humanity, and the captains and crews, after being deprived of all their personal property, put into prison.

Maidstone, August 14. At our assizes this day, Mr. Thomas Purefoy was indicted for the wilful murder of colonel Roper, in a duel which took place on the 21st of December 1788. The interval which had occurred between that time and the present prosecution, was not assignable to the prosecutors, as Mr. Purefoy had, for the greater part of the time, been out of the kingdom.

In 1787, major Roper was commander in chief at the island of St. Vincent, and Mr. Purefoy an ensign in the 66th regiment. The latter having obtained leave of absence, had a festive day, with some of the junior officers, in which they committed such excesses as occasioned a complaint to major Roper, by whom the leave of absence was recalled. The remonstrances of Mr. Purefoy were made in such a style as to induce major Roper to bring him to a court-martial. By their verdict he was declared to have forfeited his commission, and this verdict was afterward confirmed by his majesty.—This was the origin of the dispute, which had afterward such a fatal termination.

The evidence, particularly that of general Stanwix, the second to col. Roper, was extremely favourable to the prisoner, who, being called upon for his defence, said, that he had entertained no malice against the deceased. He had been led by a call of honour, or, more properly speaking, driven by the tyranny of custom to an act, which in early life had embittered his existence, but without which, he was taught to believe, that he should lose all the consolations which society could afford. The last challenge, he observed, had come from colonel Roper; and, as some expiation for his offence, he had already suffered nearly six years of exile, and nine months of close confinement.

The latter part of his address was read from a written paper by Mr. Erskine, the feelings of Mr. Purefoy being such as to overpower his utterance.

The prisoner called nine gentlemen to his character, most of whom had known him from early life. They all spoke to the general mildness of his character, and the good-humoured ease and aversion to quarrel, which marked his general deportment.

After a charge by the judge, Mr. baron Hotham, the jury, without hesitation, returned their verdict 'Not Guilty.'

Admiralty-office, August 16.

Extract of a letter from capt. Montgomery, of his majesty's ship Inconstant, to Mr. Stephens, dated in Smyrna Bay, June 30, 1794.

I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that I sailed from Naples Bay the 1st inst. in company with his majesty's ships named in the margin, [Romney, Leda, and Tartar], having under convoy one English merchantman and seven Dutch, and arrived with them in safety at this place the 22d.

Being off the island of Argentierra on the 16th inst. I received information that the French commodore had been seen, the evening before, between the islands of Tina and Miconi, convoying three merchantmen. I immediately gave directions to the hon. capt. Paget to remain

remain with the convoy, and made sail with his majesty's ships Leda and Tartar, in the hopes of coming up with them before they could reach the island of Scio. Being in sight of the said island at day-light next morning, and there being no appearance of the enemy, I then hauled our wind to rejoin the convoy; and in the afternoon was informed, by the master of the Mercury Smyrna ship, of what capt. Paget had discovered. I then left the convoy under the care of capt. Freemantle, of the Tartar, and, with the Leda, made all sail for Miconi Bay, where we did not arrive till early the next morning, and there found capt. Paget in possession of La Sibylle and the three merchantmen, as stated in his letter to me, a copy of which I enclose for their lordships' information.

Too much praise cannot be given to capt. Paget, for the very judicious and able manner with which he conducted himself throughout the business, and the great care he took in placing his ship in such a manner as not to injure the inhabitants; and the humanity he showed the prisoners, and to those who were wounded and had got on shore after she struck, does him the highest honour.

The very high discipline and good order of his ship manifested itself on every occasion by the alertness with which every point of duty was carried on, though she was much weakened by being, before the action, 74 working men short of her complement.

And it is with the greatest satisfaction I convey to their lordships the encomiums captain Paget bestows on lieutenant Brisbane, and the rest of his officers; which, I am persuaded, they highly merit.

I beg leave to point out that the island of Miconi is perfectly defenceless; there being neither a fort, flag, or even a Turkish inhabitant on it.

The Romney and Tartar, with La Sibylle, arrived here this day; the latter is pierced for 48 guns, and mounts 26 18-pounders on her main deck, making use of a shifting gun for the spare afterport: she carried 12 9-pounders, and two 42-pounders, carronades, on the quarter deck, and four 9-pounders on the forecastle; was built at Toulon, has been launched two years and a half, and measures,

Her gun-deck, in length,	157 feet.
Extreme breadth, from out to out,	41
Quarter-deck, in length,	82

Copy of a letter from the hon. capt. Paget, of his majesty's ship Romney, to capt. Montgomery, of the Inconstant, dated in Miconi Bay, June 18, 1794.

I beg leave to acquaint you, that yesterday morning on my passage between the islands of Tina and Miconi, (in his majesty's ship Romney, under my command, and the convoy I had the honour of receiving charge of from you the preceding day) I discovered a frigate, under national colours and a broad pendant, at anchor in shore, with three merchantmen. Judging the convoy to be in perfect safety, as you was in sight from the mast head, I made the signal for them to make the best of their way toward you, hauled my wind, and came to an anchor in Miconi Road, within a little more than a cable's length from the French commodore. I immediately sent to him, to desire he would strike his colours, and surrender to his Britannic majesty, or that I should fire into him: he sent me for answer, that he was well acquainted with the force of my ship; that he was well prepared for me both with men and ammunition, and

and that he had made oath never to strike his colours.

By this time he had placed his ship between me and the town of Miconi, which obliged me to carry out another anchor, and warp the ship further ahead, in order that my guns might point clear of the town. At one P. M. I got abreast of him; and, having secured the ship with springs on the cables, I gave him a broadside, which he instantly returned. The action lasted, without a moment's intermission, for one hour and ten minutes, when I had the satisfaction of seeing the national colours hauled down, and of taking possession of her and the merchantmen. She proved to be La Sibylle, of 46 guns and 430 men, commanded by commodore Rondeau. I have sent on board, to take command of her, Mr. Brisbane, first lieutenant of the Romney, an officer of most distinguished merit, whom I beg leave to recommend in the strongest manner, and whose very cool, gallant behaviour and prompt obedience to my orders during the action, as well as lieutenants Field and O'Bryen, Mr. Patterson, the master, and all the other officers, with the ship's company, I cannot sufficiently commend.

I am sorry to conclude with informing you, that I had eight seamen killed in the action, and 30 wounded, two of whom are since dead.

La Sibylle had 55 killed, including the second lieutenant and captain of marines, and 103 wounded, nine of which are since dead.

17. Yesterday morning about two o'clock, a fire broke out on board the Neptune, West-India ship, lying in the Pool. Her cargo, no part of which had been landed, consisted entirely of rum. She was immediately towed out of the tier, and run ashore on the Southwark side. She burnt very furiously till late in the evening, but without extending the calamity to other vessels. By the quantity of rum destroyed on board the Neptune, the fish in the Thames were so affected, as to float up with the tide in such numbers, that they were collected by the people, on both shores, in baskets full.

And this morning, between one and two o'clock, a fire broke out at Astley's Royal Saloon, on the Surry side of Westminster bridge. This was soon totally destroyed, with several houses in front of the Westminster road; and also the Pheasant public-house, and some dwellings in Stangate-street. All Mr. Astley's horses were saved; but the whole of the scenery, wardrobe, &c. was consumed.

18. On Friday morning, at five o'clock, the king, queen, prince Ernest, princess royal, Augusta, Elizabeth, Mary, Sophia, and Amelia, attended by the countess of Courtown, ladies Caroline Waldegrave, Frances Bruce, and F. Howard, the hon. Robert Greville, general Goldsworthy, and major Price, set off from Windsor Lodge, for Weymouth. They arrived at the bishop of Salisbury's palace, where they partook of some refreshment, and after viewing the cathedral, proceeded on their route, and arrived at Gloucester lodge soon after four o'clock in the afternoon.

19. On Thursday dispatches were received at the East-India house, over land from Bussorah, which were brought thither by the Hussar cutter from Bombay, which place she left about the middle of March last.

The object of the Bombay council

cil in sending this overland dispatch was to acquaint the board of controul and East-India directors, of the death of Madajee Scindia, the great warlike Mahratta chief, who has so frequently embroiled all India in hostilities.

In consequence of Tippoo Sultan having fulfilled his engagements punctually with the government of Madras, his two sons, who were kept as hostages, have been sent back to Seringapatam, highly satisfied with the treatment they have experienced during their stay at Madras.

20. On Saturday evening the coroner's inquest was taken at the Barn public house, St. Martin's-lane, on the body of George Howe, who, on Friday afternoon, threw himself from a three-pair-of-stairs window in Johnson's court, Charing-cross, and was killed on the spot. The jury returned their verdict, 'Accidental death in endeavouring to escape from illegal confinement in a house of ill fame.'

On account of the above accident, the populace assembled on Friday evening. On Saturday morning they demolished the whole inside of the house, and broke the windows of two other houses. They were increasing, but were kept under by the horse and foot guards.

They were exceedingly riotous again on Monday night at Charing-cross, which occasioned the picquet guard to be called. The gunsmith, the corner of Angel court, firing once or twice on the insurgents, they broke his windows before the military arrived, and afterward pelted and maltreated the soldiers, who forebore extremities, and dispersed them with little mischief.

22. On an examination of witnesses, before the magistrates, at the police office, in Queen Square, Westminster, respecting the unfortunate young man killed in Johnson's court, as stated above, it appeared, that the young man was violently insane, and although it appeared, at the same time, that he had met with harsh and improper usage, nothing further came out, which, in the opinion of the magistrates, could criminate the mistress of the house, or the recruiting serjeant, who had, on this account, been brought before the magistrates. They were, therefore, discharged.

On Wednesday, the mob attacked the recruiting-offices in Holborn, Shoe-lane, Bride-lane, Long-lane, Smithfield, Barbican, Golden-lane, Moorfields, White-chapel-green, and Clerkenwell, to all of which more or less damage was done.

Several shot were fired from the house in Holborn, one of which went through a shop on the opposite side of the street, and another wounded a milkman in the leg.

The lord-mayor attended without any effect. The military were sent for, and the Riot Act read; but as the mob found themselves interrupted in one place, they went to another.

About 100 of the city volunteers turned out and patroled the streets. In the house attacked in Barbican, they took several of the rioters into custody.

Last night, the mob attacked a house in Drury-lane, and the scene of riot was renewed in various other places.

23. On Thursday morning the lord-mayor caused to be circulated and posted through the city a printed request, that every house-keeper would use his utmost efforts to prevent

prevent any child or servant from appearing in the street at night, setting forth the consequences that might ensue. An abridgement of the Riot Act, and of the Proclamation therein, were also printed and posted in various parts. An extraordinary number of constables were appointed to watch in every part of the town. The gentlemen of the association paraded all night, as a corps of observation; and a great number of guards were kept at the mansion-house, to march at the shortest notice. By these prudent precautions, and the firm yet temperate behaviour of the magistrates and military, these disturbances were happily quelled without bloodshed.

Birmingham, August 21. At Warwick assizes, Edward Brothers, James Bulmer, and William Wiggin, a serjeant, corporal, and drummer of a recruiting party, for assaulting and forcibly detaining the rev. Joseph Gronow, a dissenting minister, at Long Itchington, were ordered to be kept to hard labour three months in the house of correction. It appeared that the prisoners had laid a plot to inlist the prosecutor by force, and even to attempt it in his pulpit, if they could not find any other opportunity. Mr. Gronow happening to call one Sunday evening, on his way to his meeting, at the public-house where this party were, to enquire for some friends, a shilling was forced into his hand, and he was detained upward of three hours, insulted, and only set at liberty, at last, by paying 1l. 8s. 6d. for smart money, liquor, &c.

24. The sum total of the subscription, originally begun at Lloyd's coffee house, and promoted with great zeal in various other parts, for the benefit of the sufferers by the late fire at Ratcliffe (*See page* 39) amounts to 16,000l. and 7d. which the committee for the management of the subscription, who sat daily at the court-house in Welclose square, have informed the public they imagine to be sufficient to answer their benevolent views; but that, if the contrary should appear, they will again solicit their benefactions.

24. On Saturday morning, at Danbury camp, Essex, the whole line being drawn out, in honour of the duke of York's birth-day, on the *feu de joye* being fired, the adjutant of the Leicestershire militia fell suddenly from his horse in front of his regiment. Some officers running to his assistance, found, to their astonishment, that he was wounded: on being carried into his tent, the surgeon discovered that he had received a ball a little below the left breast, which no instrument could reach, nor has it since been extracted, so that his life is despaired of. The whole regiment were immediately ordered to ground their arms, when every firelock and cartouch box was examined, but nothing was found that could lead to a discovery of the offender.

25. A cause was tried before the lord chief baron and a special jury, at the assizes for the county of Warwick, brought by order of the post-master-general against Joseph Whitmore, a carrier from Warwick to Birmingham, for illegally collecting and carrying letters. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff generally, whereby penalties to the amount of 1500l. were recovered; but Mr. Newnham, who conducted the prosecution, consented to a verdict being taken for the two penalties of 5l. each only, with costs of suit. It is to be hoped that this verdict

verdict will be a warning to all carriers, coachmen, and other persons; many of whom, as this carrier did, take up letters tied round with a string, or covered with brown paper, under pretence of their being parcels, which the learned judge observed was a flimsy evasion of the law.

26. At Carlisle assizes came on a trial, Johnson *qui tam*, v. Gilbanks, clerk. This was a cause of great importance to the non-residents clergy of this kingdom, being an action brought upon the statute to compel the residence of the defendant, who lives in Cockermouth, upon his vicarage of Kirkland, in the county of Cumberland. The prosecution was brought in the name of a poor fellow, who lives twenty miles from the parish of Kirkland, the farmer of the attorney who managed the business of the prosecution in the country. This attorney was no other than the brother-in-law of the defendant. It was proved that the parishioners of Kirkland were universally satisfied with the discharge of the ministerial duty by the curate; that the defendant, when resident at Kirkland, had, in point of fact, laboured under bad health; and by a physician and a surgeon, who knew and attended the defendant, that he cannot reside in the vicarage without hazard of his life, the house being built on the side of the highest mountain in England, and the defendant labouring under the oppression of a confirmed asthma. The learned judge (Lawrence) explained the law to the jury—that the statute was to compel the residence of the clergy—a salutary provision; that if this prosecution originated in malice, as had been suggested, that was not for the consideration of the jury, as any man might prosecute upon a penal statute; that the plea of health was for their consideration, and if they thought proper to find for the plaintiff, they must enquire into the number of months proved. The jury found for the plaintiff—penalty 100l. The defendant's counsel tendered a bill of exceptions immediately.

Portsmouth, Aug. 30. Yesterday, the Impetueux French 74 gun ship caught fire. The flames spread with such rapidity as seemed at first to threaten the destruction of the whole dockyard; and the Impetueux being moored near the powder magazine, alarmed the inhabitants so much, that great numbers of them fled in every direction from the town. The French prisoners in Porchester castle, amounting to near 5000, on the moment of the flames bursting out, gave a loud shout of Vive la republique! and were all night singing ça ira, the Marseillois hymn, &c. They expected every moment to be released. They were, however, disappointed; as the most proper caution was observed on the occasion, and no stranger whatever was admitted into the dockyard. A Spaniard and four other persons were apprehended on suspicion of being concerned in setting the ship on fire; but it now appears to have happened through negligence.

Admiralty-office, Aug. 30.

Extract of a letter from sir John Borlase Warren, K. B. captain of his majesty's ship Flora, to Mr. Stephens, dated Falmouth, Aug. 29, 1794.

I beg you will inform their lordships that I put to sea, with his majesty's squadron under my command, on the 7th inst. and on the 14th in the evening stood to the

northward, to obtain information of a French squadron of frigates that were supposed to be cruising to the westward and northward of Scilly; but not having seen them, I stretched over toward the Penmarks; and on the 23d, at four A. M. I discovered one of the enemy's frigates, made the signal for a general chase, and continued the pursuit until four P. M. when his majesty's ship Diamond, in company with the Artois, Santa Margarita and Diana, engaged and ran her ashore near the Penmark rocks, where they left her on her beam-ends, disabled and irrecoverably lost. I understand, from the report from the several officers, that she was the Felicité, of 40 guns, upon a cruise, and had left Brest six days.

Having seen two corvettes to windward of Point de Ras, I gave chase, in company with his majesty's ship Arethusa, when the enemy stood into the Bay d'Hodierne, and anchored off the Gamelle Rocks: perceiving my intention of closing with them, they got under weigh, and ran aground under cover of three batteries. The two ships continued engaging till a quarter after six P. M. when the corvette's masts went by the board, and the crews got on shore.

I immediately ordered our boats manned and armed, with directions to put themselves under sir Edward Pellew's orders, and to set the enemy's ships on fire, or otherwise destroy them; which service was fully performed, he having represented to me that there were from 20 to 30 killed and wounded in the Alert, and a greater number in the Espion; and that it was impossible to remove the wounded to the two frigates, as many of them must have suffered in so doing: for the sake of humanity I judged it proper to let them remain, as the enemy's vessels were bilged and scuttled, the rocks appearing through their bottoms; and it being impossible to get them off, it would have occasioned much delay; being then only nine leagues from Brest; I therefore brought away 52 prisoners, and stood to sea.

I have great pleasure in saying, that the destruction of the French vessels was obtained with very trifling loss, as will be seen in the margin *, and that every effort was made by the officers and men in the different ships, in the execution of their duty, which was performed with the utmost alacrity, and will, I trust, meet with their lordships' approbation.

I beg leave to add, that the squadron on the 27th inst. recaptured the Queen, of London, from Jamaica; also the Mary, a brig from New Orleans, bound to London, laden with furs, indigo, &c.

A list of French ships of war destroyed by the squadron under the command of sir John Borlase, Warren, K. B. on the 23d of August, 1794.

	Guns.	Weight.	Men.
La Felicité,	40	18 pounders,	350
L'Espion,	18	9 ditto,	200
Alert,	18	9 ditto,	200

The two last ships were formerly in our service.

SEPTEMBER.

3. Capt. Farmer, adjutant of the Leicestershire militia, who was

* Diamond 5, Santa Margarita 1.

shot

shot at Danbury camp (See page 50) is pronounced out of danger; but the assassin is not discovered.

5. On Thursday a court of common council was held at Guildhall; present, the lord mayor, recorder, 11 aldermen, and a great many commoners; when Mr. Powell introduced motions of thanks to the lord mayor, the artillery company, the light horse volunteers, and the London association, for their able exertion in putting an end to the late alarming riots; which were unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be published.

A ward rate and a county rate, similar to those in the year 1780, will be levied on the inhabitants of the metropolis, to make good the damages done to the different houses, &c. occupied as recruiting offices.

Lancaster, Sep. 3. Yesterday, at our assizes, came on the trial of Thomas Dunn, for various perjuries committed by him, on the trial of Mr. Walker, and nine other persons, (who were honourably acquitted) at the preceding assizes. Being found guilty, on the clearest evidence, he received the judgment of the court, that he should be confined two years in Lancaster gaol, and stand once within that period in the pillory.

Edinburgh, Sept. 3. On Wednesday came on before the court of oyer and terminer in this city, the trial of Mr. Robert Watt for high treason. The particulars of the charge were, that he belonged to certain committees of the Friends of the People in Scotland, called the committee of union, and the committee of ways and means, whose professed aim was, in conjunction with certain societies in England, to form, at certain time and place not specified, a convention of persons, whose avowed aim was to usurp the powers of government, to compel the king and parliament by force to make laws altering the mode and duration of parliament, and thereby to subvert the constitution; with having, to effect this purpose, caused certain pikes and battle-axes to be fabricated; with having formed a design to seize the castle, the bank, the judges, &c. and with having attempted to seduce the soldiery from their allegiance, by causing a number of printed handbills, addressed to a regiment of fencibles, to be distributed at Dalkeith. After evidence had been adduced in support of the facts, Mr. William Erskine, counsel for the prisoner, said, that he would rest his defence on the correspondence carried on between the right hon. Henry Dundas, the lord advocate, and the prisoner, by which it would appear, that he had attended the meetings of the Friends of the People with no other view than to give information of their proceedings. A letter from the prisoner to Mr. secretary Dundas was read, which stated, that, as he did not approve of the dangerous principles which then prevailed in Scotland, and was a friend to the constitution, he thought it his duty to communicate to him, as a good subject, what information he could procure of the proceedings of those who styled themselves Friends of the People. From an acquaintance with several of the leading men among them, he flattered himself he had this in his power; and he then went on to mention some of the names of those leading men in Perth, Dundee, and Edinburgh. It concluded with enjoining secrecy.

To this letter an answer was returned, which was also read. It acknowledged the receipt of Watt's letter, and, after expressing a hope that things were not so bad as he had represented, desired him to go on, and he might depend upon his communications being kept perfectly secret. Another letter from Mr. Dundas to Mr. M'Ritchie, the prisoner's agent, was next read, in answer to one from Mr. M'Ritchie, requesting of Mr. Dundas what letters he had of the prisoner's. The answer was, that all the letters he had received from Mr. Watt had been delivered to the lord advocate.

The lord advocate then gave an account of this business: He had conversed with the prisoner, several times, at his own lodgings; and he had at one time given him some information which he thought of importance. This was respecting the disaffection of some dragoons of Perth, which, upon inquiry, turned out to be ill-founded. In March 1793, an offer had been made to him to disclose some important secrets, provided he would give the prisoner one thousand pounds. This he absolutely refused. However, some time after, the prisoner having informed him that he was much pressed for money to discharge a bill of 20l. his lordship, who was then in London, not wishing he should be distressed for such a small sum, sent an order for the payment of it. All this happened previously to the meeting of the convention; since which time, at least since October last, he did not recollect seeing or having any connection with Mr. Watt.

Mr. Hamilton, counsel for the prisoner, dwelt long on the correspondence between Mr. Dundas and Mr. Watt. He said, the prisoner had not deserted the service in which he had engaged; but had not had an opportunity of exercising it till the very time he was apprehended. He was a spy for government; and it was well known, that a spy was obliged to assume, not only the appearance of those whose secrets he meant to reveal, but even to take part in their proceedings, in order to prevent a discovery. A spy in an army, he said, was obliged, not only to assume the uniform of the enemy, but even to appear in arms; and it would be exceedingly hard indeed, if taken in a conflict, that he should be punished for discharging his duty.

After the lord president had summed up the evidence, the jury retired, at half past five in the morning, and, in about five minutes, returned with a verdict—Guilty.

The trial lasted near twenty-two hours.

Yesterday came on the trial of Mr. David Downie, on the same charge, and nearly the same evidence being produced, he was found guilty; but the jury unanimously recommended him to mercy, on account of some favourable circumstances in his case.

And this day, the prisoners being placed at the bar, the following awful sentence was passed on them: 'Robert Watt and David Downie, you have been found guilty of high treason by your peers; the sentence of the court is therefore, That you be taken to the place from whence you came, from thence you shall be drawn on a sledge to the place of execution, on Wednesday, the 15th of October, there to hang by your necks until you are both dead, your bowels to be taken out and cast in your face, and each of your bodies to be cut in four quarters, to be at the disposal

posal of his majesty; and the Lord have mercy upon your souls!'

23. On Saturday, at the Old Bailey, three prisoners were capitally convicted, viz. Anthony Purchase and Richard Warnsbeck, for riotously, tumultuously, and feloniously assembling, together with divers other persons, to the number of twelve and more, and unlawfully beginning to pull down and demolish the dwelling-house of Robert Layzell, in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn; and Joseph Strutt, for unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assembling, to the disturbance of the public peace, at Charing-cross, and beginning to demolish and pull down the dwelling-house of William Ostliff.

And yesterday, was capitally convicted, James Biggett, for tumultuously and riotously assembling on the 20th of August last, in Golden-lane, and being concerned with others in feloniously beginning to demolish and pull down the house of Luke Case, known by the sign of the Black Raven.

24. Yesterday, dispatches were received at the Sierra Leone house from that settlement, dated the 15th of June, the 2d of July, and the 5th of August, by the company's ships the Ocean and the Amy, which have both arrived at Plymouth with African produce. It appears that the colony were advancing, and the affairs of the company improving in every respect, when a temporary interruption was given to the peace and order of the settlement by the turbulence of several disaffected Nova Scotia settlers, who endeavoured to rescue some refractory persons of their own body, that had been arrested for a breach of the peace. Both the individuals whose rescue was demanded, and the ringleaders in the succeeding tumult, have been either taken up and sent to England, or obliged to quit the colony.

The rains had been very severe for some months, and were beginning to abate; no deaths, however, had happened among the whites for many months, nor was any one among them dangerously ill, though several were indisposed.

An expedition of about 450 miles circuit had been made to the interior country by two of the company's servants, one of whom, accompanied by another company's servant, encouraged by the success of this adventure, was preparing to set out on a journey to Tombuctou, in the hope of being able to penetrate through the continent of Africa.

The last dispatches are dated about three weeks subsequent to the tumult which has been mentioned, when the peace of the colony seemed to have been fully restored. All the company's ships which were expected to have reached Sierra Leone had arrived.

26. The following letter, dated Canton, October 14, 1793, appeared in the supplement to the Calcutta Gazette, received by the last ship:

The fond presages we lately indulged of the great and manifold advantages that we were to derive from the embassy of lord Macartney, to the court of Pekin, have been much diminished by the arrival here, within these few days, of captain Mackintosh, of the Hindostan, and some of the other gentlemen who accompanied his lordship to the imperial presence. It appears from the report of these gentlemen, that the wary policy of the Chinese government is not to be eluded by the most skilful efforts of diplomatic ability or address. Never, perhaps, was there a character better quali-

fied for the management of an embassy of such delicacy and importance, as that of which I am now speaking, than lord Macartney; but, notwithstanding his lordship's adroitness, he found it utterly impossible to carry either of the two points he was so desirous to effect. Nay, indeed, so early in the train of negociation was his lordship convinced, that the idea of obtaining permission for the residence of an Englishman at the capital of China, as ambassador, consul, or in any other character, was not to be accomplished, that he abandoned all hope of its success after the second or third interview; and, in answer to the application for an exclusive settlement for the English within the Chinese dominions; even on a temporary grant, and solely for the purposes of trade, the imperial negative was most decidedly peremptory. According to a fundamental principle in Chinese politics, innovation, of whatever kind, is held as inevitably pregnant with mischief and ruin. And hence, while the doctrines of reform and regeneration are so fashionable in the European world, the Chinese government would consider its political existence at an end, were they to allow any encroachment, not only on their laws, but on established prejudices, which with them are held equally venerable, and possess the same force as positive ordinances. On this principle alone it is, that the emperor declined to admit a foreign resident at the court of Pekin, or to expand the principles on which our commercial intercourse with this country is at present, and appears likely to continue.

The embassy was conducted to Jehor, one of the emperor's residences in Tartary, distant about forty or fifty leagues from Pekin. Thither they proceeded by easy stages, and were sumptuously accommodated on the way in the emperor's palaces, of which many intervene between Pekin and Jehor.

Previous to the introduction of his lordship to the royal presence, a number of preliminary circumstances were required to be adjusted and several days were spent before all the arrangements for that purpose were satisfactorily disposed of. In particular, much discussion took place about the ceremony of knocking the head against the ground, which was held, at first, as indispensable. His lordship, however, politely, yet resolutely resisted against compliance with this ceremony, determined, at the same time, in his own mind, ultimately to acquiesce, rather than occasion any material inconvenience, far less to have allowed his non-acquiescence to stand in the way to defeat any of the useful ends he had in view. The emperor, however, ordered this ceremony to be dispensed with; and his lordship and suite were introduced, with hardly any other ceremonial, than is used at the courts of European monarchs.

Still, however, although the embassy has not been attended with success in the greater objects it had in view, we confidently expect that it will be productive of certain important advantages to the commercial concerns of the company, that will soon abundantly repay the trouble and expence of his lordship's visit to this country. A viceroy extraordinary has been appointed by the emperor; and he is now accompanying lord Macartney on his way to this city. From his character, from the instructions he has received, and from the professions he makes, we have every reason to believe that he will lay the axe to the

he root of those evils and impositions that have hitherto ramified so luxuriantly in every direction, as to cramp and injure every species of commercial operation.

Had the emperor assented to the proposition of a British ambassador or resident at Pekin, sir George Staunton was to have remained there in that character; with an allowance of 12,000l. sterling, per annum. Lord Macartney, we understand, is to receive 30,000l. for the embassy.

The new viceroy, lord Macartney, and their respective suites, are expected to arrive here about the 20th instant. A numerous body of mandarines, and the principal Chinese merchants set off hence on the 11th inst. to meet the viceroy. To-morrow, the chief supercargo, Mr. Brown, attended by a suite, will proceed to meet the ambassador, for whose reception we are now preparing. His lordship's stay here will be but short, probably not exceeding fifteen or twenty days.

The presents that have been given by the emperor are immense, both in point of quantity and value. They are all at this time on board the Hindostan. I cannot attempt to enumerate the variety of these presents, but two of them are so singular, as to claim particular notice. The one is an epic poem, addressed to his Britannic majesty, the composition of the emperor himself, and in his own handwriting. It is lodged in a black wood carved box, of no great value but as an antique, to which character it has a just claim, having been two thousand years in the possession of the imperial family of China; the other present to which I allude, is a mass of costly agate, of unequalled size and beauty. It has always been the practice with the emperor to hold this agate in his hand, and to fix his eyes upon it whenever he spoke to a mandarine or any of his ministers, as to look upon a subject is considered as not only derogatory to the imperial dignity, but to confer too much consequence on the individual addressed.

Windsor, Sept. 27. Their majesties and their royal highnesses the princesses set out from Gloucester-lodge, Weymouth, at five o'clock this morning, and arrived here, at half past six in the afternoon, in perfect health.

28. This day, in consequence of a warrant issued by the duke of Portland, Townsend and Jealous, belonging to the Public Office in Bow-street, apprehended John Pierce Le Maitre, and William Higgins, on a charge of having concerted a plan to assassinate his majesty, when he went to the theatre, by blowing a poisoned dart at him, through a hollow tube of the size and form of a walking stick.—*These persons, with some others, were, after several subsequent examinations, committed for trial.*

29. This day, a common hall was held at Guildhall for the choice of lord mayor, when Thomas Skinner, esq. was chosen, being the next in rotation to Mr. alderman Watson, now abroad in the service of his country.

OCTOBER.

8. An action was tried at Chester assizes, under the late act for the benefit of friendly societies, against a person who had 5l. belonging to a society in the year 1777, on his promissory note, which he refused to pay. The jury gave the plaintiff (the steward) a verdict for 5l. with interest at five per cent.

9. The society of arts at Paris have

have discovered a method of producing fixed alkali, or pot-ash, from the horse-chesnut tree. A decree was in consequence passed on the 12th ult. ordering all the citizens to store the fruit of the horse-chesnut tree throughout the whole republic.

11. Yesterday a messenger was sent off from the duke of Portland's office to Edinburgh, with an order to remit that part of Watt's and Downie's sentence which relates to their being quartered and their bowels thrown into their faces. (*See page* 54.)

Bath, October 10. Yesterday, at the quarter sessions for this city, Benjamin Bull was convicted for dispersing seditious pamphlets, entitled 'Rights of Man.' He was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, and to find securities for his good behaviour.

Edinburgh, October 16. Yesterday, about half past one o'clock, the two junior magistrates, with white rods in their hands, white gloves, &c. the Rev. principal Baird, and a number of constables, attended by the town officers, and the city guard lining the streets, walked in procession from the council chamber to the east end of the castle-hill, when a message was sent to the sheriff in the castle, that they were there waiting to receive the prisoner, Robert Watt. He was immediately placed in a hurdle, with his back to the horse, and the executioner, with a large axe in his hand, took his seat opposite to him at the further end of the hurdle.

The procession then set out from the castle, the sheriffs walking in front, with white rods in their hands, white gloves, &c. a number of county constables surrounding the hurdle, and the military keeping off the crowd. In this manner they proceeded till they joined the magistrates, when the military returned to the castle, and then the procession was conducted in the following order:

The city constables;
Town officers, bare-headed;
Bailie Lothian and bailie Dalrymple;
Rev. principal Baird;
Mr. sheriff Clerk and Mr. sheriff Davidson;
A number of county constables;
The hurdle, painted black, and drawn by a white horse;
A number of county constables.

The city guard lined the streets to keep off the crowd.

When they had reached the Tolbooth door, the prisoner was taken from the hurdle and conducted into the prison, where a considerable time was spent in devotional exercises. The prisoner then came out upon the platform, attended by the magistrates, the sheriffs, principal Baird, &c. Some time was then spent in prayer and singing psalms; after which, the prisoner mounted the drop-board, and was launched into eternity.

When the body was taken down, it was stretched upon a table, and the executioner, with two blows of the axe, severed off the head, which was received into a basket, and then held up to the multitude, while the executioner called aloud, "There is the head of a traitor, and so perish all traitors."

25. This day the following persons, viz. Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, John Augustus Bonney, Stewart Kydd, Jeremiah Joyce, Thomas Wardle, Thomas Holcroft, John Thelwall, John Richter, and John Baxter, were put to the bar of the sessions house, in order to be arraigned for high treason, pursuant to the bills found by the grand jury against them.—They severally pleaded not guilty; and Mr.

Mr. Tooke, and others, having alleged, that, by their sudden removal from the Tower, they had lost the opportunity of a day, in consulting with their counsel, and otherwise preparing for their defence, the trials were postponed to Tuesday the 28th. The prisoners, moreover, having requested to be tried separately, it was settled that the trial of Mr. Hardy should be the first, and the others to follow as they are named in the indictment.

Admiralty-office, October 27.

Copy of a letter from sir Edward Pellew, captain of his majesty's ship the Arethusa, to Mr. Stephens, dated off the Start, the 24th instant.

Sir,

I beg you will be pleased to inform their lordships, that I sailed, with the ships under my command, as per margin *, agreeable to their orders, on Sunday morning the 19th, from Cawsand Bay; and the wind having given me the opportunity, on the following evening I shaped a course for Ushant, with the hope of falling in with any ships which might leave the port of Brest on the commencement of the easterly wind; the success of this intention affords me the pleasure of begging you to acquaint my lords commissioners, that, at day-break in the morning of the 21st, Ushant bearing east about eight or ten leagues, we had the good fortune to fall in the with the French national frigate La Revolutionnaire, to which the whole of the squadron gave chase. The advantage of being to windward permitted our cutting her off from the land; and the superior sailing of the Artois afforded to captain Nagle the happy opportunity of distinguishing himself by a well-conducted action of forty minutes, when La Revolutionnaire struck her colours to his majesty's ship Artois, which she was induced to do by the near approach of the rest of the squadron; and perceiving the Diamond in the act of taking a position under her stern to raake her, the ship's company refused to defend her any longer. She had scarcely surrendered when the breakers of the Saints were discovered ahead, although very hazy weather.

The distressed and crippled state of the enemy allows me the opportunity of saying, that her resistance could have been of no avail, had the Artois been alone; and if an officer of nearly the same standing may be permitted, without presumption, to offer his sentiments on the conduct of another, I should not confine myself in my expressions of approbation on the behaviour of captain Nagle; and I have much pleasure in adding, that he speaks in the highest terms of the gallantry and good conduct of his officers and ship's company, lamenting, as we all do, the loss of a very gallant and worthy officer, in lieutenant Craigy, of the marines, who, with two men killed, and five wounded, are the sufferers on this occasion.

La Revolutionnaire is a remarkable fine new frigate, most completely fitted, and of large dimensions, being 159 feet long, and 41 feet seven inches wide, built at Havre de Grace, and never before at sea. She sailed eight days since on her way to Brest, and was commanded by citizen Thevenard, mounting 44 guns, 28 on her main deck, and 16 on her quarter deck and forecastle, and manned with

* Arethusa, Artois, Diamond, and Galatea.

370 men,

370 men, eight of whom were killed, and five wounded; among the latter is her captain, slightly.

Lieutenant Pellew, who will have the honour to deliver this letter to their lordships, will be able to give any further information required; and will inform their lordships of my intention of going to Falmouth to land the prisoners, who have the small-pox among them. I have the honour to be, &c.

EDWARD PELLEW.

NOVEMBER.

1. A letter from Cork, dated October 23, has the melancholy intelligence, that, on the preceding Saturday, a dispute arose between John Augustus Crosbie, esq. one of the candidates for the county of Kerry, and sir Barry Denny. It was agreed that they should go out the next day, and decide the matter. They accordingly met on Sunday at three o'clock in the afternoon, and immediately took their ground: they fired together. Mr. Crosbie's ball entered sir Barry's head over the left eye, which killed him almost instantly. Mr. Crosbie was attended to the ground by capt. Godfrey, and sir Barry Denny by the knight of Kerry. This melancholy event makes a second vacancy for that county.

6. On Tuesday, Oct. 28, came on, at the Old Bailey, before lord president Eyre, and the other judges under the special commission, the trial of Mr. Thomas Hardy, late secretary to the London Corresponding Society, on a charge of high treason. The names of the jury were as follows:

Thomas Buck, esq. Back-lane, Acton.

Thomas Wood, esq. coal-merchant, Ealing.

William Fraser, esq. Queen's-square, Bloomsbury.

Adam Steinmetz, esq. biscuit-baker, Limehouse.

Newel Conner, esq. distiller, Shadwell.

John Marshall, esq. brewer, Shoreditch.

Thomas Sayer, esq. distiller, Bow.

Richard Carter, esq. Paddington-street.

Nathaniel Stonard, esq. brewer, Bromley.

Joseph Nicol, esq. farmer, Willesdon.

John Charrington, esq.

Joseph Ainsley, esq. coal-merchant, St. George's in the East.

Mr. Wood opened the pleadings. He stated, that this was an indictment preferred against Thomas Hardy, the prisoner at the bar, for maliciously and traitorously conspiring, with John Horne Tooke, &c. to stir, move, and excite insurrection, rebellion, and war against our sovereign lord the king, within this kingdom, and to subvert and alter the legislature, rule, and government, now duly and happily established in this kingdom; and to depose our said lord the king from the royal state, title, power, and government of this kingdom; and to bring and put our said lord the king to death. Mr. Wood stated nine overt acts of this species of high treason. When he had finished, sir John Scott, the attorney-general, in a speech of nine hours, went into a very minute detail of the subject of these prosecutions for high treason. The counsel for the prosecution then proceeded to produce their evidence, which consisted of papers that had been found in the custody of different persons, and seized, under the warrant of the privy council.

Pre-

Previously to the court's breaking up, about 12 o'clock, a conversation ensued, respecting the gentlemen of the jury, who wished to be discharged on their honour; to which Mr. Erskine, on behalf of the prisoner, consented; but the court were of opinion, that the law would not permit the jury to separate after having been once impanelled. The jury were therefore consigned to the care of the sheriffs, by whom preparations for their accommodation in the sessions-house had been previously made; and, the next day, the jury having complained, that their accommodations were uncomfortable, and incapable of affording them the necessary rest, they were provided, that evening, and all the subsequent evenings of the trial, with beds at the Hummums in Covent-garden.

The 29th, 30th, and 31st of October, were employed in the production of evidence for the crown, both documentary and oral; which latter took up great part of the morning of Nov. 1. This being finished, Mr. Erskine, in behalf of the prisoner, addressed the jury for the space of six hours. The remainder of the day was occupied in the examination of the witnesses for the prisoner; many of whom gave him an excellent character, stating, moreover, that he was a quiet inoffensive man; and that his object, in connecting himself with these societies, was merely to procure a parliamentary reform, by all peaceable and lawful means, and on no account whatever by a subversion of the constitution. The court adjourned, at half past 12 on Sunday morning, till the Monday following, when the counsel for the prisoner proceeded with their evidence: after which Mr. Gibbs likewise addressed the court in his favour. He was followed by the solicitor-general in reply. The next day (Nov. 4) the solicitor-general concluded his reply, and the lord president commenced the summing up of the evidence. Yesterday, his lordship resumed the summing up, which he finished about 12 o'clock. The jury then retired, and after having been absent two hours and a half, returned, and delivered their verdict—Not guilty.

15. Yesterday, at the Old Bailey, Elisabeth Serres was indicted for robbing her ready furnished lodgings. The prosecutrix swore to the prisoner's having taken a lodging in her house, which she plundered the first opportunity. The prisoner said, that she had a twin sister, so like her, that their parents could not distinguish them asunder. This was confirmed by Mr. Kirby, who said, the sister was in custody for a similar offence; he had seen her, and they were so alike, it was impossible to perceive any difference. Under this singular dilemma the jury acquitted the prisoner. She was a second time indicted for a similar offence. The prosecutrix, in this case, was positive as to her identity. This arose from her having seen the sister, who, in order to deceive her, changed clothes with her; but still she pointed her out. She also distinguished their voices, and a degree of hastiness in the sister beyond the prisoner.—Guilty.

On Thursday, John Taylor was convicted of bigamy. Among the other witnesses called, was the prisoner's second wife, Maria Sophia Richardson, who deposed, that she was married to the prisoner the 30th of May 1791, at St. Bride's London; that she knew of his marriage to a former wife, and that she was still living; that she was forced to this

this prosecution much against her inclination; that she now lived in the greatest amity with the prisoner's former wife; and that this prosecution was instituted to impeach his credibility as a witness, as he was subpœnaed on the state trials. John Willis deposed, that he saw the defendant married to Maria Sophia Richardson, on the 30th of May 1791. He heard that a prior marriage existed, and told miss Richardson of it; she said, "Mr. Taylor had a right to marry as much as any single man, and he had convinced her of it.—Guilty. The court, in consideration of certain favourable circumstances, sentenced him to be imprisoned a fortnight only, and to pay a fine of 1s.

The prisoner in the above case had been an evidence against Watt and Downie, and was to be produced in the state trials here. The object of the present prosecution appeared to be, to get rid of his testimony by a conviction.

Yesterday, two prisoners were convicted of misdemeanors, viz. Richard Barrow, and Robert Watson, a physician, for having in their possession divers seditious printed libels, with intent to publish the same, and thereby to excite sedition and rebellion in this kingdom: they received sentence to be imprisoned in Newgate two years, and at the end of that time to find sureties for their good behaviour for three years more, themselves in 100l. each, and their sureties in 50l. each.

Yesterday, Mary Brown, an infamous procuress, of King's Place, stood in the pillory in Pallmall, for keeping a disorderly house in that place, for which she was laudably prosecuted by the churchwardens and overseers of the parish of St. James. She met her punishment with all the impudent assurance of an incorrigible offender. Her dress was loose, and extremely indecent; and she had taken care to mustle up her face previously to stretching forth her neck to the instrument of punishment: the executioner, however, soon removed every obstacle which could hide her from the indignant spectators, who severely pelted her.

Dublin, Nov. 19. This day was tried the information against Mr. M'Creary and others, proprietors and printers of the Northern Star, for the publication of a seditious libel, on the 19th of December 1792. This libel was the same with that for which Mr. Rowan was convicted, and of publishing which Dr. Drennan was acquitted.

Mr. O'Connor, distributor of stamps in Belfast, proved, that the defendants had, on the 12th of February 1792, sworn an affidavit (according to law) that they were proprietors of the Northern Star. Another witness proved the publication of the paper in question, at the house of one of the defendants, John Rabb.

The defendants' counsel insisted, that though the affidavit stated that their clients were proprietors of the paper on the 12th of February, yet there was no proof that any of them, save Rabb, was so on the 19th of December. This objection had been offered successfully on a former trial of the same defendants; but the court now declared that, having consulted the twelve judges, they had been convinced that this evidence was sufficient to go to the jury. The objection was therefore overruled, and the libel read.

The defendants' counsel then cross-examined the witnesses for the crown, to prove, that the same production had appeared in other news-

newspapers, whose proprietors had not been prosecuted.

When the pleadings of the counsel on both sides were finished, the jury retired, and after two hours deliberation, returned a verdict of—"Guilty of publishing, but not with a malicious intent."—When the jury gave in this verdict, they were informed by the court is was not correct, and could not be recorded.

A Juror.—"My lord, we will frame our verdict agreeably to the wish of the court, so far as we can consistently with our consciences. The fact appears to us, that the paper charged as a libel was published in the Northern Star, of the 19th December, 1792; but we have had no evidence, nor is there any conviction on our minds, that the defendants are Guilty of any of the evil intentions charged in the information."

The court said they had no wish that the verdict should go against the defendants, if the jury were convinced of their innocence, and desired that it should be general either one way or the other.

The jury retired again, and returned a verdict—Not Guilty.

On the verdict being given, a loud burst of applause resounded from all parts of the hall.

To the account of this trial in the Belfast News-Letter, the following note is added:

We are desired to say, that R. G. Ker, esq. one of the jurors, at the desire of the jury, pronounced the following address to the court:

"My Lord,

"We find the traversers Not Guilty, because we think the evidence insufficient as to the evil intention in publishing; at the same time we think the paper a libel, and one that it was very much the duty of government to take notice of."

Downing-street, Nov. 19. This day a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his majesty and the United States of America was signed by the right hon. lord Grenville, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, being duly authorized for that purpose on his majesty's part, and the hon. John Jay, envoy extraordinary from the United States of America, having a like authority on the part of the said states.

23. On Monday the 17th, the court, under a special commission, again met at the Old Bailey.

On Monday, Nov. 17, the court again met, and proceeded on the trial of John Horne Tooke, esq. on the same charge of high treason. The names of the jury were as follows:

James Haygarth, esq. Southampton place, New-road, foreman.
Thomas Harrison, Grays-inn-lane, cow-keeper.
Edward Hale, Highgate, gent.
Thomas Draine, Limehouse, brewer.
Edward Whiting, Stepney-causeway, sugar-refiner.
Norrison Coverdale, Limehouse, rope-maker.
Robert Mairis, Holborn, gent.
John Cook, esq. Great Ormond-street.
Charles Pratt, Tottenham, miller.
Mathias Dupont, Enfield, gent.
William Harwood, esq. Hanwell.
Henry Bullock, Whitechapel, brewer.

Mr. Tooke, at his request, on account of indisposition, was indulged by the court with sitting at the table, near his counsel.

Mr. Percival having opened the pro-

proceedings, the solicitor-general stated the case, in the same manner as had been done by the attorney-general, on the trial of Mr. Hardy. The evidence for the crown was then produced, the examination of which took up till the third day of the trial, Nov. 19.—On that day Mr. Erskine addressed the jury in favour of the prisoner. The fourth day, the witnesses for the prisoner were called. These chiefly consisted of gentlemen who had been engaged in former attempts to procure a parliamentary reform, and some of whom had actually attended as delegates from certain districts. They were, as successively examined, major Cartwright, Mr. Fox, Mr. Francis, the duke of Richmond, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Sheridan, earl Stanhope, the rev. C Wyvill, col. Macnamara, counsellor Fielding, lord Frederic Campbell, lord Derby, Mr. Beaufoy, Mr. Simmons, col. Money, Mr. Maxwell, capt. Harwood, counsellor Rous, and the bishop of Gloucester. The principal part of this evidence tended to prove that Mr. Tooke was a zealous friend to the monarchical and aristocratical, as well as to the democratical part of our constitution; that he was a friend to a parliamentary reform on the moderate plan of Mr. Pitt; namely, by a gradual extinction of the rotten boroughs as they could be purchased, and adding to the county members; and that he was an enemy to the plan of annual parliaments and universal suffrage, which had been first suggested by the duke of Richmond, and afterward adopted by the British convention at Edinburgh, and by other societies in England.—On Friday Nov. 20 (the fifth day) Mr. Gibbs also spoke for the prisoner; the attorney-general replied; and the lord president commenced the summing up. This his lordship resumed the next day, and finished about eight in the evening, when the jury retired, and, in seven minutes and a half, returned with their verdict—Not Guilty.

Whitby, Nov. 25. The heavy gale on the 12th of this month has proved destructive to the remains of that beautiful pile, the abbey church at Whitby; at seven in the morning the greatest part of the west end gave way and fell to the ground. This beautiful specimen of Gothic architecture is consequently now no more. The great window, which has long been the admiration of every person of taste, for the unrivalled elegance and justness of its proportion, now lies upon the ground in shattered fragments.

28. In the court of King's Bench, on Wednesday, upon the motion of the attorney-general, Caleb Underwood, esq. who had been duly outlawed for not appearing to an indictment, charging him with aiding, assisting, and comforting Mr. Purefoy, in the wilful murder of colonel Roper, (*See page* 46), was brought into court, and placed at the bar. The indictment being read, the prisoner, by the advice of his counsel, prayed the allowance of a writ of error he had brought to reverse the outlawry. The error was immediately assigned, which was that the prisoner was out of the kingdom, at the time the indictment was preferred against him. The attorney-general, on the behalf of the crown, confessed, that the error assigned was a fact, in consequence of which the court ordered the outlawry to be reversed. The attorney-general then stated, that he had the consent of his majesty, in consequence of Mr. Purefoy

Purefoy being acquitted, to enter a *Nolo Prosequi* as to the prisoner. The prisoner was then ordered to put in bail before a judge, till the *Nolo Prosequi* is entered on record.

December, 6. On Monday at a quarter after nine, the court, under the special commission, met again at the Old Bailey, when John Augustus Bonney, Jeremiah Joyce, Stewart Kyd, and Thomas Holcroft, were brought to the bar, and the following jury sworn in:

Charles Digby, Robert Batson, Alexander Trotter, Robert Mellish, William Harwood, James Haygarth, Robert Lewis, Mark Hudson, Henry Bullock, John Powsey, Hugh Reynolds, Thomas Harrison, esqrs.

The prisoners arraigned, the attorney-general said, that when he had, on the last trials, the honour to stand there in the discharge of his official duty, he addressed the jury, in order to state the grounds of the prosecution, and the juries, on those trials, had found a verdict of Not Guilty. It then became his duty to consider what was proper to be done in respect to the public and the prisoners at the bar. The result was, that as the evidence adduced on those trials, and that which applied to the prisoners, were the same, and as, after the best consideration, the persons had been acquitted, he would submit to the jury and court, whether the prisoners should not be acquitted, and for that purpose would not trouble them by going into evidence. The lord president then addressed the jury thus: 'Gentlemen, as there is no evidence, you must of course find the prisoners Not Guilty.'—The jury then pronounced a verdict of Not Guilty; and, by direction of the court, the prisoners were discharged. Messrs. Bonney, Joyce, and Kyd, bowed to the court, and retired. Mr. Holcroft remained, in order to address the jury: but the court informed him, that, having been acquitted, there was no room for further observation. Mr. Holcroft still persisted in attempting to speak, and was informed by the court, that, although he had no right to be heard now, he should, nevertheless, be indulged, if he made no improper use of that indulgence. Mr. Holcroft then proceeded, but was soon interrupted by the court, and, at last, with some difficulty, prevailed upon to retire.

Mr. John Thelwall was then brought to the bar, and the following gentlemen were sworn in of the jury:

Adam Steinmetz, esq. Limehouse.
James Paihe, esq.
John Mercer, esq.
Richard Carter, esq. Paddington-street.
Nathaniel Stonard, esq. Bromley.
Joseph Nicol, esq. Willsdon.
Andrew Burt, esq.
James Steevens, esq.
Jonathan Eade, esq. Stoke Newington.
George Ellward, esq.
Edward Hill, esq.
Joseph Ainsley, esq. St. George's in the East.

After Mr. Percival had opened the proceedings on the part of the crown, Mr. serjeant Adair rose to state to the jury the nature of the charge, and of the evidence to be adduced, in the same manner as the attorney-general had done on the trials of Mr. Hardy and Mr. Tooke. When the serjeant had finished his address (which occupied four hours and a half) the examination of the evidence for the crown was proceeded on till half-past nine, when the court adjourned.

journed. The whole of the second day was employed in the examination of evidence. This was closed on the third day, when Mr. Erskine addressed the jury in behalf of the prisoner. When he had finished, his witnesses were examined; and the examination being ended about seven in the evening, Mr. Gibbs also spoke for the prisoner for about half an hour, when the lord president addressed the prisoner, by observing, that he had a right to make any observations he pleased in his own defence; and that then was the time. Mr. Thelwall said, that he had so much confidence in the exertions of his council, and in the candour and integrity of an English jury, that he should trouble them with no observations. On the fourth day, Mr. serjeant Adair entered upon his reply. When he had finished, the lord president proceeded to sum up the evidence, which he resumed and ended the next day, the last and fifth of the trial; and then the jury retired at five minutes past twelve o'clock to deliberate upon their verdict. At ten minutes before two, they returned and pronounced a verdict of—Not Guilty.

15. This day the court, under the special commission, again met at the Old Bailey, when the following gentlemen were sworn as a jury, on the trials of John Richter and John Baxter, charged with high treason.

Robert Batson, William Harwood, James Haygarth, Robert Lewis, Thomas Wood, Henry Bullock, John Powzy, Hugh Ronalds, Henry Capel, John Leader, Jeremiah Blakewood, Robert Kilby Cox, esquires.

The prisoners being arraigned in the general way, the attorney-general said, 'Gentlemen of the jury, in the circumstances in which I have now the honour of addressing you, I think myself justified in forbearing, at present, to bring forward any evidence against the prisoners at the bar.'—The lord chief baron then said, 'Gentlemen, there being no evidence brought against the prisoners, you will of course find them Not Guilty.' The verdict of Not Guilty being given and recorded, the chief baron said, 'These gentlemen having been found not guilty, are now discharged from the bar.'

John Baxter said, 'Gentlemen of the jury, I beg leave to return you my thanks;' and was proceeding, when he was informed by the chief baron, 'That being now discharged from the bar, he had no right to say any thing to the court.'

The court was then adjourned to Friday the 26th of December.

On Monday, Spence, Hilliard, and Frankloe, three of the persons in custody on charges of high treason, were released from prison, on entering into recognizances to appear, if called upon by the attorney-general.

19. Yesterday William Bromhead, Robert Moody, Henry Hill, George Widdeson, and William Camage, who were apprehended in May last at Sheffield under the warrants of the secretary of state, for high treason, were, together with John Edwards and Samuel Williams, both members of the London Corresponding Society, brought to the duke of Portland's office at Whitehall, when Mr. Ford, being authorised by the lords of his majesty's privy council under the act of last session of parliament, discharged them from out of the custody of the king's messenger, upon their entering into recognizances to

to give evidence against Henry Redhead, alias Yorke, at the next assizes for the county of York.

26. About half after nine o'clock, the lord mayor and Mr. justice Lawrence, appeared on the bench, and the court, under the special commission, was formed.

On the motion of the attorney-general, the court was immediately adjourned to Wednesday, the 14th of January next.

The LONDON GENERAL BILL *of* CHRISTENINGS *and* BURIALS, *from* December 10, 1793, to December 9, 1794.

Christened	Males 9538	18,689	Buried	Males 9826	19,241	Decreas. in the Burials this Year 2508.	
	Females 9151			Females 9415			

Died under 2 Years	6548	20 and 30 -	1363	60 and 70 -	1280	100 - -	2
Between 2 and 5	2120	30 and 40 -	1674	70 and 80 -	957	101 - -	2
5 and 10	772	40 and 50 -	1849	80 and 90 -	401	102 - -	2
10 and 20	647	50 and 60 -	1563	90 and 100 -	59	105 - -	1

BIRTHS *in the Year* 1794.

Jan. 4. Lady of James Bland Burges, esq. under secretary of state, a daughter.

March 3. Lady of sir John Dryden, bart. a son.

9. Countess of Beverly, a son.

10. Her Catholic Majesty, a prince.

14. Lady Arden, a son.

20. Countess of Glasgow, a daughter.

May 10. Lady Bruce, two daughters.

24. Lady Susan Thorpe, a son and heir.

June 8. Empress of Germany, an archduchess.

July 3. Lady Deerhurst, a daughter.

22. Countess Camden, a daughter.

27. Lady Strathaven, a son.

Aug. 25. Viscountess Mountstuart, a son.

— Lady of sir Alexander Grant, bart. a daughter.

Sept. 20. Lady of sir John D'Oyley, bart. a son.

Oct. 10. Countess of Northesk, a son.

30. Consort of prince Lewis, second son of the king of Prussia, a son, named Frederick William Lewis.

MARRIAGES *in the Year* 1794.

Jan. 2. William Scrope, esq. Castle Cumbe, Wilts, to miss Long, niece of sir James Tylney Long, bart.

13. Charles Garnier, esq. of the royal navy, to lady Elizabeth Delme.

25. William Currie, esq. M. P. to miss Percy Gore, daughter of the late colonel Gore.

Feb. 13. Hon. captain Francis Grey, to miss Mary-Anne Johnston, daughter of the late major Johnston.

March 3. James H. Blake, esq. brother to sir Patrick Blake, bart. to miss Gage, sister to viscount Gage.

— Edward earl of Oxford, to miss Scot, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Scot, of Richmond, in Yorkshire.

8. R. Brudenel, esq. equerry to the Queen, to miss Cook of Holles-street.

— William Wyndham, esq. of

Dinton, Wilts, to miss Popham, daughter of Alexander Popham, esq. M. P.

11. Duke of Athol, to lady Macleod, relict of lord Macleod.

— Lord Belmore, to miss Caldwall.

29. Sir Charles Style, bart. to miss Whatman, daughter of James Whatman, esq.

April 2. Thomas Goodricke, esq. to miss Goodricke, daughter of sir Henry Goodricke, bart.

12. William R. Carteret, esq. of Aynho Hall, Northamptonshire, to the hon. miss Maude.

24. Thomas viscount Weymouth, to the hon. miss Byng, third daughter of viscount Torrington.

28. Viscount Belgrave, to the hon. miss Egerton, daughter of lord Grey de Wilton.

May 7. Major-general Bertie, to Mrs. Scrope, of Colby, Lincolnshire.

20. John Cotes, esq. of Woodcote, Salop, to lady Maria Grey.

22. Rev. George Talbot, brother of the late earl Talbot, to the hon. miss Anne Beauclerk.

27. Hon. Mr. Bingham, to lady Elizabeth Bellasyse, the divorced wife of Mr. Howard.

June 1. Charles Edmonstone, esq. second son of sir Archibald Edmonstone, bart. to miss Emma Wilbraham Bootle, daughter of R. W. Bootle, esq. of Sathom House, Lancashire.

9. Hon. Mr. Stewart, eldest son of lord Londonderry, to lady Amelia Hobart.

July 2. Rev. sir Thomas Boughton, bart. to Mrs. Scott Jackson, of Bedford-square.

5. Viscount Conyngham, to miss Denison, daughter of Joseph Denison, esq. of Denbighs, Surry.

23. Sir James Murray, bart. M. P. to Henrietta Laura baroness Bath, only daughter of William Pulteney, esq. M. P.—Sir James has taken the name and arms of Pulteney.

Aug. 28. Earl of Ilchester, to miss Maria Digby, daughter of the late dean of Durham.

Sept. 3. Rev. Charles Hales, to miss Anna Maria Byng, daughter of the hon. John Byng.

8. Lord Saye and Sele, to the hon. miss Eardley.

15. Thomas Anson, esq. of Shugborough, Staffordshire, to miss Ann Coke, daughter of Thomas William Coke, M. P. for Norfolk.

24. Captain Williams, of the foot-guards, to the countess of Barymore.

Oct. 13. Captain Gill, of the life-guards, to lady Harriet Fleming.

20. Lord Dynevor, to the hon. Harriot Townshend, daughter of viscount Sydney.

Nov. 1. Sir Montagu Burgoyne, bart. to miss Burton.

6. Sir Archibald Dunbar, bart. to miss H. P. Cumming, daughter of colonel Cumming.

15. Edward Loveden Loveden, esq. M. P. for Abingdon, to miss Lintall, daughter of Thomas Lintall, esq.

18. Charles Grey, esq. M. P. for Northumberland, to miss Pontonby, daughter of the right hon. William Brabazon Ponsonby, M. P. for Kilkenny.

29. Earl of Mornington, to madame Roan.

Dec. 13. Peter Murray, esq. eldest son of sir William Murray, bart. to lady Mary Anne Hope, sister of the earl of Hopetoun.

26. John Lord Sheffield, to the hon. miss Lucy Pelham, daughter of Lord Pelham.

— Lord Gormanstown to the hon.

hon. miss Southwell, daughter of lord de Clifford.

DEATHS in the Year 1794.

Jan. 11. Hugh earl of Marchmont.

— Sir Clifton Wintringham, bart. M. D. and F. R. S.

— Dr. John Hinchcliffe, bishop of Peterborough and dean of Durham.

— Caroline countess dowager of Dalkeith and widow of the right hon. Charles Townshend, in her own right baroness Greenwich: the title extinct.

15. John Ramey, esq. of Great Yarmouth, grandfather to the earl of Home.

— Hon. Mrs. Coker, lady of John Coker, esq. and daughter of the late lord Romney.

16. Edward Gibbon, esq. the celebrated historian.

17. Penyston Portlock Powney, esq. M. P. for Windsor.

22. John viscount Mountstuart, M. P. for Cardiff.

24. Admiral sir Edward Hughes, K. B.

25. General sir Charles Hotham, bart. and K. B.

— Major-general Albemarle Bertie.

26. Sir Edward Boughton, bart.

27. Henry earl of Pembroke.

Lately, the infant son of the marquis of Worcester.

28. Countess of Abingdon.

29. Lady Eden, relict of sir John Eden, bart.

30. Benjamin Bond Hopkins, esq. M. P.

31. Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot.

Feb. 2. Hon. captain Seymour Finch.

3. Francis Burdett, esq. only son of sir Robert Burdett, bart.

6. Richard Burke, esq. recorder of Bristol.

18. Sir John Fenn, knt.

22. Henry duke of Newcastle.

— Sir Francis Drake, bart.

23. General sir John Sebright, bart.

26. Countess of Digby.

March 1. Lady Eardley.

3. Lady Mary Wesley, sister to the earl of Mornington.

5. Sir Henry Gould, knt. a justice of the court of common-pleas.

— Lady Jane Buller, sister of earl Bathurst.

11. Lady Charlotte Madan, wife of the bishop of Peterborough, and sister to marquis Cornwallis.

19. Hon. general James Murray, colonel of the 17th regiment of foot, and uncle to the duke of Athol.

25. Right hon. Hercules Langford Rowley.

April 1. Don Philip, the youngest son of their Catholic majesties.

8. Lady dowager Vernon.

17. John Stephenson, esq. M. P.

18. Charles earl Camden.

20. General Robert Dalrymple Horn Elphinston, colonel of the 53d regiment.

23. Countess of Guilford.

30. Lady Caroline Home, sister of the earl of Home.

— Sir Thomas Hay, bart.

May 3. Lord George Cavendish, M. P. for Derbyshire.

— Sir John Guise, bart.

5. James Bruce, esq. the celebrated Abyssinian traveller.

— Lady Crawford.

6. Nathanael Smith, esq. M. P.

7. Hon. David Murray, M. P. brother to lord Elibank.

12. Mrs. Hussey, sister to earl Beaulieu.

13. Lady dowager Nasmyth.

17. Sir Thomas Dyke Ackland, bart.

— Lieutenant-general Townshend.

19. Thomas earl of Haddington.

25. Hon. miss Mary Pelham.

Lately, at Madrid, aged 21, the duke of Berwick, the last male descendant of marshal Berwick, natural son of James II.

30. Lady of lord Carleton, lord chief justice of the common-pleas in Ireland.

June 1. Countess of Egremont, lady of count Bruhl, the Saxon envoy.

Lately, William viscount Newhaven.

2. Reigning duke of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, brother to the Queen of Great Britain.

3. Duchess of Portland.

— Viscountess Mayo, widow of the late John viscount Mayo.

5. Anne lady Ravensworth,

6. Countess of Deloraine.

7. Francis marquis of Hertford.

— Rev. sir Henry Vane, bart. prebendary of Durham.

8. John lord Kilmaine.

18. Hon. general James Murray, colonel of the royal North British fusileers.

19. Viscountess Dillon, mother of the present viscount.

Lately, sir Robert Boyd, K. B. governor of Gibraltar.

23. Sir Archibald Murray, bart.

27. Prince Kaunitz, the celebrated prime minister to the late empress-queen Maria Theresa, and to the emperors Joseph II. Leopold II. and Francis II.

— Major Halliday, brother-in-law to the earl of Dysert.

28. Admiral Balfour.

29. Earl of Waldegrave.

30. Of their wounds in the late naval victory, captain John Harvey, of the Brunswick, and captain Hutt, of the Queen. Monuments to both have been voted by the house of commons.

July 1. Gertrude duchess dowager of Bedford.

2. Henry Drummond, esq. M. P.

Lately, sir Gilfred Lawson, bart.

3. Trevor Charles lord Dacre.

5. Right hon. and right Rev. Dr. William Cecil Pery, lord Glentworth, bishop of Limerick.

15. John Evans, esq. admiral of the blue.

Aug. 1. Sir Henry Martin, M. P. for Southampton, and comptroller of the navy.

2. Richard Burke, esq. M. P. for Malton, only son of the right hon. Edmund Burke.

6. Henry earl Bathurst.

10. Mrs. Gamon, wife of Richard Gamon, esq. M. P. for Winchester, sister to the duke of Grafton and lord Southampton; being the daughter of their late mother, lady Augusta Fitzroy, by her second husband, the late James Jefferies, esq.

12. Winchcomb Henry Hartley, esq. M. P. for Berks.

13. John Tempest, esq. M. P. for the city of Durham.

14. George Colman, sen. the celebrated dramatic writer.

19. Frances baroness dowager Annaly.

— Sir Hugh Williams, bart. M. P. for Beaumaris.

— John Lord Elphinstone.

Lately, the earl of Mayo, archbishop of Tuam.

24. Count Merci d'Argenteau, the Imperial minister on a private embassy.

Sept. 3. Hester viscountess Malpas, relict of George viscount Malpas.

4. Sir James Johnstone, bart. M. P. for Weymouth.

5. Right hon. John Hely Hutchinson,

nson, principal secretary of state Ireland, and provost of Trinity lege, Dublin.

o. Lady dowager Rous.

3. Sir Robert Mackworth, bart.

Lately, cardinal de Bernis, one the ministers of France, in the gn of Louis XV. and afterward bassador to Rome.

Lately, princess Christiana of ecklenburg, sister to the queen.

28. Lieutenant-general Henry nith, colonel commandant of the armes.

30. Hon. rear admiral William lement Finch, M. P. for Surry.

Oct. 5. Hon. Barbara Grey, sister lord Grey de Wilton.

14. Sir Thomas Clavering, bart.

17. Lady Helen Douglas, relict of the late admiral sir James Douglas, and aunt to the earl of Glasgow.

18. Richard Robinson, lord Rokeby, D. D. and archbishop of Armagh.

21. Countess of Howth.

27. Rev. sir Edward Castleton, bart vicar of Thornham, Norfolk.

Nov. 1. Hon. Mr. Curzon, son of lord Scarsdale.

— Elizabeth dowager baroness Colville of Culross.

4. Major-general Robert Johnstone.

— Lady of sir William Dick, bart.

6. Mary Wortley Montague Stuart, countess dowager of Bute, in her own right baroness Mountstuart.

13. Major-general Allan Campbell.

18. Lady of sir John Frederick, bart. M. P. for Surry.

— Mrs. Nugent, aunt to the marchioness of Buckingham.

20. Duchess dowager of Leeds, relict of the earl of Portmore.

24. Lieutenant-general Joseph Gabbit.

— Sir John Stanley, bart.

28. Sarah lady Ballenden

— Sir James Tylney Long, bart. M. P.

29. Princess Sophia Frederica, consort to prince Frederick of Denmark.

30. Rear-admiral Rowland Cotton.

Dec. 14. Countess dowager of Peterborough.

16. Lady of sir Edward Winnington, bart.

17. Major-general Alexander Stewart, colonel of the queen's royal regiment, and M. P.

25. Harry duke of Bolton.

— Lady Eliza Saville, daughter of the earl of Mexborough.

28. Charles earl of Aboyne.

30. John earl of Cassilis.

31. Lady Harriet Pleydel-Bouverie, eldest daughter of the earl of Radnor.

Lately, Hon. Edward Somerset Fitzroy, son of lord Southampton.

PROMOTIONS *in the Year* 1794.

Jan. 1. Edward viscount Mountgarret—earl of Kilkenny in Ireland.

— Arthur viscount Valentia—earl Mountmorris of Ireland.

— Otway viscount Desart—earl of Desart in Ireland.

— Alice viscountess dowager Wicklow—countess of Wicklow in Ireland.

— John viscount Clonmell—earl of Clonmell in Ireland.

— Andrew Thomas lord Castlestewart—viscount Castlestewart in Ireland.

— Robert lord Leitrim—viscount Leitrim in Ireland.

1. Francis lord Landaff—viscount Landaff in Ireland.

— Cornwallis lord De Montalt—viscount Hawarden in Ireland.

— John lord Fitz Gibbon—viscount Fitz Gibbon in Ireland.

11. Sir John Dick and John Martin Leake, esq.—comptrollers of the army accounts.

25. Richard Byron, esq.—gentleman usher of the privy-chamber.

— Edmund Armstrong, esq.—groom of the privy-chamber.

— Hon. William Frederick Wyndham—envoy extraordinary to the court of Florence.

— William Jackson, esq.—commissioner of excise.

26. George earl of Pembroke—lord lieutenant of Wilts.

30. Major-general Philip Goldsworthy—colonel of the first regiment of dragoon guards.

— General sir William Augustus Pitt, K. B.—governor of Portsmouth.

Feb. 6. Dr. Spencer Madan bishop of Bristol—bishop of Peterborough.

— Dr. Charles Manners Sutton, bishop of Norwich—dean of Windsor.

8. Dr. James Cornwallis, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry—dean of Durham.

— John Hunter, esq.—captain general and governor of New South Wales.

— Lieutenant-colonel his royal highness prince William—a colonel in the army.

March 1. John Atkinson, esq.—Somerset herald.

5. George viscount Macartney—earl of Macartney in Ireland.

— Charles viscount Loftus—earl of Ely in Ireland.

12. Sandon Lawrence, esq.—a justice of the common-pleas, and knighted.

15. George Naylor, esq.—York herald.

— Lord St. Helen's—ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the states general of the United Provinces.

— Sir Morton Eden, K. B.—ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his Catholic majesty.

April 8. Rev. Reginald Courtenay, LL. D.—bishop of Bristol.

30. Thomas duke of Newcastle—lord lieutenant of Nottinghamshire.

May 2. Colonel his highness prince William of Gloucester—colonel of a regiment of infantry to be forthwith raised.

12. Earl of Euston—ranger and keeper of St. James' and Hyde Parks.

23. Henry Hamilton, esq.—governor of Dominica.

27. Joseph Smith, esq.—agent and paymaster to the out pensioners at Chelsea hospital.

29. Henry duke of Buccleugh—knight of the garter.

— Hon. rear admiral sir Keith Elphinston, and captain sir John Borlase Warren, bart.—knights of the bath.

June 23. Capt Henry Wilson of the first regiment of life guards—knight.

27. Earl of Carhampton—lieutenant general of the staff of Ireland.

28. Dr. William Bennet, bishop of Cork and Ross—bishop of Cloyne.

— Hon. and Rev. Thomas Stopford, dean of Ferns—bishop of Cork and Ross.

July 4. Herbert Sawyer, esq. sir Richard King, bart. Jonathan Faulkner

Faulkner and Philip Affleck, esqrs. vice-admirals of the white—vice admirals of the red.

— Thomas Fitzherbert, Samuel Cornish, John Brisbane, Charles Wolseley, Samuel Cranston Goodall, esqrs. hon. Keith Stewart, and the duke of Clarence, vice-admirals of the blue—vice-admirals of the white.

— Richard Onslow and Robert Kingsmill, esqrs. rear-admirals of the red—vice-admirals of the white.

— Sir George Collier, knight, George Bowyer, esq. sir Hyde Parker, knight, Rowland Cotton and Benjamin Caldwell, esqrs. hon. William Cornwallis, William Allen, John Macbride, and George Vandeput, esqrs. rear-admirals of the red—vice-admirals of the blue.

— Charles Buckner, John Gell, William Dickson, and Alan Gardner, esqrs. rear-admirals of the white—vice admirals of the blue.

— John Lewis Gidoin, George Gayton, George Murray, and Robert Linzee, esqrs. sir James Wallace, knight, William Peere Williams, and Thomas Pasley, esqrs. rear-admirals of the white—rear-admirals of the red.

— John Symons, esq. and sir Thomas Rich, bart. rear-admirals of the blue—rear admirals of the red.

— Charles Thompson, James Cumming, John Ford, John Colpoys, Skeffington Lutwidge, Archibald Dickson, George Montagu, and Thomas Dumaresq. esqs. and hon. sir George Keith Elphinstone, K. B. rear-admirals of the blue—rear-admirals of the white.

— Captains James Pigott, hon. William Waldegrave, Thomas Mackenzie, Thomas Pringle, hon. William Clement Finch, sir Roger Curtis, knight, Henry Harvey, Robert Man, and William Parker—rear admirals of the blue.

— William Young and James Gambier, esqrs. and lord Hugh Seymour—colonels in the marine forces.

11. William earl Fitzwilliam—a privy-councellor and lord-president of the council.

— George John earl Spencer—a privy-counsellor.

— William Henry Cavendish duke of Portland—secretary of state for the home department.

— Right hon. William Windham—secretary of war.

— Alexander duke of Gordon—keeper of the great seal in Scotland.

16. Right hon. William Windham—a privy-counsellor.

— George John earl Spencer—lord privy seal.

19. Charles Saxton, esq. of Circourt, Berks—a bart.

— Prince William of Gloucester, and the duke of Portland—knights of the garter.

Marquis Townshend—governor of Hull.

— Sir Henry Clinton, K. B.—governor of Gibraltar.

23. Evan Nepean, Stephen Cottrell, and James Bland Burges esqrs.—commissioners for executing the office of keeper of the privy-seal.

26. Henry Strachey, esq.—master of his majesty's household.

Aug. 6. Marquis of Titchfield—lord lieutenant of Middlesex.

11. Major-general Charles Leigh—captain general and governor in chief over the islands of Nevis, St. Christopher, Montserrat, Antigua, Barbuda, Anguilla, and all other islands, commonly called the Caribbee Islands.

11. James

11. James Crawfurd, esq.—governor and commander in chief of the Bermuda or Somers Islands.

12. John earl of Upper Ossory, of the kingdom of Ireland - baron Upper Ossory, of Ampthill, in Bedfordshire.

— Edward lord Clive, of the kingdom of Ireland—baron Clive of Walcot, in the county of Salop.

— Henry lord Mulgrave, of the kingdom of Ireland—baron Mulgrave, of Mulgrave in Yorkshire.

— William Henry Lyttelton lord Westcote, of the kingdom of Ireland—lord Lyttelton, baron of Frankley, in Worcestershire.

— The right hon. Welbore Ellis baron Mendip, of Mendip, in the county of Somerset, with remainders successively to Henry Welbore Agar, viscount Clifden of the kingdom of Ireland, the hon. and rev. John Ellis Agar, second son, and the hon. Charles Bagnal Agar third son, of James late viscount Clifden; Welbore Ellis Agar, esq. one of the commissioners of the customs; and Charles Agar, archbishop of Cashel, and their respective heirs male.

— Sir Henry Bridgeman, bart. —baron Bradford, of Bradford, in the county of Salop.

— Sir James Peachy, bart.—baron Selsey, of Selsey, in Sussex.

— Sir Thomas Dundas, bart.—baron Dundas, of Aske, in Yorkshire.

— Asheton Curzon, of Pennhouse, in the county of Buckingham, esq.—baron Curzon of Penn, in the said county.

— Charles Anderson Pelham, of Brocklesby in the county of Lincoln, esq.—baron Yarborough, of Yarborough, in the said county.

16. Vice-admiral George Bowyer, vice-admiral Alan Gardner, rear-admiral Thomas Pasley, and rear-admiral sir Roger Curtis, knt. —baronets.

Sept. 8. Earl of Chesterfield and earl of Leicester—postmasters-general.

— Major-general Lake—governor of Limerick.

26. William Lindsay, esq.—governor of Jamaica.

Oct. 4. Colonels Edmund Fanning; Francis R. Humphreys, of the late 79th foot; John Hughes, Horatio Spry, William Souter, and Harrie Innes of the marines; William Fawcett, inspector general of recruits in Ireland; Robert Donkin, of the late garrison battalion; James Balfour, of the 77th foot; James Francis Perkins, of the marines; Norman Macleod, of the 73d foot; Alexander Campbell, of the late 95th foot; Francis D'Oyly, of the 1st foot-guards; William Crosbie, of the 89th foot; sir James Duff, knt. of the 1st foot-guards; Henry lord Mulgrave, of the 31st foot; Grice Blackeney, of the 14th dragoons; Paulus Æ. Irving, of the 47th foot; John Small, lieutenant-governor of Guernsey; George Harris, of the 76th foot; Richard Vyse, of the 1st dragoon guards; William lord Catheart, of the 29th foot; Maurice Wemyss, of the marines; Robert Mason Lewis, captain of Carisbrooke-castle; Banastre Tarleton, of the late American dragoons; sir Hew Dalrymple, knt. of the 1st foot-guards; Gordon Forbes, of the 105th foot; Andrew Gordon, of the 26th foot; John Floyd, of the 19th dragoons; Oliver de Lancey, barrack master-general; John Graves Simcoe, of the queen's rangers; Robert Johnstone, of the 3d foot-guards; and James Henry Craig, of the 16th foot—major-generals.

23. Captains Charles Holmes Everitt

Everitt Calmady, John Bourmaster, sir George Young, knt. John Henry, and Richard Rodney Bligh—rear-admirals of the blue.

24. Major-general Adam Williamson—a knight of the Bath.

— Earl of Balcarras—lieutenant-governor of Jamaica.

Nov. 12. Sir Morton Eden, K. B.—a privy-counsellor.

14. Admiral Thomas Graves—lord Graves of Ireland.

— Admiral sir Alexander Hood, K. B.—lord Bridport of Ireland.

18. Major-general Adam Williamson—governor of that part of St. Domingo which belongs to his majesty.

25. Sir Morton Eden, K. B.—envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Vienna.

28. Sir James Sanderson, knt. of London; Charles Willoughby, esq. of Baldon House, Oxfordshire; and George William Prescott, esq. of Theobald's Park, Herts—baronets.

Dec. 10. William earl Fitzwilliam—lord lieutenant of Ireland.

— Major-general Charles Leigh—governor of the Leeward Caribbee Islands.

17. David earl of Mansfield—lord president of the council.

— John earl of Chatham—lord privy-seal.

— George viscount Milton—a privy-counsellor.

20. George John earl Spencer, Samuel lord Hood, sir Alan Gardner, knt. Charles Small Pybus, esq. vice-admiral Philip Affleck, and vice-admiral sir Charles Middleton, bart.—lords of the admiralty.

SHERIFFS *appointed for the Year* 1794.

Bedfordshire, Edward Nicholl, of Studham, esq.

Berkshire, Edward Stephenson, of Farleyhill, esq.

Bucks, Charles Clowes, of Ieor, esq.

Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, John Richards, of Brampton, esq.

Cheshire, Dumville Poole, of Lymm, esq.

Cornwall, Edward Archer of Trelask, esq.

Cumberland, William Henry Milbourne, of Armathwaite Castle, esq.

Derbyshire, sir Henry Harpur, of Caulk, bart.

Devonshire, John Spurrell Pode, of Stoke Damerell, esq.

Dorsetshire, Edward Buckley Batson, of Sixpenny Handley, esq.

Essex, James Hatch, of Claybury, esq.

Gloucestershire, Isaac Elton, of Stapleton, esq.

Herefordshire, John Miles, of Ledbury, esq.

Hertfordshire, Samuel Leighton-house, of Orford House, esq.

Kent, Richard Carew, of Orpington, esq.

Leicestershire, George Moore, of Appleby, esq.

Lincolnshire, sir Joseph Banks, bart.

Monmouthshire, John Rose, of Duffrain, esq.

Norfolk, John Richard Dashwood, of Cockley Clay, esq.

Northamptonshire, Richard Booth, of Glendon, esq.

Northumberland, Charles John Clavering, of Bitchfield, esq.

Nottinghamshire, John Bridgman Simpson, esq.

Oxfordshire, Samuel Gardner, of Hardwick, esq.

Rutlandshire, Thomas Forsyth of Empingham, esq.

Shropshire, William Yelverton Davenport, of Davenport House, esq.

Somerset-

Somerſetſhire, Charles Knatchbull, of Babington, eſq.

Staffordſhire, Matthew Boulton, of Soho, eſq.

Southampton, Henry Bonham, of Petersfield, eſq.

Suffolk, Charles Purvis, of Darſham, eſq.

Surry, Charles Bowles, of Eaſt Sheen, eſq.

Suſſex, Samuel Twyford, of Trotton, eſq.

Warwickſhire, Richard Hill, of Kineton, eſq.

Wiltſhire, Richard Long, of Weſt Aſhton, eſq.

Worceſterſhire, Thomas Farley, of Halton, eſq.

Yorkſhire, Thomas Liſter, of Guiſbourn Park, eſq.

SOUTH-WALES.

Carmarthen, William Clayton, of Alltycadno, eſq.

Pembroke, John Phelps, of Withy-Buſh Houſe, eſq.

Cardigan, William Owen, Brigſtrock, of Blaenypant, eſq.

Glamorgan, Henry Knight, of Tythegſtone, eſq.

Brecon, Richard Wellington, of Hay Caſtle, eſq.

Radnor, Richard Price, of Knighton, eſq.

NORTH-WALES.

Angleſea, Hugh Jones, of Carrog, eſq.

Carnarvon, Richard Lloyd, of Treſbedlig, eſq.

Denbighſhire, Bryan Cooke, of Havodywern, eſq.

Flint, John Williams, of Boddlewiddan, eſq.

Merioneth, Owen Ornſby, of Glynn, eſq.

Montgomery, John James, of Caſtle Caerinion, eſq.

PUBLIC

PUBLIC PAPERS.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, January 21, 1794.

My lords and gentlemen,

THE circumstances under which you are now assembled require your most serious attention.

We are engaged in a contest, on the issue of which depend the maintenance of our constitution, laws, and religion, and the security of all civil society.

You must have observed with satisfaction the advantages which have been obtained by the arms of the allied powers, and the change which has taken place in the general situation of Europe since the commencement of the war.

The United Provinces have been protected from invasion. The Austrian Netherlands have been recovered and maintained, and places of considerable importance have been acquired on the frontier of France.

The recapture of Mentz, and the subsequent successes of the allied armies on the Rhine, have, notwithstanding the advantages recently obtained by the enemy in that quarter, proved highly beneficial to the common cause.

Powerful efforts have been made by my allies in the south of Europe; the temporary possession of the town and port of Toulon has greatly distressed the operations of my enemies; and in the circumstances attending the evacuation of that place, an important and decisive blow has been given to their naval power by the conduct, abilities, and spirit of my commanders, officers, and forces, both by sea and land.

The French have been driven from their possessions and fishery at Newfoundland; and important and valuable acquisitions have been made both in the East and West Indies.

At sea our superiority has been undisputed, and our commerce so effectually protected, that the losses sustained have been inconsiderable in proportion to its extent, and to the captures made on the contracted trade of the enemy.

The circumstances by which the further progress of the allies has been hitherto impeded, not only prove the necessity of vigour and perseverance on our part, but at the same time confirm the expectation of ultimate success.

Our enemies have derived the means of temporary exertion from a system which has enabled them to

to dispose arbitrarily of the lives and property of a numerous people, and which openly violates every restraint of justice, humanity, and religion. But these efforts, productive as they necessarily have been of internal discontent and confusion in France, have also tended rapidly to exhaust the natural and real strength of that country.

Although I cannot but regret the necessary continuance of the war, I should ill consult the essential interests of my people, if I were desirous of peace on any grounds but such as may provide for their permanent safety, and for the independence and security of Europe.

The attainment of these ends is still obstructed by the prevalence of a system in France, equally incompatible with the happiness of that country, and with the tranquillity of all other nations.

Under this impression, I thought proper to make a declaration of the views, and principles by which I am guided:—I have ordered a copy of this declaration to be laid before you, together with copies of several conventions and treaties with different powers, by which you will perceive how large a part of Europe is united in a cause of such general concern.

I reflect with unspeakable satisfaction on the steady loyalty and firm attachment to the established constitution and government, which, notwithstanding the continued efforts employed to mislead and to seduce, have been so generally prevalent among all ranks of my people. These sentiments have been eminently manifested in the zeal and alacrity of the militia to provide for our internal defence, and in the distinguished bravery and spirit displayed on every occasion by my forces both by sea and land: they have maintained the lustre of the British name, and have shewn themselves worthy of the blessings which it is the object of all our exertions to preserve.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have ordered the necessary estimates and accounts to be laid before you; and I am persuaded you will be ready to make such provision as the exigencies of the time may require. I feel too sensibly the repeated proofs which I have received of the affection of my subjects not to lament the necessity of any additional burthens.

It is however a great consolation to me to observe the favourable state of the revenue, and the complete success of the measure which was last year adopted for removing the embarrassments affecting commercial credit.

Great as must be the extent of our exertions, I trust you will be enabled to provide for them in such a manner as to avoid any pressure which could be severely felt by my people.

My lords and gentlemen,

In all your deliberations you will undoubtedly bear in mind the true grounds and origin of the war. An attack was made on us and on our allies, founded on principles which tend to destroy all property, to subvert the laws and religion of every civilized nation, and to introduce universally that wild and destructive system of rapine, anarchy, and impiety, the effects of which, as they have already been manifested in France, furnish a dreadful,

dreadful, but useful lesson to the present age and to posterity.

It only remains for us to persevere in our united exertions – their discontinuance or relaxation could hardly procure even a short interval of delusive repose, and could never terminate in security of peace.

Impressed with the necessity of defending all that is most dear to us, and relying, as we may with confidence, on the valour and resources of the nation, on the continued efforts of so large a part of Europe, and above all on the incontestable justice of our cause, let us render our conduct a contrast to that of our enemies, and by cultivating and practising the principles of humanity and the duties of religion, endeavour to merit the continuance of the divine favour and protection, which have been so eminently experienced by these kingdoms.

Earl Stanhope's Protest in the House of Lords against the Rejection of the Bill brought in by the Earl of Albemarle, to indemnify Ministers for permitting a Body of Hessian Troops to land in this Kingdom, without the previous Consent of Parliament, Feb. 21.

DISSENTIENT,

1st, Because "It is contrary to law, for the crown to keep an army in this kingdom, either in time of peace, or in time of war, without the previous consent of parliament." And it is essential, that this important constitutional principle (which was unequivocally admitted in the debate) should be for ever maintained inviolate in this country. And the friends of public liberty ought ever to bear in memory, the admirable vote of the house of commons, on the fifth day of May, 1641, when it was resolved, "That this house doth declare, that whosoever shall give council or assistance, or join in any manner, to bring any foreign force into the kingdom, unless it be by command of his majesty, with the consent of both houses in parliament, shall be adjudged and reputed a public enemy to the king and kingdom."

2dly, Because the annual mutiny bill is a proof, that the crown cannot perpetuate or assume a prerogative, which parliament annually bestows; nor exercise at its own discretion that power, which the legislature specially limits.

3dly, Because it is a most dangerous doctrine, that the crown has a right (by virtue of an "*undefined* prerogative,") to do any act which is not warranted, either by common, or by statute law, under the frivolous pretence of its appearing to ministers to be useful. And the supineness of parliament, in the reign of king James the second, when so many acts, notoriously illegal, were committed by the crown, and yet passed unnoticed by the two houses, clearly proves, that, from the want of vigilance in certain parliaments, precedents may be established, subversive of the first principles of national freedom.

4thly, Because the maintaining of a foreign army on the establishment, or within the territory of this kingdom, is in open defiance of the very act of parliament, which settles the crown on the present royal family (namely the 12th and 13th of William III. chap. the 2d.) which expressly enacts, "That no person

person born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging (although he be naturalized, or made a denizen, except such as are born of English parents) shall be capable to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military." And the act of the 29th George II. chap. the 5th, is a proof, that the legislature deemed a special act of parliament necessary, to enable the king to employ even a limited number of subaltern foreign officers in America, only under certain restrictions and qualifications.

5thly, Because "foreign mercenaries have always been unuseful, or dangerous to those who employ them. Their conduct, at first, has generally been peaceable and ensnaring; at last, seditious and destructive. And those states, that have carried the points which they intended, by their assistance, have usually, in the event, been enslaved by them."

And 6thly, Because a prerogative in the executive power, to introduce any number, without limit, of armed foreign hirelings into any country, without the previous and express consent of the legislative, is totally incompatible with any form of a free constitution. For, not only that government is tyrannical, which is actually tyrannically administered; but that government also is tyrannical (however administered), where there is no sufficient security against its being tyrannically administered in future. And I solemnly protest against a measure, which tends to endanger the rights and liberties of my fellow citizens, of whom I consider myself only as a trustee.

STANHOPE.

The Earl of Radnor's Protest on the same Subject, Feb. 27.

DISSENTIENT,

1st, Because as, with the exception of only one noble lord, (not one of his majesty's ministers) it was in the debate unanimously admitted, that the keeping in this country troops, whether native or foreign, in time either of war or peace, without the consent of parliament, is unconstitutional; and as it was also admitted unanimously and unequivocally, that the troops in question are here upon grounds of fitness and expediency; and as the considerations of fitness and expediency, though they may render, and in fact, in the present instance, do render the measure not only justifiable, but highly meritorious, do in no degree so change its nature as to make it more or less constitutional.

2dly, This bill, though of a sort to be very sparingly adopted, yet was of particular propriety; for, in a matter of great moment, it declared the law, saved the constitution, and did justice to the motives of the executive government.

3dly, Because the stopping of this bill leaves the troops here, without any consent of parliament.

4thly, Because the effect of the declarations, by which the right of the crown so to keep troops here was disclaimed, however strong, general and unequivocal, is yet transitory and fugitive; but the fact that troops are so here, is notorious and recorded; and, when the motives which justified, and the declarations that reconciled the house to the measure, are forgotten, may be done into precedent.

February 27, 1794. RADNOR.

Protest against the first Reading of the Bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, May 22.

DISSENTIENT,

Because I abhor the idea of establishing a dangerous and unconstitutional system of *Lettres de Cachet* in this country.

STANHOPE.

Protest against the passing of the Bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, May 22.

DISSENTIENT,

1st, Because no evidence has been laid before us, that this kingdom is at present in those circumstances of imminent danger and imperious necessity which alone, in our opinion, would justify even the temporary surrender of that sacred fundamental law which is the sole guardian of the personal liberty and security of our fellow-subjects. None of those circumstances, either of foreign invasion or of domestic insurrection, or of formidable conspiracy, now exist, which induced our ancestors to commit their liberties to the perilous guardianship of a despotical authority. Instead of such an unequivocal public danger, which silences all deliberations and overrules all laws, we are now required to vest an arbitrary power in his majesty's ministers, upon the authority of a detail of the offences of individuals or societies, whose strength and numbers are not proved, to our apprehension, to be such as would justify such a measure as the present, especially as the ordinary operation of the law is sufficient to check the spirit which is supposed to prevail. One of the worst effects of the conduct of these societies is their having operated as the instrument for former artificial panics, and as a pretext for former measures, in our opinion the most hazardous and pernicious. They continued the same conduct without injury experienced by the public, without accession of strength, without the proof of any change in their systems or designs. We cannot, therefore, without betraying the trust reposed in us, consent to resign the liberties of all our fellow-subjects to the discretion of the servants of the crown, on no better ground than that of a catalogue of offences which have been long notorious to the whole kingdom.

2dly, Because even the proof that some individuals entertain those desperate designs which have been ascribed to them would not, in our opinion, form any justification of the present measure. From the Revolution to the complete defeat of the pretensions of the House of Stuart, the wisdom of our ancestors did not deem the existence of a zealous, powerful, and indefatigable Jacobite party a sufficient reason, without overt acts of rebellion, or actual existing conspiracy, for subjecting the personal liberty of the whole kingdom to the will of ministers. Miserable, indeed, and precarious is our condition, if, at the pleasure of a handful of visionaries and incendiaries (characters which every age produces, and disguises which the agents of every government may assume), our liberties are to be laid under a legal interdict, and ministers are to be vested with an arbitrary power over the persons of all the freemen of this realm.

3dly, Because, even if the danger had been as real and imminent as is pretended, it might have been pro-

provided against by measures far less odious than that of depriving the subject of those rights of personal security which distinguish the British Constitution beyond any other free government ancient or modern, and changing it, for the time, from a government of law to a government of will. One expedient, comparatively more moderate, is obvious, namely, to put the law respecting bail for misdemeanours which affect the state, for a limited time on the same footing with bail in cases of treason.

4thly, Because this bill appears to us, under a still more melancholy and alarming aspect, when we combine it with declarations which have been made by considerable persons during the dependence of this bill. Even this, the utmost extremity to which our ancestors were ever driven by the pressure of the greatest danger, is but the prelude to a system of measures (if possible) still more violent and arbitrary. These menaces, too forcibly illustrated by some past measures, in our opinion of a rigour equally impolitic and odious, fill us with the most melancholy apprehensions that designs are entertained, by a progressive series of encroachments, to annihilate all the rights of Englishmen, and to extinguish all the free principles of the British Constitution.

5thly, Because the precipitation with which this bill has been hurried through the House is both indecent in itself, and directly repugnant to two standing orders of this House, one of the 28th of June, 1715, and the other of the 28th April, 1699, standing orders which insure to this House the advantages of mature deliberation, and to the subject the invaluable privilege of petitioning against measures, which, like the present, are subversive of his fundamental rights.

ALDEMARLE, BEDFORD, LAUDERDALE, DERBY.

Protest against the Vote of Thanks to Lord Hood, June 17.

DISSENTIENT,

1. Because it has not been the practice of this House to vote thanks to officers commanding his majesty's forces by sea or land, except on occasions where they have eminently advanced the honour and promoted the interests of their country, by the most important and acknowledged services.

2. Because by voting the thanks of this House, except in such instances, we diminish the value of the most honourable reward we have it in our power to confer, and lessen one of the best incitements to future service.

3. Because the reduction of Bastia does not in itself appear to us to be such a service as calls upon this House for any extraordinary mark of approbation or applause.

4. Because, whatever the merit of that service may be, the other admirals of the fleet, and the commanding officers of his majesty's land forces, must have had their share in it; and to refuse thanking them, as had been usual on similar occasions, appears to us to justify an opinion that the vote of thanks to lord Hood originated from some motive of a private and personal nature, which it is improper for this House to countenance.

5. Because even ministers themselves do not seem, in the first instance, to have considered that service as entitled to such a mark of approbation; for though accounts had been received of the reduction of

of Bastia previous to those of the victory obtained by the fleet under the command of earl Howe, no intention was announced of moving a vote of thanks to lord Hood, till this House had paid the just tribute of gratitude and honour for that most important and splendid victory.

BEDFORD, DERBY,
ALBEMARLE, THANET.
LAUDERDALE,

The Speech of the Speaker of the House of Commons, when he gave the Thanks of the House to the Managers of the Impeachment against Warren Hastings, Esquire, June 20.

GENTLEMEN,

It is my duty to communicate to you the thanks of this House, for the manner in which you have discharged a most arduous trust, on an occasion highly interesting to the honour and justice of the nation.

The subject, to which your attention has been directed, was intricate and extensive beyond example: you have proved, that it was well suited to your industry and eloquence, the exertions of which have conferred honour, not on yourselves only, but on this House, whose credit is intimately connected with your own. A forcible admonition has been given, on this occasion, to all persons in situations of high and important national trust, that they can neither be removed by distance, nor sheltered by power, from the vigilance and authority of this House, which is possessed of no privilege more important, than that by which it is enabled to bring public delinquents to the bar of public justice, and thus to preserve, or rescue from dishonour, the British name and character.

But in addressing you on this occasion, and in considering the beneficial consequences to be expected from this proceeding, it is impossible not to advert to the increased security, which the constitution has derived in the course of it, from the recognition and full confirmation of the principle, that an impeachment is not discontinued by a dissolution of parliament; a principle essential to the privileges of this House, and to the independent and effectual administration of public justice.

Under these impressions, suggested by the nature and importance of your trust, and by the manner in which you have discharged it, I obey, with the utmost satisfaction, the commands of this House, by stating to you their resolution,

"That the thanks of this House "be given to the members, who "were appointed the managers of "the impeachment against War-"ren Hastings, esq. for their faith-"ful management in their discharge "of the trust reposed in them."

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Friday, July 11.

My lords and gentlemen,

The state of public business enables me now to close this session of parliament, in doing which I have again to acknowledge that assiduity and zeal for the interests of my people, of which you had before given me so many proofs, and which have been so particularly manifested in the present year.

I am persuaded that you entertain too just a sense of the nature and importance of the contest in which we are engaged, to suffer

your zeal to be abated, or your perseverance shaken, by the recent successes of the enemy in the Netherlands.

In a moment which so strongly calls for energy and vigour, it is peculiarly gratifying to me to reflect on the uniform skill and bravery of my fleets and armies; the undaunted spirit and unwearied exertion of my officers and troops in every situation; and the general public spirit of my people, which have never at any period been more conspicuous.

I have observed, with the highest satisfaction, the rapid and valuable acquisitions made in the East and West Indies; the successful operations which have been carried on in the Mediterranean; and the brilliant and decisive victory obtained by my fleet, under the command of earl Howe, an event which must ever be remembered as one of the most glorious in the naval history of this country.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I return you my warmest thanks for the chearfulness and liberality with which you have granted the large supplies which were necessary for the service of the year, and for the maintenance of a cause equally important to the security and happiness of every class of my subjects.

My lords, and gentlemen,

I feel it incumbent upon me particularly to acknowledge your diligence in the investigation of the designs which had been formed against the government and constitution of these kingdoms, and to thank you for the confidence you have reposed in me on this occasion. It will be a principal object of my attention to make a vigorous and prudent use of the additional powers vested in me for the protection and security of my people; and relying, as I do, with the utmost confidence, on the uniform loyalty and public spirit of the great body of my subjects, I have no doubt of speedily and effectually repressing every attempt to disturb the public peace, and of defeating the wicked designs which have been in agitation.

It must not, however, be forgotten, that these designs against our domestic happiness are essentially connected with the system now prevailing in France, of which the principles and spirit are irreconcileably hostile to all regular and established gorvernment; and that we are therefore called upon, by every consideration of our own internal safety, to continue our efforts in conjunction with my allies, and to persevere with increased vigour and exertion in a contest, from the successful termination of which we can alone expect to establish, on a solid and permanent foundation, the future security and tranquillity either of this country, or of the other nations of Europe.

The Speech of his Excellency John Earl of Westmorland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, Jan. 21.

My lords, and gentlemen,

I have his majesty's commands to meet you in parliament. You must have felt, with the highest satisfaction, that, by the success of his majesty's arms and those of his allies, the hopes of France, in their unprovoked declaration of war, to impair the stability or shake the constitution of Great Britain and Ire-

Ireland, have been utterly disappointed.

The forces of his majesty and his allies are in possession of many important fortresses which belonged to the French, and many of their oppressive and unjust conquests have been wrested from them; and whilst the trade of the empire has been generally protected, the resources which our enemies derived from their wealthy settlements and extensive commerce have been almost entirely cut off.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that the spirit of insurrection, which was for some time prevalent among the lower orders of people, is in general suppressed. No exertion shall be wanting, on my part, to bring them to a due sense of order and subordination, and to prevent and punish the machinations of those who may aim to seduce them from their accustomed loyalty into acts of sedition and outrage.

The law for rendering a militia in this kingdom effectual has been carried successfully into execution. I am happy to find that the people are at length fully reconciled to this institution, which has already been attended by the most beneficial consequences, in producing internal tranquillity, and contributing to the general strength and force of the empire.

I am commanded to acquaint you, that his majesty has appointed a commission under the great seal, to execute the office of lord high treasurer of this kingdom, in order that the payment of the civil list granted to his majesty, and a regular appropriation of the revenue to distinct services, may be carried into execution in a manner as conformable to the practice of Great Britain, as the relative situation of this kingdom will permit.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have ordered the national accounts to be laid before you, as well as the estimates for the service of the ensuing year. It is painful to me to observe, that the exigencies of the times will require a large supply and additional resources; but when you consider that this is a war of absolute necessity, and that you are contending for your liberty, property, and religion, I doubt not that you will cheerfully contribute to support the honour of his majesty's crown, and the essential interests of the kingdom.

My lords, and gentlemen,

The agriculture, the manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture of Ireland, the Protestant charter schools, and various other institutions of public utility, have so constantly received the benefit of your care and liberality, that I need not particularly, at this time, inculcate their importance.

His majesty has the fullest reliance upon the loyalty and attachment of his people of Ireland. You are now, by the unjust aggression of France, involved in a contest for your religion, for your constitution, and for the preservation of every principle which upholds social order, or gives security to your persons or properties. In such a cause, his majesty has no doubt of being cordially supported by the efforts of all his subjects, in resisting the desperate designs of men, who are endeavouring to erect their own power and dominion on the ruins of law and order, and to involve every government of Europe in a general scene of confusion and anarchy.

His majesty's object is peace;

and he will exert himself, in conjunction with his allies, whenever an occasion shall present itself, for obtaining this desirable end, without surrendering the honour of his crown, or sacrificing the present or future security of his people and of the rest of Europe.

You may depend upon my faithful representations of your services to his majesty; and I will zealously co-operate with your exertions for the welfare and prosperity of Ireland.

The Speech of his Excellency John Earl of Westmorland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, March 25.

My lords, and gentlemen,

The important objects which engaged your attention being concluded, I am enabled to relieve you from further attendance in parliament.

I have his majesty's commands to express his most entire satisfaction in the zeal and unanimity which have governed your proceedings during the present session, and the cheerfulness with which you have provided for the extraordinary emergencies of the state. This conduct, so honourable to yourselves, must essentially tend to preserve the internal tranquillity of your country, to maintain that free constitution under which you enjoy such inestimable blessings, and is highly beneficial to the general interests of the empire, and to the common cause of Europe.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I am directed by his majesty to return you his thanks for the very liberal supplies you have voted for the public service. You may rely on their faithful application to the purposes for which they were granted.

My lords, and gentlemen,

His majesty feels, with the most cordial pleasure, the loyalty of his people of Ireland, and the affectionate determination they have always shewn to stand or fall with Great Britain. In the contest in which we are engaged by the unprovoked aggression of France, measures of the most vigorous nature continue to be requisite, and his majesty will persevere in his exertions, in conjunction with his allies, against the common enemy. Under the Divine Providence, on the justice of his cause, on the disciplined valour of his fleets and armies, and the united efforts of all his subjects, his majesty relies for a favourable issue to a war, which, on the part of our enemies, is waged against the envied liberty of these kingdoms, and the established government of every state in Europe.

I applaud your wisdom in passing an act for preserving the property, within this kingdom, of persons resident in France from becoming the plunder of those who have usurped the government of that unhappy country. It is peculiarly our duty to support the security of private property, and to maintain the principles of justice, when doctrines have been advanced, and attempts endeavoured to be carried into execution, for the destruction of both.

I am sorry to inform you, that in some parts of the county of Cork, the people, deluded by the artifices of wicked and designing men, have assembled in numerous bodies, and have compelled many to take unlawful oaths. The timely exertions of the magistrates, aided by the

the spirited conduct of his majesty's regular and militia forces, have nearly suppressed those disturbances. No attention shall be wanting on my part to the protection of the peaceable and industrious, and to the punishment of offenders against the law, and especially of those who have instigated the ignorant to the commission of such dangerous crimes.

The early conclusion of the session will enable you, in your respective counties, to enforce a due obedience to the laws, and to inculcate that spirit of loyalty to the king, and attachment to our happy constitution, which has so eminently distinguished your conduct.

I am truly sensible of the repeated testimonies I have received of your confidence and support, for which I return you my most sincere thanks, and shall endeavour to ensure their continuance by employing every power with which I am invested for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the advantage of this kingdom, and by faithfully representing to his majesty your unremitting attention to the welfare of Ireland, and your unanimous exertions for the general cause of the empire.

The New Constitution of Corsica.

TRANSLATION.

We, the representatives of the Corsican nation, free and independent, lawfully assembled in a general meeting, possessed of a special authority to form the present constitutional act, have unanimously decreed, under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following articles.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Nature of the Constitution, and of the Constituted Powers.

Art. I. The constitution of Corsica is monarchical, according to the following fundamental laws.

II. The legislative power is vested in the king, and in the representatives of the people, lawfully elected and convened.

III. The legislature, composed of the king and of the representatives of the people, is denominated the parliament; the assembly of the representatives of the people is named the house of parliament; and the representatives are styled members of the parliament.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Mode of Elections, the Number of Members, and the Functions of Parliament.

Art. I. The territory shall be divided into pieves, (districts) each of which shall send two members to parliament. The towns on the coast, of which the population shall amount to 3,000 souls and upward, have the right of sending two members each to parliament; the bishops, who discharge the duties of their see in Corsica, and are recognised as such by the Corsican nation, shall be members of parliament.

II. The members of parliament shall be elected by all the Corsican citizens, of twenty-five years of age, who shall have been resident at least one year in the pieve, or in the town, and who are possessors of land.

III. No person shall be elected a member of parliament, unless he possesses at least 6,000 livres in land in the pieve which he is to represent,

present, and pays taxes in proportion to this possession, and unless born of a Corsican father, and bonâ fide an inhabitant, having kept house for five years in the said pieve, and until he has arrived at the age of twenty-five.

IV. Lodgers, except those who are inmates for life, persons employed in collecting the revenue, the receivers and collectors of taxes, those who have pensions, or who are in the service of a foreign power, and priests, cannot be members of the house of parliament.

V. The form of election shall be determined by the laws.

VI. If a member of the parliament dies, or becomes incapable, according to law, of being a member of parliament, another member shall be elected by his pieve, within fifteen days, by the king's authority.

VII. The house of parliament has the right of enacting all the acts which are intended to have force of law.

VIII. The decrees of the house of parliament shall not have force of law, unless they receive the king's sanction.

IX. Any decree that has not passed the house of parliament, and received the king's sanction, shall not be looked upon as law, nor carried into execution as such.

X. No imposition, tax, or public contribution, shall be laid without the consent of parliament, or without being especially granted by it.

XI. Parliament has the right of impeachment, in the name of the nation, of every agent of government, guilty of prevarication, before the extraordinary tribunal.

XII. The cases of prevarication shall be determined by the law.

Chapter III.

Of the Duration and Convocation of Parliament.

Art. I. The duration of one parliament shall be two years.

II. The king may dissolve the parliament.

III. In case of a dissolution of parliament, the king shall convene another within forty days.

IV. Those persons who were members of the dissolved parliament, may be elected members of the succeeding one.

V. If the parliament expires without being dissolved, another shall be called, by the king's authority, within forty days.

VI. The king may prorogue the parliament.

VII. The parliament cannot be convoked or assembled, but by the king's command.

VIII. The interval between the convening of the house and its prorogation, or, if it be not prorogued, until its dissolution, or, if it be not dissolved, until its expiration, is to be called the session of parliament.

IX. The viceroy, or, in case of illness, the commissioners nominated by him for that purpose, shall open the sessions in person, and declare the reasons for convoking the parliament.

X. The parliament may adjourn itself and re-assemble, during the same session.

XI. The house shall decide upon any contested election of its members.

XII. The members of parliament shall not be subject to arrest or imprisonment for debt during the continuance of their representation.

Chapter

Chapter IV.

On the Mode of Deliberation, Freedom of Debate, and internal Regulations of Parliament.

Art. I. After the opening of parliament by the viceroy, or by his commissioners, as is herein before-mentioned, the oldest member shall take the chair; and the members present, having elected a provisional secretary among themselves, shall proceed to the choice of a president, and of one or more secretaries. The secretaries shall not be chosen from among the members; and may be dismissed by a vote of parliament.

II. The parliament assembled, in all the cases before-mentioned, has the power of debate, and of passing bills, whenever above one half of its members are present.

III. Every member, elected and not appearing, shall have notice, from the president of the house, to repair to his post within fifteen days.

IV. In case of non-appearance, or of not sending a lawful excuse satisfactory to the house, such member shall be condemned to a fine of 200 livres.

V. Parliament may grant leave of absence, or permit the absence of such members who solicit it, provided more than one half of its members remain present.

VI. Every proposition made in parliament shall be decided by the majority of the members present; the president, in case of an equal division, shall give the casting vote.

VII. The forms and procedures of enacting laws, and of determining other matters in the house, which may not be fixed by the present constitution, shall be regulated by the house itself.

VIII. The king's sanction, or the refusal of it, shall be announced in person by the king's representative in the house of parliament, or by a special commission in case of sickness.

IX. The form of the sanction shall be, *the king approves*; that of refusal, *the king will examine*; the bills sanctioned by the king are named Acts of Parliament.

X. No member of parliament shall be called to account, or punished by the king's servants, for the opinions manifested, or the doctrines professed in the house, or by any other authority whatever, except by that of the house itself.

XI. The president of the parliament has the right of calling to order any of its members, when he may think proper. The house may censure, arrest and imprison any of its own members, during the session.

Chapter V.

Upon the Exercise of the Executive Power.

Art. I. The king shall have his immediate representative in Corsica, with the title of Viceroy.

II. The viceroy shall have the power of giving his sanction or refusal to the decrees of parliament.

III. He shall moreover have the power to perform, in the king's name, all the acts of government which are within the limits of the royal authority:—there shall be a board of council and a secretary of state, nominated by the king; and mention shall be made in the viceroy's orders, that he has taken the opinion of the said board of council; and these orders shall be countersigned by the secretary.

IV. The

IV. The nation has the right of petitioning, as well the viceroy as the house of parliament: the constituted and acknowledged corps of the law may petition in a body, the other corps in their individual capacity only; and a petition shall never be presented by more than twenty persons, however numerous may be the signatures to it.

V. The house of parliament may address the king to recall his viceroy; in such case the house shall address his majesty in his privy council assembled: the viceroy shall be obliged to transmit the address to the king, upon the requisition of the house, within the term of fifteen days after such requisition, and the house may itself transmit it to the king, even through the channel of a deputation; but in any case the house is bound to present to the viceroy, fifteen days previous to the departure of the address, a copy of the same, and of the papers which are to accompany it.

VI. The king has the exclusive direction of all military arrangements, and is to provide for the internal and external security of the country.

VII. The king declares war and makes peace: he shall not be authorised, however, in any event, nor on any account whatsoever, to give up, alienate, or in any manner prejudice, the unity and indivisibility of Corsica and its dependencies.

VIII. The king shall appoint to all the offices of government.

IX. The ordinary employments of justice, and of the administration of the public money, shall be conferred upon natives of Corsica, or persons naturalised Corsicans, in virtue of the laws.

Chapter VI.

Of Judicial Proceedings, and of the Division of the Tribunals.

Art. I. Justice shall be executed in the king's name, and the orders carried into execution by officers appointed by him, in conformity to the laws.

II. There shall be a supreme tribunal, composed of five judges and the king's advocate, and this shall be stationary in Corte.

III. There shall be a president and a king's advocate attached to every other new jurisdiction.

IV. The functions of the said respective tribunals, their administration, and the emoluments, shall be determined by law.

V. There shall be in every pieve a podestà, (magistrate.)

VI. In every community there shall be a municipality, named by the people, and its functions shall be regulated by the laws.

VII. Crimes, which deserve corporal or ignominious punishments, shall be tried by the judges and a jury.

VIII. The king has the power of granting pardon, in conformity to the same regulations under which he exercises this prerogative in England.

IX. All civil, criminal, commercial causes, and those of every other kind whatsoever, shall be terminated in Corsica, in the first and last instance.

Chapter VII.

Of the Extraordinary Tribunal.

Art. I. There shall be an extraordinary tribunal, composed of five judges, appointed by the king, and commissioned to judge upon any impeachment from the house of parliament, or upon all charges

† made,

made, on the part of the king, of prevarication, or other treasonable transactions.

II. The nature of the said crimes, and the form of trial, shall be determined upon by a special law; but a jury shall be allowed in every case of this sort.

III. The members of the tribunal shall not assemble, but in cases of impeachment by the house of parliament, or by the king; and, immediately after judgment given, they shall be obliged to separate.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of Personal Liberty, and of the Liberty of the Press.

Art. I. No person shall be deprived of his liberty and property but by sentence of the tribunals acknowledged by the laws, and in the cases and according to the forms prescribed.

II. Whoever shall be arrested or placed in confinement, shall be conducted, within the term of twenty-four hours, before the competent tribunal, in order that the cause of his detention may be adjudged according to law.

III. In case of the arrest being declared vexatious, the person arrested will have a right of claiming damages and interest before the competent tribunals.

IV. The liberty of the press is decreed, but the abuse of it is to be amenable to the laws.

V. Every Corsican shall have the power freely to depart from his country, and to return to it with his property, conforming himself to the regulations and ordonnances of general police, observed in such cases.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Corsican Flag and Navigation.

Art. I. The standard shall bear a Moor's Head, quartered with the Kings Arms, according to the form which shall be prescribed by his majesty.

II. The king shall afford the same protection to the trade and navigation of the Corsicans, as to the trade and navigation of his other subjects.

III. The Corsican nation, deeply penetrated with sentiments of gratitude toward the king of Great Britain and the English nation, for the munificence and protection which it has always enjoyed, and which is now, in a more special manner, secured to it by the present constitutional act,

Declares, That it will consider every attempt which in war or in peace shall be made to promote the glory of his majesty, and the interests of the empire of Great Britain in general, as its own; and the parliament of Corsica will always manifest its readiness and deference to adopt all regulations, consistent with its present constitution, which shall be enacted by his majesty in his parliament of Great Britain, for the extension and advantage of the external commerce of the empire, and of its dependencies.

CHAPTER X.

Of Religion.

Art. I. The catholic, apostolic, Roman religion, in all its evangelical purity, shall be the only national religion in Corsica.

II. The house of parliament is authorised to determine on the number of parishes, to settle the salaries of the priests, and to take measures for ensuring the discharge of episcopal functions, in concert with the holy see.

III. All other modes of worship are tolerated.

CHAPTER

Chapter XI.

Of the Crown and its Succeſſion.

The ſovereign king of Corſica is his majeſty, George the third, king of Great Britain, and his ſucceſſors, according to the order of ſucceſſion to the throne of Great Britain.

Chapter XII.

Of the Acceptance of the Crown and of the Conſtitution of Corſica.

Art. I. The preſent act ſhall be preſented to his majeſty, the king of Great Britain, through his excellency ſir Gilbert Elliot, his commiſſary plenipotentiary, and ſpecially authorized for this purpoſe.

II. In the act of acceptance, his majeſty, and his plenipotentiary in his name, ſhall ſwear 'to maintain the liberty of the Corſican nation, according to the conſtitution and the laws;' and the ſame oath ſhall be adminiſtered to his ſucceſſors, upon every ſucceſſion to the throne.

III. The members of the aſſembly ſhall immediately take the following oath, which ſhall be adminiſtered by his excellency ſir Gilbert Elliot; I ſwear (for myſelf, and in the name of the Corſican nation, which I repreſent,) that I acknowledge for my ſovereign and king, his Majeſty George the Third, the king of Great Britain; to yield him faithful obedience, according to the conſtitution and laws of Corſica, and to defend the ſaid conſtitution and laws.

IV. Every Corſican ſhall, in his reſpective community, take a ſimilar oath of allegiance.

Done, and unanimouſly decreed, and after three readings, on three ſucceeding days, in the general aſſembly of the Corſican nation, in Corté, this day, 19th of June, 1794, and individually ſigned in the aſſembly of all the members of which it is compoſed.

[Signed by above four hundred names.]

Tranſlation of the Speech made in the General Aſſembly of Corſica, on the Acceptation of the Crown and Conſtitution of that Iſland, by his Excellency Sir Gilbert Elliot, June 19.

Gentlemen,

In availing myſelf, for the firſt time, in the midſt of the Corſican nation, of the privilege of calling you brothers and fellow-citizens, a reflection, which will naturally occur to every one, excites in me the moſt heartfelt ſatisfaction. Independent of the reciprocal political advantages which we may derive from ſo cloſe a connection, I ſee, on the preſent occaſion, every thing that can render it more precious and more eſtimable by the ſentiments of confidence and of affection, the firſt and pure principles of our union, which they will for ever continue to cement and conſolidate.

This remarkable truth, which it is impoſſible to overlook, cannot be mentioned without a ſtrong emotion of ſenſibility and joy. Our two nations have, for a long period, been diſtinguiſhed by a reciprocal and remarkable eſteem. Without anticipating the happy end to which this inſtinctive partiality, this ſympathetic attraction, may ſome day lead us, we have given to each other inſtances of confidence on every occaſion; yet no relations have hitherto ſubſiſted between us, except thoſe of reciprocal and voluntary good offices. Our minds have been prepared by Providence for the fate which awaited us; and the divine good-

goodness, intending our union, has ordained that it should be anticipated and brought about (if I may so express myself) by a similarity of character, and by a conformity of views and principle, and, above all, by a pleasing exchange of friendly services.

This sacred compact, which I received from your hands, is not a cold and interested agreement between two parties who meet by accident, and form a contract founded on the impulse of the moment, or on a selfish and temporary policy.—No, the event of this happy day is only the completion of wishes we had previously formed; to-day our hands are joined, but our hearts have long been united, and our motto should be, *Amici e non di ventura*.

However seducing this prospect of our happiness may appear, I trust (and it is important for us to know it, as we assuredly do) that it does not depend on sentiment alone; but that it rests on the solid basis of the true interests and permanent felicity of the two nations.

I will not mention to you the interests of Great Britain upon this occasion; not that they are of little consequence; but being of a nature purely political, the subject would be too cold, too dry, for this important day. Besides, it is not necessary on this occasion to appreciate them in detail. I shall confine myself to this remark, that every possible advantage, which Great Britain could have in view from her union with Corsica, is essentially attached to your political and absolute independence of every European power, and that these advantages are not only compatible with your interests, but cannot for the most part exist, and still less flourish, but in proportion to your prosperity.

On your part, what is necessary to render you a happy people? I will tell you in two words—Liberty at home, and security abroad.

Your liberty will not be exposed to any encroachments from a monarch, who, by his own experience and the example of his ancestors for several generations, is persuaded that the liberty and the prosperity of his people is the only foundation of the power, the glory, and the splendour of the throne; a king who has ever governed according to the laws, and whose sceptre is at once strengthened by the privileges, and embellished by the happiness of his subjects. Here I might expatiate on the august virtues of that monarch whom you have chosen for your own; but they are known to all his subjects: you will therefore become acquainted with them by a happy and certain experience; and this testimony will be far more faithful than my weak voice.

It would not, however, be right that your liberty should depend solely on the personal virtues of the monarch. You have therefore been careful to ensure it by the wise constitution and fundamental laws of our union, which, in my opinion, constitute so essential a part of the act you present to me this day, that I could not (without violating the confidence reposed in me by my sovereign) agree to a system which might have degenerated into tyranny; a condition equally unfavourable to the happiness of him who exercises it, and of those who endure it.

If his majesty, therefore, accepts the crown which you have agreed to offer him, it is because he is determined to protect, and never to enslave

enslave those from who he receives it; and, above all, because it is given, and not seized upon by violence.

For external security, you wanted nothing but the constant and active alliance of a maritime power: this act ensures it to you; and while you enjoy at home peace and tranquillity which the enemy will no longer be able to interrupt, you will share with us the treasures of trade, and the sovereignty of the seas.

From this day, therefore, you are quiet and free. To preserve these blessings, you have only to preserve your ancient virtues, courage, and the sacred love of your country. These are the native virtues of your soil; they will be enriched by those which accompany our union, and which you will derive from our industry, from our long experience, (that true source of political wisdom) and from our love of liberty, at once enthusiastic and enlightened. I speak of that liberty which has for its object to maintain your civil rights, and the happiness of the people; not to serve ambition and vice: that liberty, which is inseparable from religion, order, respect for the laws, and a sacred regard for property, the first principles of every human society; that liberty which abhors every kind of despotism, and especially that most terrible of all despotism, which arises from the unrestrained violence of human passions. Such are the virtues which belong both to you and to us; on their happy mixture and influence on each other, depends the prosperity of Corsica. Immediate liberty, and a progressive and increasing prosperity—such is the text, to which I hope and venture to predict that our behaviour to each other, and our common destinies, will always prove a faithful and a satisfactory illustration.

Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, to his Majesty, June 20.

To the KING'S Most Excellent MAJESTY.

The humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, humbly beg leave to approach your majesty with our warmest congratulations on the late glorious successes with which it has pleased the Divine Providence to bless your majesty's arms in different quarters of the world, and more especially on the signal victory obtained by the British fleet, under the command of admiral earl Howe, over the fleet of the French, on the first of this month.

We have the pleasure of acknowledging, with heartfelt satisfaction, that, by the reduction of the principal settlements of the French in the East Indies, and by the capture of their West India islands, the most valuable commercial acquisitions have been gained by your majesty's subjects, at the same time that the commerce of the enemy has been destroyed in those parts. And these advantages are greatly enhanced, in our estimation, by the amazing rapidity and little bloodshed with which they were accomplished.

We

We rejoice in seeing your majesty's arms victorious in the reduction of Bastia, whereby not only the Corsicans are liberated from the tyranny of French anarchists, but our fleets have acquired commodious harbours in the Mediterranean.

We have viewed, with a peculiar satisfaction, the glorious exertions of our brave countrymen, encouraged by the example of their illustrious commander, and other branches of the royal family on the continent; in which your majesty's paternal feelings must have participated in an extraordinary degree.

Deeply impressed with the importance of these advantages, we should think ourselves wanting in the duty we owe to your majesty, under whose mild government we deem it our greatest happiness to live, were we to delay taking the earliest opportunity of testifying, at the foot of your throne, our most ardent joy at the late signal victory gained by your majesty's fleet over that of the enemy; a victory, perhaps, unexampled in the annals of the British navy; and which has materially reduced the power of the French at sea, adding security to our wide-extended commerce, and transmitting a most brilliant example of British valour to the latest posterity.

And while we thus rejoice in the successes of your majesty's arms abroad, we desire to express our warmest approbation of the vigilance and zeal of your majesty's ministers at home, in repressing the attempts of the seditious, and those who wickedly aim at the subversion of your majesty's government; and assure your majesty, that your faithful subjects, the citizens of London, will continue to exert their most constant and earnest endeavours to preserve to themselves and their posterity the secure and permanent enjoyment of the invaluable blessings of the glorious constitution as established by law.

May these brilliant events convince your majesty's enemies of the justice of your majesty's cause, and thereby the blessings of peace be restored to these kingdoms, and to Europe, on a safe and permanent foundation.

Signed, by order of Court,
WILLIAM RIX.

To which Address his Majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious Answer.

I receive, with great satisfaction, this dutiful and affectionate address. The expressions of attachment from my faithful city of London are at all times highly satisfactory to me, and peculiarly on the present conjuncture. Their cordial congratulations on the late glorious victory, obtained by my fleet under earl Howe, and on the signal successes which have attended my arms in different quarters, and the seasonable assurances of their uniform attachment to our invaluable constitution, prove how sensible they are of the importance of the contest in which we are engaged, and of the numerous blessings, for the preservation of which we have to contend.

The city of London may at all times rely on the continuance of my favour and protection.

Declaration of the King of Prussia to the German Empire, on his Secession from the Continental Confederacy.

The period being arrived in which his Prussian majesty is forced to discontinue taking that active part in

in the present war, which hitherto has been the effect of his generosity and pure patriotism, on account and in consideration of what is owing by his majesty to the preservation of his own states and to the welfare of his subjects, his majesty thinks it particularly his duty to lay before their highnesses the Co-States of the German empire, the real causes and true motives by which he was induced to take such a resolution.

At the time when the French nation, in the unfortunate delusion of imaginary liberty, had not only dissolved every tie of civic order among themselves, but also meditated the subversion of the repose and welfare of other nations, by the introduction of their anarchic horrors, and, in fact, had already fallen in a hostile manner on such territories of his imperial majesty, and of the German empire, as were nearest to them, his majesty thought proper to unite his just arms with those of his imperial majesty, and afterwards with those of the whole German empire, and those of his other allies, in order to set bounds to the destructive enterprizes of a delirious nation, and to restore peace and happiness to those as guiltless as highly endangered states. This object was ever the guide of the arms of his majesty down to this present moment, and more impressive on his mind, in proportion as the madness of the French augmented, and the danger of all Germany became more imminent. The efforts of his majesty to set a boundary against this mighty torrent of ill-fortune on the German territories, were, it is true, at first but proportioned to the danger, but soon exceeded the utmost of his ability.—The war was not a war with a civilized nation, and well-disciplined armies, but a war with a delirious and never diminishing swarm of men, with a highly populous nation, provided with every resource for war to back them—a set of men who did not fight merely for victory, but who fought, by fire, sword, and the poison of their pernicious doctrines, to subvert the whole social edifice of Germany.

To oppose this almost unconquerable enemy, the king, on his part, brought into the field 70,000 men, and those his choicest troops: with these has his majesty combated, even until this third campaign, under every imaginable obstacle, far from the Prussian dominions, amidst already exhausted lands, excess of dearness of the necessaries of life, and almost insupportable expence.

Besides these unparalleled efforts, his majesty has made to the common cause every possible sacrifice which the national strength of Prussia would permit; nor has he hesitated to expose even his sacred person, and the princes of his family, to every danger by which the repose and safety of Germany could be protected from the enemy. For this object alone has so much Prussian blood been spilt—for this, such immense treasures drained from his dominions. Such a war must necessarily have more exhausted his resources than those of such powers whose dominions lay more contiguous to the scene of hostility; and thus his majesty fell into an absolute impossibility of taking any longer that active part, from his own means, without utterly ruining his own dominions, and entirely exhausting the property of his subjects.

His majesty, however, still remained deeply impressed with a patriotic hope of being able still to lend help and protection, and that with

with increased force, to the German empire; and to be enabled to do this, he entered into a negociation with the confederate powers, proposing certain arrangements to them, the principal points of which were, besides the payment of a subsidy to him, a stipulation that the subsistence of the greatest part of the Prussian army should be provided for by the empire in general; and that, until a final plan should be concluded to this effect, the six anterior circles of the empire, who lay most exposed to danger, and who reaped immediate benefit from the defence, should be charged provisionally with the furnishing of the same; and it was also declared to the diet of the empire, and the circles abovementioned, that, in case these frank and free proposals were not acceded to by the emperor, his majesty would be compelled to withdraw the greatest part of his troops, and to leave the empire to its fate.

Several states have made declarations suitable to the pressing circumstances, in which they and the whole empire were placed; in particular his electoral highness of Mentz, full of exalted and patriotic sentiments towards the empire, complied with every requisition relative to the subsistence of the Prussian troops which depended upon him, and summoned an immediate congress of the six circles.

His majesty entertained a just expectation, that similar good consequences would every where have flowed from his patriotic intentions, and his hard-earned merits in his former defence of the whole empire. Every retrospect seemed to confirm these hopes: on one side, the past afforded the admonishing picture of the dreadful torrent of an all-subverting enemy; on the other, the noble and heroic stand of the Prussian army, and the immense sacrifices of the blood of his warriors, and the treasures of his dominions, made by the magnanimity of his Prussian majesty.—Even then that army was standing on the banks of the Rhine, the bulwark of the whole empire, to which the enemy did not dare to penetrate; but the subsistence of that army, undertaken by the whole empire, was the sole condition under which it no longer could be effective, and which the natural impossibility of Prussia alone bearing the burden, did absolutely oblige Prussia to insist upon. Was it acceded to, so as that the future could afford the consolatory prospect of his majesty acting with that known alacrity, that well-proved fidelity, in the defence of the empire, and the protection of its constitution, to the utmost of his power? But every impartial observer might have easily anticipated the consequences of a refusal of the required subsistence, and the return of the Prussian troops into his majesty's own states. Then might the overpowerful and impetuous enemy ravage, uncontrouled, throughout the empire, and with plundering and murderous hands, unbridled and unlimited, bear down the Germans, their husbandry, all law, order, and property; subvert, with anarchic abominations, the constitutions of more regular states, annihilate princes and nobles, destroy the temples of religion, and drive from the hearts of the Germans their natural love of virtue and order, by the aids of the seductive allurements of licentiousness, and the precepts of an unfeeling immorality.

All these and similar observations, simple and obvious as they

were, did nevertheless not succeed in bringing the arrangement for the subsistence of the army to a just conclusion. This proposal was, besides this, sufficiently connected with another arrangement, which his majesty had designed to offer the confederate powers, which it did not seem good to his imperial majesty to comply with, and which other states did also not approve.

Moreover, the proposal gave rise to an exception, which, after so many and meritorious actions, such unparalleled sacrifices, which his majesty had already made, he, in truth, had no reason to expect, and on which his majesty, not without much sorrow, finds it his duty to make some remarks.

The summoning of the six circles, by the elector of Mentz, has been represented as irregular, though in fact it is strictly constitutional. Measures were there proposed precisely contradictory to the negociations for the subsistence; and the universal arming of the peasants was resolved on, though it is plain, that such a measure is as inefficient as dangerous, and completely adverse to the object proposed—inefficient against an enemy who presses forward in a mass with an insanity of fury, approved tactics, and a numerous artillery!—dangerous, because, when the peasant is armed, and brought away from his ordinary mode of life, the enemy may easily become his most dangerous seducer; —and finally adverse to the object proposed, because such an armament is wholly incompatible with the operations and subsistence of disciplined armies.—These reasons, which flowed from the most sincere conviction of his majesty, have been represented in the most odious colours; and the most false and scandalous motives have been attributed to him, for his dissent to this measure;—and, in order to prevent the arrangement of the subsistence, projects of extending his dominions, of secularizing ecclesiastical territories, and of oppressing the empire, have been rumoured to have been in contemplation by him; and of which his majesty's known patriotism, and acknowledged virtues, will form the best contradiction.

After what is past, every hope of the subsistence being acceded to being now vanished, his majesty does now renounce the same, and also every resolution of the empire, and of the circles relative thereto:—his majesty has therefore taken the resolution no longer to grant his protection to the German empire; but to order his army (excepting twenty thousand auxiliaries according to different treaties) instantly to return to his own dominions.

At the same time that his majesty finds himself compelled to withdraw a portion of his troops from the defence of those states, for which they have already combated with so much glory, he expresses the most earnest wishes, that those consequences he has above alluded to may not take place, but that the exertions of his imperial majesty, and of the empire, may eventually insure to both a full indemnity, and a general and honourable peace. To his majesty remains the just consolation, and permanent glory of having, on his part, made such sacrifices to the defence and safety of the emperor in the present awful crisis, as certainly few states in Europe, or members of the Germanic body, could, without much hesitation, have resolved upon.

Berlin, March 13, 1794.

Addresses

Address of the Prince of Saxe Coburg to the Germans, July 30.

German Brothers and Friends,

Our valorous armies have just quitted the fertile plains, in which they have sustained the most severe combats during three bloody campaigns, for the preservation of your property, the repose of your lives, the security of your fields, the maintenance of your religion, the happiness of your children, the riches of your flourishing provinces, and to save those provinces from ruin and complete annihilation; plains, in which they maintained, at the expence of their blood which has flowed for three successive years, the glory of their arms, by the generous sacrifice of their lives, and of their means; while they sacrificed those dearest ties which attach men of distant nations, not less than yourselves, to their homes, and to their country; and while they voluntarily renounced all the domestic happiness they had a right to expect.

The inexhaustible resources of a nation in a state of frenzy, which sports with the life and happiness of man, with religion, with the duties, with the bands of civil society; its innumerable cohorts, which are led to slaughter by their tyrants, and who, by lavishing their blood, purchase the fleeting shadow of an imaginary liberty; the inactivity of a blinded people, who would not listen to the approach of danger any more than to the paternal voice of their good prince; the secret practices, which we hardly know by what name to call, of several of their ambitious representatives; men in whom this very people see and abhor, now too late, the authors of their unbounded and unceasing misery; all these causes have forced our armies to retreat to your frontiers.

It is there that they are now posted, weakened, but not vanquished; fatigued by an unequal contest, but not humbled by discouragement, nor subdued by despair. It is there that they form, as it were, an advanced wall of defence for the Germanic liberty: to act as a rampart for your religion, your laws, and your families. The Meuse is the line of separation between the total loss and the preservation, between the overthrow and the maintenance of all these, between misery and happiness. Rise, then, German brothers and friends! On you will depend the making it possible for your deliverers to live or die for your defence. I, myself, a German prince, full of solicitude not less for the safety of my country than the preservation of my warriors – I call upon you. Procure us subsistence, bring us provisions from your magazines. Think that in forwarding to us these succours, you secure, at the same time, your approaching harvest. Share with us your savings. To obtain what we want, employ the treasures of your churches. Give your utensils and vases of silver to the emperor, for the pay of your defenders. You will receive receipts, for the re-payment in due form, and you will be paid interest for the pecuniary aids you have thus procured. Replace the resources of Belgium, which have been cut off from us, and now flow for our enemies. Nurse and relieve, with a solicitude full of charity, our sick and wounded!

Rise, courageous inhabitants of the fair countries of the Rhine and the Moselle! Arm yourselves, ye valorous men! Line your rivers

and your defiles! Accompany our convoys! Watch over our magazines! Rise by thousands, and fight with us for your altars, for your habitations, for your emperor, for your liberty! We will not lead you beyond the rivers of your country! We will not depopulate your provinces; but you will secure the positions in our rear, and you will guard your own confines. Assuredly, German citizens, we are not deceived with respect to you; we have reposed our confidence in the good sense of Germans; we trust to the hearts and the blood of the German nation. For three years your emperor has borne the heavy burthen, and distant nations have fought for your defence. You, yourselves, must see, that your turn to take arms is now come. Then I, as commander in chief of a faithful, approved, and courageous army, promise, in the name of my troops—To spare you, we will observe a rigorous discipline; for your happiness, we will shed the last drop of our blood; as we have fought for you, we will die for you; and never shall the free, the happy Germany, bow down her head beneath the steel of the guillotine. Never shall her peaceful inhabitants exchange their generous morals, their tranquil simplicity, their guardian laws of property, their consoling religion, for the licentiousness, the calumniating spirit, the legalized system of spoil, the infidelity, imposed by force, of the French.

But if, on the other hand, you should be so unfortunate, like those inhabitants of the Belgic provinces, who now groan in calamity, deprived of their property, of their liberty, of their altars, as to suffer yourselves to be milled by secret seducers, we shall find ourselves obliged to pass the Rhine, to leave you a prey to your enemies, and to withdraw from you, without ceremony, whatever the enemy might find among you for his subsistence.

Done at our head-quarters at Forem-le-Comte, [illegible] 1792.

(Signed)

THE PRINCE OF CONDÉ.

Field Marshal.

Proclamation of General Tarlé to the Kosciusko to the Citizens of Poland, March 4.

Dear fellow citizens,

Having often been called to aid in the salvation of our common country, behold, I obey the call: but I cannot be useful to you, to break the chains of slavery, if you do not give me speedy succour. Support me with your whole force, and fly to the standard of your country. In this common cause, the same zeal ought to animate us all.

Make voluntary sacrifices of your wealth, which hitherto, instead of being at your own disposal, was at the will of a despot! Furnish men capable of bearing arms! Do not refuse the necessary provisions of bread, biscuit, &c. Send horses, shirts, boots, cloth, and canvass for tents. The generous sacrifices made to liberty and your country will receive their recompence in the gratitude of the nation.

The last moment is arrived, in which despair, in the midst of shame and reproach, puts arms in your hands. Our hope is in the contempt of death, which can alone enable us to ameliorate our fate, and that of our posterity. Far be from us that terror which the enemies,

mies, conspired against us, endeavour to infuse into our minds.

The first step to throw off the yoke is to dare to believe ourselves free; and the first step to victory is a confidence in our strength!

Citizens, the palatinate of Cracow affords you a signal example of patriotism. It offers the flower of its youth, having already granted pecuniary and other assistance: their example is worthy of imitation: do not hesitate to place credit in your country, which will reward you well: the ordinances issued by the generals of the palatinate, and the commanders of the troops, to furnish the necessary provisions, will be placed to the account of imposts, and will be paid for in the sequel. It is unnecessary to encourage you beforehand, because that would appear to doubt your civism. The continued oppression practised by the Russian soldiers, ought sufficiently to convince you, that it is better to make voluntary sacrifices to your country, than sacrifices by force to an enemy. Whoever, in these circumstances, can be insensible to the urgent necessities of his country, must draw upon himself eternal infamy.

Dear fellow-citizens, I expect every thing from your zeal: your hearts will join that sacred union which is neither the work of foreign intrigue, nor of a desire of domination, but is solely the effect of a love for liberty.

Who does not declare for us is against us. He who refuses to associate with those who have sworn to shed their last drop of blood for their country, is either an enemy or one who is neuter, and in such a case neutrality is a crime against civism. I have sworn to the nation that the powers entrusted to me shall not be applied to the oppression of the people. At the same time I declare, that whoever acts against our confederacy, shall suffer the punishment established in the national act, of a traitor and enemy to his country.

We have already sinned by connivance, which has ruined Poland. Scarce has an offence against the people ever been punished. Let us now adopt a different mode of conduct; and let us recompence virtue and civism, by pursuing and punishing traitors.

(Signed) THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO.

Head quarters at Cracow, March 24.

Proclamation of the Supreme National Council of Poland, to the Inhabitants of Great Poland, June 12.

The court of Berlin, having now thrown off the mask, as if no longer ashamed to act publicly, contrary to all principles of justice or right, having by an edict issued from the court, of the 23d of April, and published on the 16th ult. had the audacity to preach up to you, and impose upon you fictitious, vague, and false obligations; the supreme national council, therefore, think it necessary on their part to recal to your minds, your real, sacred, and irrevocable duties, which you in common owe to your country.

It will hardly be necessary to observe to you, that the cause of the present war, and the source of all the misfortunes nearly related to it, did not originate with the Polish nation, but in the corruption, and in the insatiable desire of Prussia aggrandizing its power, which has become the distinguishing characteristic of the cabinet of Berlin.

The conduct of our brave brethren, in flocking to the ſtandard of their country, not invading foreign territories, violating no foreign property, but coming forward in the heart of their native country, which has been violently uſurped by Frederic William, requires neither juſtification nor apology. Would it be neceſſary to prove that there is no civil war amongſt us? Need we convince the world that we know of no other enemy than thoſe violent plunderers, who, without any pretext or claim, nay, contrary to all treaties and conventions, diſmember our country, violate our liberties, deſtroy and lay waſte our habitations and corn-fields?

Neither does the calumny, "that the better part of the nation groans under the miſfortunes of the inſurrection," need any anſwer; ſince the whole nation has riſen in arms againſt its oppreſſors. And Frederic William undoubtedly is not the moſt competent judge to decide which is the better part of the nation, or of its government; he, who conſiders only thoſe to be the better part of the nation, who were the leaders at the rebellion of Targowitcz, and who were mean and corrupt enough to ſign and ratify his uſurpations at the aſſembly of Grodno. Has he a right to judge of the conſtitutional government of Poland, who wiſhes the ſame government to be directed by the arbitrary commands of a Ruſſian ambaſſador at Warſaw? Did not his language always change according to the different circumſtances, and according to his private intereſt? In his declaration of October the 12th, 1788; and in his diſpatches of May the 17th, 1791, he laviſhed praiſes upon the authors of the conſtitution of the 3d of May, calling them true patriots and good citizens; but ſoon after, in his declaration of January the 16th, 1793, the ſame worthy men are ſtigmatized with the vile appellation of intriguing Poles. This duplicity of conduct will be a ſufficient argument to exclude Frederic William from the capacity of judging which is the better part of the Poliſh nation.

Honourable fellow citizens and brethren.

Frederic William ſpeaks to you, as if you were his ſubjects; he ſays, that to your happineſs and tranquillity he has ſacrificed his own; but what true Pole aſked him for that protection? What right had he to that conſiderable part of Poland, which was ours by the moſt ſacred and moſt ancient of birth-rights; a part which he afterwards baptized with the name of South Pruſſia? Without even taking the trouble of publiſhing a manifeſto of appearances of pretenſion, he marched an army into the ſtates of the republic, and ſoon after, a declaration of the 9th of April, 1793, appeared, in which he ſaid, that he was taking poſſeſſion of the Poliſh provinces, for the purpoſe of protecting them againſt Jacobiniſm. But, fellow citizens, at this moment, however, you ſee, that inſtead of finding you Jacobins, he on the contrary ſays, that you have eagerly and voluntarily ſubmitted to his uſurped government.

It would indeed appear degrading on our part, who are convinced of the juſtice of our cauſe, to offer even the ſlighteſt anſwer to the calumnious declaration of the cabinet of Berlin, in which every Pole, who loves his country, is called a Jacobin.

This, our proclamation, fellow citizens and brethren, is addreſſed to you only. Your own feelings will always teach you what you owe to your country. You well know,

know, that the object of the present war is no other than to render us all free.

We have risen in arms in order to re-conquer the provinces which have been wrested from us by violent and unjust means, to lay a solid foundation for the independence of our nation, and to bring us all back to the happy lap of liberty. Rise, therefore, and join your own energy to ours; union alone will make us obtain the object of our wishes.

In consequence of this, the supreme national council thinks it further necessary to prescribe to you a few rules by which you are to regulate your conduct. The council declares the act of Prussia, of having taken possession of our territories, an act of violent usurpation. It annihilates the resolutions taken by the late traitorous assembly of Grodno, considers the woywodricks and districts of the province of Great Poland as inseparable parts of the republic, and its inhabitants as Poles and fellow citizens. The council further declares, that, as inhabitants of Poland, you are obliged to acknowledge no other government than that of Poland, and that you owe no obedience to the commands of Prussia.

The council, therefore, orders all the inhabitants, under pain of confiscation of their property, not to quit the places of their residence, and to fulfil the duties prescribed to them by the republic, their mother country; and declares those who preach up obedience to an oppressive and usurping power, traitors to their country.

Given in the sittings of the supreme national council at Warsaw, June 12, 1794.

(Signed) IGNAZ POTOCKI, President.

Convention for the common Defence of the Liberty and Safety of the Danish and Swedish Commerce and Navigation, between the King of Denmark and the King of Sweden, March 27.

His majesty, the king of Denmark and Norway, and his majesty the King of Sweden, having considered how much it imports the subjects of their realms to enjoy, in safety and tranquillity, the advantages attached to a perfect neutrality, and founded on acknowledged treaties, impressed with a deep sense of their duties to their subjects, and unable to conceal the inevitable embarrassments of their situation in a war which rages in the greater part of Europe, have agreed and do agree to unite their measures and their interests in this respect, and to give to their nations, after the example of their predecessors, all the protection which they have a right to expect from their paternal care; desiring, moreover, to draw closer the bonds of amity which so happily subsists between them, have nominated to that effect — His Danish majesty, his minister of state and foreign affairs, the Sieur André Pierre count de Bernstorf, knight of the order of the elephant, &c.—and his majesty the king of Sweden, the Sieur Eric Magnus, baron Stael de Holstein, chamberlain to her majesty the queen dowager of Sweden, and knight of the order of the sword, who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed on the following articles:

I. Their majesties declare solemnly, that they will maintain the most perfect neutrality in the course of the present war; avoid, as much as on them depends, whatever may embroil them with the powers their

friends and allies; and continue to mark, as they have constantly done, in circumstances sometimes difficult, all the attention, and even all the amicable deference, consistently with their own dignity.

II. They declare, moreover, that they claim no advantage which is not clearly and unexceptionably founded on their respective treaties with the powers at war.

III. They engage also reciprocally, and before all Europe, that they will not claim, in cases not specified in the treaties, any advantage which is not founded on the universal law of nations, hitherto acknowledged and respected by all the powers, and by all the sovereigns of Europe, and from which they can as little suppose that any of them will depart, as they are incapable of departing from it themselves.

IV. Founding on a basis so just the claim and the maintenance of their indisputable rights, they will give to the lawful navigation of their subjects, which is entirely within the rule of, and conformable to the subsisting treaties, without extending it to such as may depart from the rule, all the protection which it deserves against all those who, contrary to their expectation and their hopes, would disturb the legal exercise of sanctioned rights, the enjoyment of which cannot be denied to neutral and independent nations.

V. For attaining the proposed object, their majesties engage reciprocally to equip, as soon as the season will permit, each a squadron of eight ships of the line, with a proportionate number of frigates, and to provide them with all necessaries.

VI. These squadrons shall unite or separate, as shall be judged best for the common interest, which shall be interpreted on both sides with the amity that so happily subsists between the two powers.

VII. No distinction whatsoever shall be made between the interests and the flags of the two nations, except such as different subsisting treaties with other nations may require. Moreover, in all cases of defence, convoy, or otherwise, without any exception, the Danish ships shall defend the Swedish ships and flag, as if they were their own nation, and the same on the other part.

VIII. For the order of command, in all cases, it is agreed to adopt the tenour of articles VI. and VII. in the convention of 12th July, 1756.

IX. The German states, both of Denmark and Sweden, are reciprocally and entirely excepted from this convention.

X. The Baltic being always to be considered as a sea shut and inaccessible to the armed ships of distant powers at war, is declared so anew by the contracting parties, who are resolved to maintain in it the most perfect tranquillity.

XI. Their majesties engage to make a joint communication of this convention to all the powers at war, adding the most solemn assurances of their sincere desire to preserve with them the most perfect harmony, and to cement, rather than wound it, by this measure, which tends only to secure rights maintained and asserted by those powers themselves, in all cases where they were neutral, and at peace, without Denmark and Sweden having ever dreamt of interrupting them.

XII. But if the unfortunate case should occur, that any power, in contempt of treaties and the universal

versal law of nations, will not respect the basis of society and the general happiness, and shall molest the lawful navigation of the subjects of their Danish and Swedish majesties, then will they, after having exhausted all possible means of conciliation, and made the most pressing joint remonstrances, to obtain the satisfaction and indemnity due to them, make use of reprisals, at the latest, four months after the refusal of their claim, wherever that shall be thought fitting, the Baltic always excepted; and will answer entirely the one for the other, and support one another equally, if either nation shall be attacked or injured on account of this convention.

XIII. This convention shall subsist in its whole tenour during the present war, unless it should be agreed upon, for the common interest, to make any useful or necessary change or addition to it.

XIV. The ratification shall take place fifteen days after this convention shall have been signed and exchanged. In testimony of which, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present convention, and affixed to it the seal of our arms.

Done at Copenhagen, this 27th of March 1794. (Signed)

A. P. V. BERNSTORF,
ERIC MAGNUS STAEL, DE HOLSTEIN.

Message from the President of the United States of America to both Houses of Congress, March 5.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives,

The secretary of state having reported to me upon the several complaints which have been lodged in his office, against the vexations and spoliations on our commerce, since the commencement of the European war, I transmit to you a copy of his statement, together with the documents upon which it is founded.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

SIR, *Philadelphia, March 2.*

On my succession to the department of state, I found a large volume of complaints, which the notification had collected, against severities on our trade, various in their kind and degree. Having reason to presume, as the fact has proved, that every day would encrease the catalogue, I have waited to digest the mass, until time should have been allowed for exhibiting the diversified forms, in which our commerce has hourly suffered. Every information is at length obtained, which may be expected.

When we examine the documents which have been transmitted from different parts of the union, we find the British, the French, the Spaniards, and the Dutch, charged with attacks upon our commerce. It is urged against the British.

1. That their privateers plunder the American vessels, throw them out of their course, by forcing them, upon groundless suspicion, into ports, rather than those to which they are destined; detain them, even after the hope of a regular confiscation is abandoned; by their negligence, while they hold the possession, expose the cargoes to damage, and the vessels to destruction, and maltreat their crews.

2. That British ships of war have forcibly seized mariners belonging to American vessels, and, in

in one instance, under the protection of a Portuguese fort.

3. That, by British regulations and practice, our corn and provisions are driven from the ports of France, and restricted to the ports of the British, or those of their friends.

4. That our vessels are not permitted to go from the British ports in the islands without giving security (which is not attainable but with difficulty and expence) for the discharge of the cargo in some other British or neutral port.

5. That without the imputation of a contraband trade, as defined by the law of nations, our vessels are captured for carrying on a commercial intercourse with the French West Indies, although it is tolerated by the laws of the French Republic; and that, for this extraordinary conduct, no other excuse is alledged, than that, by some edict of a king of France, this intercourse was prohibited; and,

6. That the conduct of the Admiralty in the British islands is impeachable for an excess of rigour, and a departure from strict judicial purity; and the expences of an appeal to England, are too heavy to be encountered, under all the circumstances of discouragement.

Against the French it is urged,

1. That their privateers harass our trade no less than those of the British.

2. That two of their ships of war have committed enormities on our vessels.

3. That their courts of admiralty are guilty of equal oppression.

4. That besides these points of accusation, which are common to the French and British, the former (the French) have infringed the treaty between the United States and them, by subjecting to seizure and condemnation our vessels trading with their enemies in merchandize, which that treaty declares not to be contraband, and under circumstances not forbidden by the law of nations.

5. That a very detrimental embargo has been laid upon a large number of American vessels in the French ports; and,

6. That a contract with the French government for coin has been discharged in depreciated assignats.

Against the Spaniards the outrages of privateers are urged.

And against the Dutch one condemnation in the Admiralty is insisted to be unwarrantable.

Under this complication of mischief, which persecutes our commerce, I beg leave, sir, to submit to your consideration, whether representations, as far as facts may justify, ought not to be immediately pressed upon the foreign governments, in those of the preceding cases for which they are responsible.

Among these, I class—1. The violence perpetrated by public ships of war. 2. Prohibitions, or regulations inconsistent with the law of nations. 3. The improper conduct of courts. 4. Infractions of treaty. 5. The imposition of embargoes; and, 6. The breach of public contracts. How far a government is liable to redress the rapine of privateers, depends upon the peculiarities of the case. It is incumbent upon it, however, to keep its courts freely open, and to secure an impartial hearing to the injured applicants. If the rules prescribed to privateers be too loose, and opportunities of plunder or ill-treatment be provoked from that cause, or from the prospect of impu-

impunity, it is impossible to be too strenuous in remonstrating against this formidable evil.

Thus, sir, I have reduced to general heads the particular complaints, without making any enquiry into the facts beyond the allegations of the parties interested.

EDM. RANDOLPH.

Message from the same to the Senate, April 16.

Gentlemen of the Senate,

The communications which I have made you during your present session, from the dispatches of our minister in London, contain a serious aspect of our affairs with Great Britain. But as peace ought to be pursued with unremitted zeal, before the last resource, which has so often been the scourge of nations, and cannot fail to check the advanced prosperity of the United States, is contemplated, I have thought proper to nominate, and do hereby nominate John Jay, as an envoy extraordinary of the United States to his Britannic Majesty.

My confidence in our minister plenipotentiary in London continues undiminished. But a mission like this, while it corresponds with the solemnity of the occasion, will announce to the world a solicitude for a friendly adjustment of our complaints, and a reluctance to hostility. Going immediately from the United States, such an envoy will carry with him a full knowledge of the existing temper and sensibility of our country; and will thus be taught to vindicate our rights with firmness, and to cultivate peace with sincerity.

G. WASHINGTON.

Message from the same to both Houses of Congress.

May 21, 1794.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives,

I lay before you certain information, whereby it would appear that some encroachment was about to be made on our territory, by an officer and party of the British troops. Proceeding upon a supposition of the authenticity of this information, although of a private nature, I have caused the representation to be made to the British minister, a copy of which accompanies this message.

It cannot be necessary to comment upon the very serious nature of such an encroachment, nor to urge that this new state of things suggests the propriety of placing the United States in a posture of effectual preparation for an event, which, notwithstanding the endeavours making to avert it, may, by circumstances beyond our controul, be forced upon us.

G. WASHINGTON.

Memorial presented to the British Court, by Mr. Jay, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America, July 30.

The undersigned envoy of the United States of America, has the honour of representing to the right honourable lord Grenville, his Britannick majesty's secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs,

That a very considerable number of American vessels have been irregularly captured, and as improperly condemned, by certain of his majesty's officers and judges.

That,

That, in various instances, these captures and condemnations were so conducted, and the captured placed under such unfavourable circumstances, as that, for want of the securities required, and other obstacles, no appeals were made in some cases, nor any claims in others.

The undersigned presumes that these facts will appear from the documents which he has had the honour of submitting to his lordship's consideration; and that it will not be deemed necessary at present to particularize these cases, and their merits, or detail the circumstances, which discriminate some from others.

The great and extensive injuries having thus, under colour of his majesty's authority and commission, been done to a numerous class of American merchants, the United States can for reparation have recourse only to the justice, authority, and interposition of his majesty. That the vessels and property taken and condemned have been chiefly sold, and the proceeds divided among a number of persons, of whom some are dead, some unable to make retribution, and others, from frequent removals, and their particular circumstances, not easily reached by civil process.

That as for these losses and injuries, adequate compensation, by means of judicial proceedings, has become impracticable; and considering the causes which combined to produce them, the United States confide in his majesty's justice and magnanimity, to cause such compensation to be made to these innocent sufferers, as may be consistent with equity; and the undersigned flatters himself, that such principles may without difficulty be adopted, as will serve as rules whereby to ascertain the cases and the amount of compensation.

So grievous are the expenses and delays attending litigated suits, to persons whose fortunes have been so materially affected; and so great is the distance of Great Britain from America, that the undersigned thinks he ought to express his anxiety, that a mode of proceeding as summary and little expensive may be devised, as circumstances and the peculiar hardship of these cases may appear to permit and require.

And as (at least in some of these cases) it may be expedient and necessary, as well as just, that the sentences of the courts of vice-admiralty should be revised and corrected by the courts of appeal here; the undersigned hopes it will appear reasonable to his majesty, to order that the captured in question (who have not already so done) be there admitted to enter both their appeals and their claims.

The undersigned also finds it to be his duty to represent, that the irregularities before mentioned, extended, not only to the capture and condemnation of American vessels and property and to unusual personal severities, but even to the impressment of American citizens, to serve on board of armed vessels. He forbears to dwell on the injuries done to these unfortunate individuals, or on the emotions which they must naturally excite, either in the breasts of the nation to whom they belong, or of the just and humane of every country. His reliance on the justice and benevolence of his majesty, leads him to indulge a pleasing expectation, that orders will be given, that Americans, so circumstanced, be immediately liberated, and that persons honoured with his majesty's commission, do

do in future abstain from similar violences.

It is with cordial satisfaction that the undersigned reflects on the impressions which such equitable and conciliatory measures would make on the minds of the United States, and how naturaly they would inspire and cherish these sentiments and dispositions which never fail to preserve, as well as to produce, respect, esteem, and friendship.

(Signed) JOHN JAY.

London, July 30, 1794.

Lord Grenville's Answer to the foregoing Memorial, Aug. 1.

The undersigned secretary of state has had the honour to lay before the king the ministerial note which he has received from Mr. Jay, envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary from the United States of America, respecting the alleged irregularity of the capture and condemnation of several American vessels, and also respecting the circumstances of personal severity by which those proceedings are stated to have been accompanied, in some particular instances.

The undersigned is authorized to assure Mr. Jay, that it is his majesty's wish, that the most complete and impartial justice should be done to all the citizens of America, who may in fact have been injured by any of the proceedings above mentioned. All experience shows, that a naval war, extending over the four quarters of the globe, must unavoidably be productive of some inconveniences to the commerce of neutral nations; and that no care can prevent some irregularities in the course of those proceedings, which are universally recognized as resulting from the just rights incident to all belligerent powers. But the king will always be desirous that these inconveniences and irregularities should be as much limited as the nature of the case will admit, and that the fullest opportunity should be given to all to prefer their complaints, and to obtain redress and compensation where they are due.

In Mr. Jay's note, mention is made of several cases where the parties have hitherto omitted to prefer their claims, and of others, where no appeals have been made from the sentences of condemnation pronounced in the first instance.

As to the cases of the first description, lord Grenville apprehends that the regular course of law is still open to the claimants; and that by preferring appeals to the commissioners of prize causes here, against the sentence of the court below, the whole merits of those cases may be brought forward, and the most complete justice obtained.

In the cases of the second description, the proceeding might be difficult, from the lapse of the time usually allotted for preferring appeals. But his majesty being anxious that no temporary or local circumstances, such as those to which Mr. Jay refers in his note, should impede the course of substantial justice, has been pleased to refer it to the proper officers to consider of a mode of enlarging the time for receiving the appeals, in those cases, in order to admit the claimants to bring their complaints before the regular court appointed for that purpose.

The undersigned has no doubt that in this manner a very considerable part of the injuries alleged to have been suffered by the Americans, may, if the complaints are well

well founded, be redressed in the usual course of judicial proceeding, at a very small expense to the parties, and without any other interposition of his majesty's government than is above stated. Until the result and effect of these proceedings shall be known, no definitive judgment can be formed respecting the nature and extent of those cases (if any such shall ultimately be found to exist) where it shall not have been practicable to obtain substantial redress in this mode. – But he does not hesitate to say before hand, that, if cases shall then be found to exist, to such an extent as properly to call for the interposition of government, where, without the fault of the parties complaining, they shall be unable, from whatever circumstances, to procure such redress in the ordinary course of law, as the justice of their cases may entitle them to expect, his majesty will be anxious that justice should at all events be done, and will readily enter into the discussion of the measures to be adopted, and the principles to be established for that purpose.

With respect to all acts of personal severity and violence, as the king must entirely disapprove every such transaction, so his majesty's courts are always open for the punishment of the offences of this nature; and for giving redress to the sufferers in every case where the fact be established by satisfactory proof; nor does it appear that any case of that nature can exist, where there would be the smallest difficulty of obtaining, in that mode, substantial and exemplary justice.

On the subject of the impress, lord Grenville has only to assure Mr. Jay, that if, in any instance, American seamen have been impressed into the king's service, it has been contrary to the king's desire; though such cases may have occasionally arisen from the difficulty of discriminating between British and American seamen, especially, where there so often exists an interest and intention to deceive:— Whenever any representation has been made to lord Grenville on the subject, he has never failed to receive his majesty's commands for putting it in a proper course in order that the facts might be enquired into, and ascertained; and to the intent that the persons in question might be released, if the facts appeared to be satisfactorily established.

With respect to the desire expressed by Mr. Jay, that new orders might be given with a view to prevent, as far as it is possible, the giving any just ground of complaint on this head, lord Grenville has no reason to doubt that his majesty's intentions respecting this point are already sufficiently understood by his majesty's officers, employed on that service: but he has, nevertheless, obtained his majesty's permission to assure Mr. Jay, that, instructions to the effect desired, will be renewed in consequence of his application.

The undersigned avails himself with pleasure of this opportunity to renew to Mr. Jay his assurances of his sincere esteem and consideration.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Downing-street, August 1, 1794.

Speech of the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the President and Members of the National Convention of France, Aug. 15.

Citizen president, and representatives of the French people, my ad-

admission into this assembly, in presence of the French nation (for all the citizens of France are represented here), to be acknowledged as the representative of the American republic, affects my sensibility to a degree which I cannot express. I consider it as a new proof of the friendship and esteem which the French Nation has always testified for its allies, the United States of America.

Republics ought to be connected with one another. In many respects, they have all the same interest; but this maxim is especially true with regard to the republics of America and France. Their governments have a great analogy; they both cherish the same principles, and rest on the same basis, the equal and unalienable rights of man. Even the remembrance of common dangers will augment their harmony and cement their union. America has had her days of oppression, of difficulty, and of war; but her sons were virtuous and brave, and the tempest that so long obscured her political horizon has dispersed, and left her in the full enjoyment of peace and independence.

France, our ally, our friend, who assisted us in our conflict, has now also started in the same honourable career; and I am happy to add here, that while the perseverance, the magnanimity, the heroic valour of the troops command the admiration and the applause of the astonished world, the wisdom and the firmness of her councils, promise equally the most happy consequences. America is not an unconcerned spectatress of your efforts in the present crisis. I lay before you, in the declarations of each branch of our government, declarations founded on the affection of the great body of our citizens, the most convincing proofs of their sincere attachment to the liberty, prosperity, and happiness of the French republic. Each branch of the congress, conformably to the mode of deliberation, established in it, has required the president to inform you of its disposition; and in fulfilling the desire of these two branches, I am instructed to declare to you, that the president has expressed his own sentiments.

The powers entrusted to me being recognized by you, I promise myself the greatest satisfaction in the exercise of my functions, because I am convinced that in following the impulse of my own heart, in wishing happiness and liberty to the French nation, I express the sentiment of my country; and that in doing every thing in my power to preserve and perpetuate the harmony that so happily subsists between the two republics, I shall promote their mutual interest.

It is to this grand object that all my efforts shall be directed. If I have the good fortune to conduct myself so as to deserve the approbation of the two republics, I shall consider it as the happiest event of my life; and I shall retire with the consolation which is exclusively the portion of those whose intentions are pure and who serve the cause of liberty.

(Signed) JAMES MONROE.

Answer of the President of the National Convention to the foregoing Speech.

The French people have not forgotten that it is to the American people they owe the beginning of liberty;

liberty; it was by admiring the sublime insurrection of the American people against Albion, once so proud, now so degraded; it was by taking arms themselves to second the courageous efforts of that insurrection; it was by cementing the independence of America with the blood of their bravest warriors, that the French people learned to break the sceptre of tyranny in their turn, and to erect the statue of liberty on the ruins of a throne, founded on fourteen centuries of corruption and crimes.

Why then should not they be friends? Why should they not be associated by reciprocal means of prosperity, which commerce and navigation present to two nations become free by mutual aid? But this is not an alliance purely diplomatic; it is the sweetest, the frankest fraternity that ought to unite them; it is this fraternity, indeed, that unites them; and the union will be for ever indissoluble, as it will be for ever the scourge of despots, the safeguard of the liberty of the world, the conservation of all the social and philanthropic virtues.

In bringing us the pledge of this union so dear to us, you cannot fail to be received with the most lively interest. Five years ago, the usurper of the sovereignty of the people would have received you with the pride which befits only vice, and he would have thought that he did much in granting to the ministers of a free nation, some marks of his insolent protection. To-day it is the sovereign people represented by faithful mandatories that receive you, and you see with what tenderness and what effusion of heart, this simple and touching ceremony is accompanied. Let me not delay to crown it by the fraternal embrace which I am charged to give you in the name of the French people! Come and receive it in the name of the American people, and may this picture complete the destruction of the last hope of the impious coalition of tyrants!

Proclamation by the President of the United States, Sept. 25.

Whereas, from a hope that the combinations against the constitution and laws of the United States, in certain of the western counties of Pennsylvania, would yield to time and reflection, I thought it sufficient, in the first instance, rather to take measures for calling forth the militia than immediately to embody them; but the moment is now come, when the overtures of forgiveness, with no other condition than a submission to law, have been only partially accepted—when every form of conciliation not inconsistent with the being of government has been adopted without effect;—when the well disposed in those counties, are unable by their influence and example to reclaim the wicked from their fury, and are compelled to associate in their own defence; when the proffered lenity has been perversely misinterpreted into an apprehension, that the citizens will march with reluctance; when the opportunity of examining the serious consequences of a treasonable opposition has been employed in propagating principles of anarchy, endeavouring through emissaries to alienate the friends of order from its support, and inviting enemies to perpetrate similar acts of insurrection; when it is manifest that violence would continue to be exercised

ercised upon every attempt to enforce the law; when therefore government is set at defiance, the contest being whether a small portion of the United States shall dictate to the whole union, and at the expence of those who desire peace, indulge a desperate ambition.

Now, therefore, I, George Washington, president of the United States, in obedience to that high and irresistible duty, consigned to me by the constitution, "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed;" deploring that the American name should be sullied by the outrages of citizens on their own government; commiserating such as remain obstinate from delusion;—but resolved, in perfect reliance on that gracious providence which so signally displays its goodness towards this country, to reduce the refractory to a due subordination to the law;—Do hereby declare and make known, that with a satisfaction, which can be equalled only by the merits of the militia summoned into service from the states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, I have received intelligence of their patriotic alacrity, in obeying the call of the present, though painful, yet commanding necessity; that a force, which according to every reasonable expectation is adequate to the exigency, is already in motion to the scene of disaffection;—that those who have confided or shall confide in the protection of government, shall meet full succour under the standard and from the arms of the United States;—that those who having offended against the laws have since entitled themselves to indemnity will be treated with the most liberal good faith, if they shall not have forfeited their claim by any subsequent conduct, and that instructions are given accordingly.

And I do moreover exhort all individuals, officers, and bodies of men, to contemplate with abhorrence the measures leading directly or indirectly to those crimes, which produce this resort to military coercion; to check, in their respective spheres, the efforts of misguided or designing men to substitute their misrepresentation in the place of truth, and their discontents in the place of stable government; and to call to mind that as the people of the United States have been permitted under the divine favour, in perfect freedom, after solemn deliberation, and in an enlightened age, to elect their own government; so will their gratitude for this inestimable blessing be best distinguished by firm exertions to maintain the constitution and the laws.

And lastly, I again warn all persons whomsoever and wheresoever, not to abet, aid, or comfort the insurgents aforesaid, as they will answer the contrary at their peril; and I do also require all officers and other citizens, according to their several duties, as far as may be in their power, to bring under the cognizance of the law all offenders in the premises.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand:

Done at the city of Philadelphia, the twenty-fifth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the nineteenth.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

By the President,

EDM. RANDOLPH.

To the Manufacturers, and other Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood of Nottingham.

War is an evil of such serious moment, that nothing but absolute necessity, and its being the last resource against greater evils, can justify any nation in having recourse to it. It has for some time past been held up to the apprehension of this kingdom, but in no period could it have presented itself with a face of more terror, as the condition of the kingdom never was more opposed to it.—A commerce of the hig est prosperity, but depending on the most nice and delicate circumstances, must be wholly disarranged by the operations of war. The excellence of our manufactures is nearly balanced by the high price at which they pass to a foreign market. War will so advance the price, from the increased charge of insurance and the enhanced rate of freight, that the foreign market will refuse to receive them altogether, or receive them in a very small proportion to the present demand: the manufactures of the kingdom, therefore, on which so much depends, will rapidly decline, and such a scene of distress may, with hasty strides, be diffused through the kingdom, as has never before been experienced in this land. This evil is not a matter of mere conjecture; from the very apprehensions of war, the evil has already commenced; the manufactures of this town, to a great amount, ready to have been shipped by order, are suspended from the increased rate of insurance and freight. The manufactures of Yorkshire and Manchester have felt the shock—the dead stock of the merchant is accumulating - the price of the material, and of the manufacture, is sinking—and a general stagnation may be shortly apprehended. From the continuance of peace at home, and the disordered state of the rest of Europe, England has derived peculiar advantages, and been wonderfully enabled to bear up under the pressure of great internal burthens; but these advantages will all terminate, and these burthens will all press with their full weight upon us, from that moment that we abandon peace for war. It well deserves consideration also, that it will be a war of a singular character; if England joins in it, almost all Europe will be in hostility with France, and there will not be left one neutral naval power through whom the manufactures of England can be conveyed to a foreign market. In other less alarming wars, this has been a principal resource of our foreign commerce, and therefore merchants well know how fatal a deficiency of neutral shipping, in a state of war, must be to our foreign trade: It must either, to a great degree, be abandoned, or it must be hazarded on the seas, as the rich and tempting plunder of a swarm of privateers. Either will operate to the diminution of our foreign trade, and this will be attended with the decay of our manufactures, with the turning adrift the useful artizan, and committing him to idleness, to poverty, and a parish maintenance! With decreased abilities the parish rates will increase in a degree to which no one can assign a limit. In other periods England has been enabled to encounter great demands, because she had great resources: in her present state, she is strained to her utmost abilities; and if the delicate balance on which she hangs be once disturbed, a universal disorder and distress may, and most pro-

probably will ensue. As there ought, then, to be reasons of the last necessity for which a wise nation should face such a train of evils, which will come home to the feelings of every individual, it is another argument against the present war, that no such reasons can be adduced. Be the internal character and conduct of France what it may, it is our wisdom to leave her to herself, to her own crimes, or to her own virtues, and, with a dispassioned mind, to determine what is wise and good for ourselves. Peace is that very good, and peace, we hope, may even now be obtained without one sacrifice of dignity. A conciliated mind on the part of England, is all that is requisite to disperse the gloomy horrors of war, and to preserve to our country those blessings of peace, which are always of high value, but in our present situation are absolutely inestimable: it is, therefore, the duty of every dispassionate and humane lover of his country to operate to so blessed an end; it is that great and good work for which he may assuredly reckon on the approbation of the God of peace. With this view, it is proposed to offer

A petition to the house of commons in favor of a peace with France,

and the subscribers to this address recommend such a petition to the good sense and patriotism of this town and neighbourhood. Though war has already commenced, pacification must be in view: and the sooner the provocations of war terminate, the less destructive will be its operations. Whether first or last in this petition for peace, it will be the glory of this manufacturing town to have contributed, by one humane and virtuous effort, to its own prosperity, and to the prosperity of its country.

John Wright, banker.
Wm. Rawson, manufacturer.
Tho. Rawson, ditto.
Francis Hart, gent.
Samuel Statham, merchant.
Roger Hunt, manufacturer.
T. W. Watson, merchant.
T. Smith, M. D.
Charles Pennigton, surgeon.
Francis Evans, attorney at law.
John Fellows, manufacturer.
John Thomson, ditto.
F. Wakefield, ditto.
John Hancock, ditto.
Thomas Hawksley, chemist.
Robert Denison, merchant.
Thomas Oldknow, mercer.
Henry Hollins, brazier.
S. Huthwaite, wine merchant.
Alderman Joseph Oldknow, grocer.
George Coldham, town-clerk.
Alderman Joseph Lowe, mercer.
B. Aldis, manufacturer.
N. Clayton, Rev. Dr.
Alderman W. Howitt, manufacturer.
Alderman W. Huthwaite, gent.

Nottingham, Feb. 25, 2793.

The following is a Copy of the Petition proposed in the preceding Address, and left for Signatures at the Exchange Hall in Nottingham, on Wednesday, Feb. 27, 1793, and the following Days.

We, the merchant-manufacturers, traders, and other inhabitants of the town of Nottingham and its neighbourhood, approach your honourable house, as the guardian of the public peace and welfare, and pray that by the interposition of your wisdom and patriotism, our-

selves and our country may be rescued from the evil of an impending war, singular in its character, not founded on the usual causes of war; which has no specific object in view; no definite prospect of termination, unless in the absolute conquest of a numerous and powerful people, a most arduous, if not impracticable attempt: and which, in the present circumstances of Great-Britain, must be attended with heavy suffering, without the probability of any gain or acquisition to compensate for this suffering.

To a series of wars, many of which with national dignity might have been avoided, we owe the immense load of debt, which bears with the most oppressive weight on every individual, and which nothing but the singular prosperity of our foreign commerce could enable these kingdoms to sustain. One principal source of this prosperity is peace. We pray, therefore, that your honourable house will not suffer this source to be destroyed, nor your country to participate in the misery, by participating in the folly of other nations. To add to a debt, which we fear is irredeemable, and to an amount which no one can calculate, ought to be justified by the last necessity; nothing but the very being and preservation of our country could reconcile it to the national will. Every thing in our present circumstances is adverse to war; the dearness of provisions and of all the necessaries and comforts of life, every day advancing, and hardly supported by the utmost exertions of industry and ingenuity; the alarming progress of the poor rates; a wide range of taxation, which embraces every form of property, and cramps every movement of the subject; together with that delicate balance between the excellence and the price of our manufactures, on which our foreign commerce depends, all with one ominous voice repel the thought of war.—War will increase every one of these internal burthens, and co-operating with them, diminish or ruin that trade on which all depends, the enjoyments as well as the resources of our common country.

We pray it, therefore, of your honourable house, that in your goodness you will attend to the supplications of your country, and in your wisdom avert an evil, which has but barely commenced, and which a pacific disposition in your honourable house cannot fail to dispel. To you and to the protection of the God of Peace we recommend ourselves, our fellow-citizens, and the impending fate of Britain.

Copy of a Note presented on the 14th of December 1793, addressed to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, in consequence of a Request made by the Earl of Lauderdale, Charles Grey, Esq. M. P. and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq. M. P. that Messrs. Muir and Palmer might not be transported till after their Cases had been discussed in Parliament; and the Desire expressed by Mr. Dundas, to have the Reasons for postponing the Sentence stated to him in Writing.

Lord Lauderdale, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Sheridan, in compliance with the wish expressed by Mr. Dundas, at their interview on the 11th instant, now beg leave to submit to him those doubts respecting the legality of the sentences passed on Mr.

Mr. Muir and Mr. Palmer, which induce them to think these sentences a proper matter for parliamentary consideration, and which they hope will be deemed by the equity of his majesty's ministers sufficiently strong to prevent any step for the further removal of these unfortunate persons, till the possible benefit be ascertained, which may arise to them from such a discussion.

The offence with which these persons were charged was that of having published seditious libels, or of having uttered seditious words. It is therefore that offence which is known to the Scotch law under the names of "*Leasing-making*" or "*Verbal Sedition*;" which was anciently capital in Scotland. The punishment of it was limited by the statute of 1703, to "fine, imprisonment, or banishment," by which the law relative to this subject seems to have been finally settled; and unless the word "Banishment" will necessarily comprehend and denote "Transportation," the judges of Scotland seem to have exceeded their powers, by affixing to this crime of *verbal sedition*, a penalty different from that which had been appropriated to it by the law, and more severe.

So harsh an extension of the sense of the word "Banishment" in this statute appears extremely unreasonable, when we consider how wide is the difference between banishment and transportation, both in the nature of things, and in the laws and practice of nations. Banishment imports only an exclusion from a community: — transportation implies that exclusion executed in a compulsory and commonly ignominious manner, always aggravated by confinement to an appointed spot, and often by the obligation of laborious servitude. Very singular would be the language of that code in which they were convertible terms, and which, by the word denoting the one punishment, should convey an authority to inflict the other. In exterior, the common circumstance of exile gives them some resemblance; but in spirit and effect they differ as widely as respect and mildness differ from rigour and ignominy. Punishments so distinct have not been confounded in the laws of any civilized nation. They were distinguished in those of Rome *, which are of so high authority in Scotland. They are so distinct with us, that banishment, properly so called, can only be inflicted by the authority of parliament †. And they are not only known familiarly to be separate punishments in the practice of Scotland; but cases exist posterior to the act of 1703, in which men were banished that country with certification, that if they returned from their banishment they should be transported. So great is the difference between these two punishments in the eye of the Scotch law, that transportation is thus supposed as far to surpass banishment, as death itself surpasses transportation.

* The *deportatio ad insulam*, it is well known, was an invention many centuries posterior to the ancient banishment, "*aquæ et ignis interdictio*," and perfectly distinct in its nature and legal effects from the milder mode of recent banishment, called *relegatio*."
Vide Vinii ad Institut. p. 69.

† Coke, Second Institut. p. 47.

The particular circumstances of the act of 1703 will still less justify the extended meaning of the word "Banishment," than general reasoning on the nature of the punishment. The form of words used in it is taken from an act of 1609, and these two statutes being "*in pari materia*," are to be understood in the same manner. But the word "Banishment" could not have imported transportation in 1609, more than sixty years before the power of transporting was even exercised by the privy council in Scotland *. Neither, therefore, must it be construed to comprehend transportation in the act of 1703, which was itself two years prior to the first recorded instance of transportation inflicted by the court of justiciary. It must be further observed that the act of 1703 was a law of mitigation, and is therefore to be largely interpreted in favour of those who were the objects of its benignity.

There seems to us, therefore, no colour for inflicting transportation in virtue of this statute, unless a new principle be admitted in the construction of dubious criminal laws, that a generic term for a punishment will necessarily denote the most aggravated species of it, in direct contradiction to all the wise and benevolent maxims of civilized jurisprudence, which teach us to understand mitigating laws extensively, to construe penal words narrowly and rigorously, and to favour, in the decision of every doubt, the life, the liberty, and the honour of accused men.

These are the reasons which induce us to doubt the right of the court of justiciary to inflict the punishment of transportation on Mr. Muir and Mr. Palmer, in virtue of the act of 1703. And from that statute alone we apprehend they can derive any authority to punish this offence, both, because it must be understood to supersede and abrogate any thing contrary to its provisions, which had previously existed in the Scotch law, and because, in the only case of this crime which has occurred since that time, that of Mr. James Dundas in 1713, the act of 1703 is stated in the indictment; and because the judges themselves, in the case of Muir, in speaking of the old law of Scotland which made sedition capital, can only mean to contradistinguish from it the act of 1703, and do therefore expressly claim to act under the authority of these statutes.

Lord Lauderdale, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Sheridan †, have thus shortly stated to Mr. Dundas the grounds of a doubt, which, according to their information on the law of Scotland, they must entertain. The case, according to their view of it, furnishes an invincible argument for subjecting the judgment of the Scotch criminal courts to a revision when error is assigned in law. If they should be so fortunate as to have their opinion on this subject become that of parliament, they would certainly endeavour to make the remedy retroactive in relation to those persons, whose sufferings have procured it for the public,

* After the battle of Bothwell-bridge

† These gentlemen seem to have made themselves better acquainted with the law on this subject before it was debated in parliament. It is therefore probable, that the arguments contained in this note, though only such as presented themselves on the first enquiry, were deemed sufficient to induce government to delay the execution of the sentence.

and

and they submit to the judgment of Mr. Dundas, whether the *possibility* of such an event be not sufficient reason to postpone till after the meeting of parliament the transportation of Mr. Muir and Mr. Palmer; a short delay which can neither diminish the effect of their punishment as an example, nor tend in the most remote degree to defeat any of the purposes of public justice.

[*The preceding note was immediately transmitted by Mr. Dundas to the Scotch judges for their opinion, on the receipt of which he sent an answer to the earl of Lauderdale, declaring that government saw no reason for delaying the execution of the sentence, and that therefore it could not interfere to stop the course of justice. Messrs. Muir and Palmer were not, however, sent off, till after their cases had been discussed and decided upon in parliament.*]

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1794.

NAVY.

	£.	s.	d.
JAN. 31.			
FOR 85,000 men, including 12,115 marines,	4,420,000	0	0
FEB. 4.			
Ordinary of the navy,	558,021	11	3
Extra navy,	547,310	0	0
	£. 5,525,331	11	3

ARMY.

	£.	s.	d.
FEB. 1.			
Subsidy to the king of Sardinia,	200,000	0	0
FEB. 4.			
For 60,244 men, as guards and garrisons,	1,492,812	12	2
Forces in the plantations,	677,682	12	4
Difference between British and Irish establishments,	50,279	13	4
Troops in the East Indies,	8,323	17	10½
Recruiting land-forces and contingencies,	219,500	0	0
Levy money, &c. for augmentation of the forces,	210,000	0	0
General and staff-officers, &c.	97,389	1	1
Full pay to supernumerary officers,	39,118	16	7
Allowances to the paymaster-general, &c.	64,790	18	3
Reduced officers of land-forces and marines,	146,843	10	10
Reduced horse-guards,	156	9	2
Officers late in the service of the states-general,	3,000	0	0
Reduced officers of British American forces,	55,092	10	0
Allowances to several reduced officers of ditto,	4,907	10	0
Widows' pensions,	9,931	19	3
Chelsea pensioners,	151,742	5	10
Scotch roads and bridges,	4,500	0	0
Embodied militia and fencibles,	687,420	14	0
Contingencies for ditto,	160,000	0	0
Clothing for the militia,	93,653	3	9
Corps transferred from Irish to British establishment,	185,667	15	6
Hanoverian troops,	538,874	0	0
Troops of Hesse-Cassel,	304,309	0	0
Troops of Hesse-Darmstadt,	102,073	0	0
Troops of Baden,	24,067	0	0
Extraordinaries of the army,	808,805	14	4
MARCH 31.			
Fencible cavalry,	300,117	16	6
	£. 6,641,060	0	9½

ORD-

ORDNANCE.

FEB. 4.

	£.	s.	d.
Ordnance for 1794,	701,736	3	8
Ditto, previous to Dec. 31, 1783, not provided for,	576	19	5
Ditto, land service, not provided for in 1792,	925	4	3
Ditto, not provided for in 1793,	611,419	11	8
Ditto, sea service, ditto,	30,350	3	6
£.	1,345,008	2	6

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

FEB. 1.

	£.	s.	d.
To discharge Exchequer bills,	4,000,000	0	0

FEB. 4.

Civil establishment of Upper Canada,	6,450	0	0
Ditto, Nova Scotia,	5,315	0	0
Ditto, New Brunswick,	4,400	0	0
Ditto, St. John's Island,	1,900	0	0
Ditto, Cape Breton,	1,800	0	0
Governor and civil officers of Newfoundland, and the charge of a patent creating a court of civil and criminal jurisdiction,	1,344	1	6
Civil establishment of the Bahama islands,	4,250	0	0
Chief justice of the Bermuda or Somers' islands,	580	0	0
Ditto of Dominica,	600	0	0
Civil establishment of New South Wales,	4,795	8	2

FEB. 14.

For rendering the house of peers more commodious,	465	11	10½
On account of the French refugees,	27,692	4	6½
For works done at the Fleet prison,	3,376	8	0
Ditto, at Somerset-place, &c.	9,255	6	9
To pay sums assessed for land tax, &c.	1,814	15	4
For the discharge of debts contracted by Mr. Tully, late consul at Tripoli,	2,141	1	0
For reporting upon losses on evacuating the Musquito shore,	1,084	15	0
On account of surveys, &c. at Cape Breton,	669	9	11
To the bishop of Quebec, for expences of proceeding to his see; to Mr. Davison, Mr. Reeves, &c.	1,594	10	6
For enquiring into the laws, &c. of Jersey,	537	12	6
For removal of Mr. Starbuck,	248	18	0
Allowances for American sufferers,	19,500	0	0
Foreign secret service,	14,585	10	6
Address money,	46,619	13	7
Late board of land revenue, and their officers,	2,043	0	0
American and East Florida sufferers,	268,091	14	2½
Prosecution of Warren Hastings, esq.	10,749	3	8
Provisions, &c. to New South Wales,	19,820	8	10
Convicts on the Thames,	11,393	4	8
£.	4,472,997	18	6½

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over £.	4,472,997	18	6¼
Convicts in Longstone and Portsmouth harbours,	13,576	17	8½
Extraordinary expences of the mint,	18,844	12	4
African forts,	13,000	0	0
MARCH 27.			
To discharge exchequer bills,	1,500,000	0	0
MARCH 31.			
To the bank, for the reduction of the national debt,	200,000	0	0
To the Turkey company,	5,000	0	0
APRIL 15.			
Payments to sundry persons out of the civil list,	15,277	9	7¼
Board of agriculture,	3,000	0	0
£.	6,241,696	18	2¼

DEFICIENCY.

	£.	s.	d.
APRIL 10.			
Deficiency of grants for 1793,	475,022	13	10½

Navy,	5,525,331	11	3
Army,	6,641,060	0	9½
Ordnance,	1,345,008	2	6
Miscellaneous services,	6,241,696	18	2¼
Deficiency,	475,022	13	10½
£.	20,228,119	6	7¼

WAYS *and* MEANS *for raising the Supplies for* 1794.

	£.	s.	d.
FEB. 4.			
Land and malt-tax,	2,750,000	0	0
Annuities,	11,000,000	0	0
Consolidated fund,	2,697,000	0	0
MARCH 27.			
Exchequer bills,	3,500,000	0	0
MARCH 31.			
Profit of a lottery, 40,000 tickets, at 18l. 10s. 4d.	240,666	13	4
APRIL 10.			
Surplus of consolidated fund on 5th April,	231,841	16	10
£.	20,419,508	10	2

Principal Public Acts passed in the Fourth Session of the Seventeenth Parliament of Great-Britain.

Feb. 20.

Act for raising the sum of eleven millions by annuities.

Feb. 21.

Land-tax and malt-duty bills.
Marine mutiny bill.
American trade bill.

March 1.

Mutiny bill.

An

An act for preventing money or effects, in the hands of his majesty's subjects, belonging to, or disposable by, persons resident in France, being applied to the use of the persons exercising the powers of government in France, and for preserving the property thereof, for the benefit of the individual owners thereof.

An act for repealing the stamp duties on gloves and mittens sold by retail.

An act for repealing the duties on the registry of burials, marriages, and christenings.

March 28.

An act for regulating the conveyance of letters by the penny-post.

An act for augmenting the militia.

April 17.

An act for encouraging and disciplining such corps, or companies of men, as shall voluntarily enrol themselves for the defence of their counties, towns, or coasts, or for the general defence of the kingdom during the present war.

May 9.

An act to enable subjects of France to enlist as soldiers in regiments to serve on the continent of Europe, and in certain other places, and to enable his majesty to grant commissions to subjects of France to serve and receive pay as officers in such regiments, or as engineers, under certain restrictions.

May 23.

An act to enable his majesty to secure and detain such persons as his majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government.

An act for the better observation of the Lord's day, by persons exercising the trade of bakers.

An act for better regulating the watermen on the Thames between Windsor and Gravesend.

June 11.

An act for the better management of the land revenues of the crown, and for the sale of fee farms and other unimprovable rents.

An act for the further encouragement of the British mariners.

An act to prevent ships of war, and private ships or vessels of war, taken as prizes, from the payment of duty.

The insolvent act.

July 7.

An act for more effectually preserving money or effects, in the hands of his majesty's subjects, belonging to, or disposable by persons resident in France, for the benefit of the individual owners thereof.

An act, to continue an act of the last session of parliament, respecting aliens.

An act for regulating the militia of the city of London.

An act, to continue an act, regulating the shipping of slaves from the coast of Africa.

PRICES

PRICES of STOCK for the Year 1794.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the Course of any Month are put down in that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 per cent. red.	3 ditt. conf.	4 p. c. conf.	5 p. c.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock	India bonds	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exchequ. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	165 7/8	73	73 7/8	87 3/4	101 1/4	21 1/16	9 9/16	209 1/2	23 Pre.		71 1/8	66 1/8	11 1/2	12	16 7 6
	154	67 1/2	66 1/2	82 7/8	100	19 15/16	9 1/16	197 1/4	3 dis.		68		8	4	16 1 0
Feb.	161 1/4	69 1/2	68 1/8	85	101 1/8	20 1/4	9 1/2	202 3/4	19 Pre.	73 1/4	68 1/2	67 7/8	8	12 Pre.	16 13 6
	155	66 7/8	65 1/8	82 1/2	100	19 7/8	9 1/2	199 1/2	1 ditto	71 1/2	67 1/4	66 1/2	4 1/4	6 dis.	16 5 0
Mar.	162 1/4		68 1/8	83 1/4	102 1/8	20	9 1/2	203 1/2	19	73 1/4	67 1/4	68 1/4	5 1/4	9 Pre.	
	160		65 1/2	82 1/2	100	19 7/8	9 1/8	200 1/4	15	71	67	65 3/4	3 1/2	3 ditto	
Apr.	169 3/4	71 1/8	71 1/4	85 7/8	106 1/2	20 1/2	9 1/8	208 1/4	19	75		68 7/8	4	10	
	161	68 1/4	67 1/8	84 1/2	100 7/8	19 1/16	9 1/8	200 1/2	6	73 1/2		68	1 1/4	5	
May	168 3/4	71	71 1/4	85 1/4	104 1/4	20 1/16	9 1/16	209	19	75 1/4	70 1/2	70 1/4	1 7/8	15	
	166 1/4	69 1/2	70	84 1/4	103	19 15/16	9 1/16	207	7	75	69 1/4	70 1/4	1 1/4	8	
June	167 1/2	71 1/8	71 1/8	84 7/8	104 7/8	20 1/4	9 1/16	211 1/4	9	76 1/4	71 1/4	70 7/8	2 1/8	10	
	161 1/4	67 1/2	67 1/8	82 1/4	103 1/8	19 1/2	9	203 1/4	3		69 7/8	70 1/2	1 7/8	3	
July	168	69 1/4	69 1/4	85 1/2	102 1/8	20 1/16	9 7/16	206 1/2	15	73 3/4	68 1/2	66 1/4	2 1/4	12	
	160	66 1/2	66 7/8	81 1/8	100 7/8	19 7/8	9	199	7		66 7/8	66 1/8	1 1/8	5	
Aug.	165 1/2	69 1/4	68	85 1/8	101 1/4	20 1/4	9 1/2	199 1/2	16	72 1/4	69 1/8	68	2	15	
	163 1/8	67 1/4	66 1/8	84 1/4	101	19 15/16	9 1/8	197 1/4	10	70 1/8	67 7/8	66 1/2	1 1/4	6	
Sept.	164 1/2	67 7/8	67	85 1/8	102	20 1/16	9 1/2	197 1/2	19	71 1/4		66 1/4	2	17	19 17 0
	157 1/4	67 1/4	64 1/2	83	100 1/4	19 1/2	9 1/8	192 1/2	13			65	1 1/8	11	19 11 6
Oct.	158 1/4	67 1/4	68 1/4	85 1/2	103 1/8	20 1/8	9 1/4	194 1/2	16	69 1/4	66 1/4	63 7/8	2 1/8	17	20 0 0
	151 1/2	63 1/4	63 1/2	81 1/4	99 1/2	19 1/2	8 7/8	183 1/2	4	69 1/2	66	63 1/4	1 7/8	8	19 9 6
Nov.	160 1/8	68 1/2	69 1/2	84 1/2	103 1/4	20	9 1/16	195	18	73	68 1/8	67 1/8	1 3/8	18	20 14 6
	154 1/2	65 1/2	65 7/8	82 1/2	101 1/4	19 1/2	8 7/8	189 1/2	14	69 1/2	68 1/8		1 1/8	15	19 6 0
Dec.	159 1/8	68 1/2	68 1/2	83 1/2	103 1/4	19 7/8	9	192 1/2	19	72 1/4	67 1/4	68 1/2	2 1/4	19	20 18 0
	153 1/8	65 1/2	65 1/2	79 1/2	100	18 1/2	8 1/2	186	1	69	65	67 1/4	1 1/2	6	19 [illegible]

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES

AND

CHARACTERS.

1794. A

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

PARTICULARS of the LIFE and CHARACTER of ADAM SMITH, LL. D.

[From the Third Volume of the TRANSACTIONS of the ROYAL SOCIETY of EDINBURGH.]

"ADAM Smith, author of the Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, was the son of Adam Smith, comptroller of the customs at Kirkaldy, and of Margaret Douglas, daughter of Mr. Douglas of Strathenry. He was the only child of the marriage, and was born at Kirkaldy on the 5th of June 1723, a few months after the death of his father.

"His constitution during infancy was infirm and sickly, and required all the tender solicitude of his surviving parent. She was blamed for treating him with an unlimited indulgence; but it produced no unfavourable effects on his temper or his dispositions:—and he enjoyed the rare satisfaction of being able to repay her affection, by every attention that filial gratitude could dictate, during the long period of sixty years.

"An accident, which happened to him when he was about three years old, is of too interesting a nature to be omitted in the account of so valuable a life. He had been carried by his mother to Strathenry on a visit to his uncle Mr. Douglas, and was one day amusing himself alone at the door of the house, when he was stolen by a party of that set of vagrants who are known in Scotland by the name of tinkers. Luckily he was soon missed by his uncle, who hearing that some vagrants had passed, pursued them, with what assistance he could find, till he overtook them in Leslie wood; and was the happy instrument of preserving to the world a genius, which was destined, not only to extend the boundaries of science, but to enlighten and reform the commercial policy of Europe.

"The school of Kirkaldy, where Mr. Smith received the first rudiments of his education, was then taught by Mr. David Miller, a teacher, in his day, of considerable reputation, and whose name deserves to be recorded, on account of the eminent men whom that very obscure seminary produced while under his direction. Mr. Oswald of Dunikeir, whose profound knowledge of finances raised him afterwards to important employments in the state, and to a distinguished rank as a parliamentary speaker; his brother, Dr. John Oswald, afterwards bishop of Raphoe; and Dr. John

Dryſdale, whoſe talents and worth are well known to this ſociety, were among the number of Mr. Smith's contemporaries. One of his ſchool-fellows is ſtill alive; and to his kindneſs I am principally indebted for the ſcanty materials, which form the firſt part of this narrative.

"Among theſe companions of his earlieſt years, Mr. Smith ſoon attracted notice, by his paſſion for books, and by the extraordinary powers of his memory. The weakneſs of his bodily conſtitution prevented him from partaking in their more active amuſements; but he was much beloved by them on account of his temper, which, though warm, was to an uncommon degree friendly and generous. Even then he was remarkable for thoſe habits which remained with him through life, of ſpeaking to himſelf when alone, and of abſence in company.

"From the grammar-ſchool of Kirkaldy, he was ſent, in 1737, to the Univerſity of Glaſgow, where he remained till 1740, when he went to Baliol College, Oxford, as an exhibitioner on Snell's foundation.

"Dr. Maclaine of the Hague, who was a fellow-ſtudent of Mr. Smith's at Glaſgow, told me ſome years ago, that his favourite purſuits while at that univerſity were mathematics and natural philoſophy; and I remember to have heard my father remind him of a geometrical problem of conſiderable difficulty, about which he was occupied at the time when their acquaintance commenced, and which had been propoſed to him as an exerciſe by the celebrated Dr. Simpſon.

"Theſe, however, were certainly not the ſciences in which he was formed to excel; nor did they long divert him from purſuits more congenial to his mind. What lord Bacon ſays of Plato may be juſtly applied to him: "Illum, licet ad reipublicam non accediſſet, tamen naturâ et inclinatione omnino ad res civiles propenſum, virtus eo praecipue intendiſſe; neque de philoſophia naturali adeoadeum ſollicitum eſſe; niſi quatenus ad philoſophi nomen et celebritatem tuendam, et ad majeſtatem quandam moribus et civilibus doctrinis addendam et aſpergendam ſufficeret." The ſtudy of human nature in all its branches, more particularly of the political hiſtory of mankind, opened a boundleſs field to his curioſity and ambition; and, while it afforded ſcope to all the various powers of his verſatile and comprehenſive genius, gratified his ruling paſſion, of contributing to the happineſs and the improvement of ſociety. To this ſtudy, diverſified at his leiſure hours by the leſs ſevere occupations of polite literature, he ſeems to have devoted himſelf almoſt entirely from the time of his removal to Oxford; but he ſtill retained, and retained even in advanced years, a recollection of his early acquiſitions, which not only added to the ſplendour of his converſation, but enabled him to exemplify ſome of his favourite theories concerning the natural progreſs of the mind in the inveſtigation of truth, by the hiſtory of thoſe ſciences in which the connection and ſucceſſion of diſcoveries may be traced with the greateſt advantage. If I am not miſtaken too, the influence of his early taſte for the Greek geometry may be remarked in the elementary clearneſs and fulneſs, bordering ſometimes upon prolixity, with which he frequently ſtates his political reaſonings.—The lectures of the profound and eloquent Dr. Hutcheſon, which he had

had attended previous to his departure from Glasgow, and of which he always spoke in terms of the warmest admiration, had, it may be reasonably presumed, a considerable effect in directing his talents to their proper objects.

"I have not been able to collect any information with respect to that part of his youth which was spent in England. I have heard him say, that he employed himself frequently in the practice of translation, (particularly from the French), with a view to the improvement of his own style; and he used often to express a favourable opinion of the utility of such exercises, to all who cultivate the art of composition. It is much to be regretted, that none of his juvenile attempts in this way have been preserved; as the few specimens which his writings contain of his skill as a translator, are sufficient to shew the eminence he had attained in a walk of literature, which, in our country, has been so little frequented by men of genius.

"It was probably also at this period of his life, that he cultivated with the greatest care the study of languages. The knowledge he possessed of these, both ancient and modern, was uncommonly extensive and accurate; and, in him, was subservient, not to a vain parade of tasteless erudition, but to a familiar acquaintance with every thing that could illustrate the institutions, the manners and the ideas of different ages and nations. How intimately he had once been conversant with the more ornamental branches of learning, in particular, with the works of the Roman, Greek, French and Italian poets, appeared sufficiently from the hold which they kept of his memory, after all the different occupations and enquiries in which his maturer faculties had been employed. In the English language, the variety of poetical passages which he was not only accustomed to refer to occasionally, but which he was able to repeat with correctness, appeared surprising even to those, whose attention had never been directed to more important acquisitions.

"After a residence at Oxford of seven years, he returned to Kirkaldy, and lived two years with his mother; engaged in study, but without any fixed plan for his future life. He had been originally destined for the church of England, and with that view had been sent to Oxford; but not finding the ecclesiastical profession suitable to his taste, he chose to consult, in this instance, his own inclination, in preference to the wishes of his friends; and abandoning at once all the schemes which their prudence had formed for him, he resolved to return to his own country, and to limit his ambition to the uncertain prospect of obtaining, in time, some one of those moderate preferments, to which literary attainments lead in Scotland.

"In the year 1748, he fixed his residence at Edinburgh, and, during that and the following years, read lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres, under the patronage of lord Kames. About this time, too, he contracted a very intimate friendship, which continued, without interruption, till his death, with Mr. Alexander Wedderburn, now lord Loughborough, and with Mr. William Johnstone, now Mr. Pulteney.

"At what particular period his acquaintance with Mr. David Hume commenced, does not appear from any information that I have received; but from some papers, now in the possession of Mr. Hume's nephew, and which he has been so obliging

obliging as to allow me to peruse, their acquaintance seems to have grown into friendship before the year 1752. It was a friendship on both sides founded on the admiration of genius, and the love of simplicity; and which forms an interesting circumstance in the history of each of these eminent men, from the ambition which both have shewn to record it to posterity.

"In 1751, he was elected professor of logic in the University of Glasgow; and, the year following, he was removed to the professorship of moral philosophy in the same University, upon the death of Mr. Thomas Craigie, the immediate successor of Dr. Hutcheson. In this situation, he remained thirteen years; a period he used frequently to look back to, as the most useful and happy of his life. It was indeed a situation in which he was eminently fitted to excel, and in which the daily labours of his profession were constantly recalling his attention to his favourite pursuits, and familiarising his mind to those important speculations he was afterwards to communicate to the world. In this view, though it afforded, in the mean time, but a very narrow scene for his ambition, it was probably instrumental, in no inconsiderable degree, to the future eminence of his literary character.

"Of Mr. Smith's lectures while a professor at Glasgow, no part has been preserved, excepting what he himself published in the Theory of Moral Sentiments and in the Wealth of Nations. The society therefore, I am persuaded, will listen with pleasure to the following short account of them, for which I am indebted to a gentleman who was formerly one of Mr. Smith's pupils, and who continued till his death to be one of his most intimate and valued friends.

"In the professorship of logic, to which Mr. Smith was appointed on his first introduction into this University, he soon saw the necessity of departing widely from the plan that had been followed by his predecessors, and of directing the attention of his pupils to studies of a more interesting and useful nature than the logic and metaphysics of the schools. Accordingly, after exhibiting a general view of the powers of the mind, and explaining so much of the ancient logic as was requisite to gratify curiosity with respect to an artificial method of reasoning, which had once occupied the universal attention of the learned, he dedicated all the rest of his time to the delivery of a system of rhetoric and belles lettres. The best method of explaining and illustrating the various powers of the human mind, the most useful part of metaphysics, arises from an examination of the several ways of communicating our thoughts by speech, and from an attention to the principles of those literary compositions, which contribute to persuasion or entertainment. By these arts, every thing that we perceive or feel, every operation of our minds, is expressed and delineated in such a manner, that it may be clearly distinguished and remembered. There is, at the same time, no branch of literature more suited to youth at their first entrance upon philosophy than this, which lays hold of their taste and their feelings.

"It is much to be regretted, that the manuscript containing Mr. Smith's lectures on this subject was destroyed before his death. The first part, in point of composition, was highly finished; and the whole discovered strong marks of taste and original genius. From the permission given to students of taking notes,

notes, many observations and opinions, contained in these lectures, have either been detailed in separate dissertations, or ingrossed in general collections, which have since been given to the public. But these, as might be expected, have lost the air of originality and the distinctive character which they received from their first author, and are often obscured by that multiplicity of common-place matter in which they are sunk and involved.

"About a year after his appointment to the professorship of logic, Mr. Smith was elected to the chair of moral philosophy. His course of lectures on this subject was divided into four parts. The first contained natural theology; in which he considered the proofs of the being and attributes of God, and those principles of the human mind upon which religion is founded. The second comprehended Ethics strictly so called, and consisted chiefly of the doctrines which he afterwards published in his Theory of Moral Sentiments. In the third part, he treated at more length of that branch of morality which relates to justice, and which, being susceptible of precise and accurate rules, is, for that reason, capable of a full and particular explanation.

"Upon this subject, he followed the plan that seems to be suggested by Montesquieu; endeavouring to trace the gradual progress of jurisprudence, both public and private, from the rudest to the most refined ages, and to point out the effects of those arts which contribute to subsistence, and to the accumulation of property, in producing correspondent improvements or alterations in law and government. This important branch of his labours he also intended to give to the public; but this intention, which is mentioned in the conclusion of the Theory of Moral Sentiments, he did not live to fulfil.

"In the last part of his lectures, he examined those political regulations which are founded, not upon the principle of justice, but that of expediency, and which are calculated to increase the riches, the power and the prosperity of a state. Under this view, he considered the political institutions relating to commerce, to finances, to ecclesiastical and military establishments. What he delivered on these subjects contained the substance of the work he afterwards published under the title of An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.

"There was no situation in which the abilities of Mr. Smith appeared to greater advantage than as a professor. In delivering his lectures, he trusted almost entirely to extemporary elocution. His manner, though not graceful, was plain and unaffected; and as he seemed to be always interested in the subject, he never failed to interest his hearers. Each discourse consisted commonly of several distinct propositions, which he successively endeavoured to prove and illustrate. These propositions, when announced in general terms, had, from their extent, not unfrequently something of the air of a paradox. In his attempts to explain them, he often appeared, at first, not to be sufficiently possessed of the subject, and spoke with some hesitation. As he advanced, however, the matter seemed to crowd upon him, his manner became warm and animated, and his expression easy and fluent. In points susceptible of controversy, you could easily discern that he secretly conceived an opposition to his opinions, and that he was led upon this account to support them

greater energy and vehemence. By the fulness and variety of his illustrations, the subject gradually swelled in his hands, and acquired a dimension which, without a tedious repetition of the same views, was calculated to seize the attention of his audience, and to afford them pleasure, as well as instruction, in following the same object, through all the diversity of shades and aspects in which it was presented, and afterwards in tracing it backwards to that original proposition or general truth, from which this beautiful train of speculation had proceeded.

"His reputation as a professor was accordingly raised very high, and a multitude of students from a great distance resorted to the University, merely upon his account. Those branches of science which he taught became fashionable at this place, and his opinions were the chief topics of discussion in clubs and literary societies. Even the small peculiarities in his pronunciation or manner of speaking, became frequently the objects of imitation."

"While Mr. Smith was thus distinguishing himself by his zeal and ability as a public teacher, he was gradually laying the foundation of a more extensive reputation, by preparing for the press his system of morals. The first edition of this work appeared in 1759, under the title of "The Theory of Moral Sentiments."

"Hitherto Mr. Smith had remained unknown to the world as an author; nor have I heard that he had made a trial of his powers in any anonymous publications, excepting in a periodical work called The Edinburgh Review, which was begun in the year 1755, by some gentlemen of distinguished abilities, but which they were prevented by other engagements from carrying farther than the two first numbers. To this work Mr. Smith contributed a review of Dr. Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language, and also a letter, addressed to the editors, containing some general observations on the state of literature in the different countries of Europe. In the former of these papers, he points out some defects in Dr. Johnson's plan, which he censures as not sufficiently grammatical. "The different significations of a word (he observes) are indeed collected; but they are seldom digested into general classes, or ranged under the meaning which the word principally expresses: And sufficient care is not taken to distinguish the words apparently synonymous." To illustrate this criticism, he copies from Dr. Johnson the articles *but* and *humour*, and opposes to them the same articles digested agreeably to his own idea. The various significations of the word *but* are very nicely and happily discriminated. The other article does not seem to have been executed with equal care.

The observations on the state of learning in Europe are written with ingenuity and elegance; but are chiefly interesting, as they shew the attention which the author had given to the philosophy and literature of the continent, at a period when they were not much studied in this island.

In the same volume with the Theory of Moral Sentiments, Mr. Smith published a Dissertation "on the Origin of Languages, and on the different Genius of those which are original and compounded."

"I shall subjoin an original letter of Mr. Hume's, addressed to Mr. Smith soon after the publication of his Theory. It is strongly

marked

marked with that easy and affectionate pleasantry which distinguished Mr. Hume's epistolary correspondence; and is entitled to a place in this Memoir, on account of its connection with an important event of Mr. Smith's life, which soon after remanded him into a new scene, and influenced, to a considerable degree, the subsequent course of his studies. —The letter is dated from London, 12th April, 1759.

"I give you thanks for the agreeable present of your Theory. Wedderburn and I made presents of our copies to such of our acquaintances as we thought good judges, and proper to spread the reputation of the book. I sent one to the duke of Argyle, to lord Lyttleton, Horace Walpole, Soame Jemyns, and Burke, an Irish gentleman, who wrote lately a very pretty treatise on the Sublime. Millar desired my permission to send one in your name to Dr. Warburton. I have delayed writing to you till I could tell you something of the success of the book, and could prognosticate with some probability, whether it should be finally damned to oblivion, or should be registered in the temple of immortality. Though it has been published only a few weeks, I think there appear already such strong symptoms, that I can almost venture to foretell its fate. It is in short this.—But I have been interrupted in my letter by a foolish impertinent visit of one who has lately come from Scotland. He tells me that the University of Glasgow intend to declare Rouet's office vacant, upon his going abroad with lord Hope. I question not but you will have our friend Ferguson in your eye, in case another project for procuring him a place in the University of Edinburgh should fail. Ferguson has very much polished and improved his Treatise on Refinement, and with some amendments it will make an admirable book, and discovers an elegant and a singular genius. The Epigoniad, I hope, will do; but it is somewhat up-hill work. As I doubt not but you consult the reviews sometimes at present, you will see in the Critical Review a letter upon that poem; and I desire you to employ your conjectures in finding out the author. Let me see a sample of your skill in knowing hands by your guessing at the person. I am afraid of lord Kame's Law Tracts. A man might as well think of making a fine sauce by a mixture of wormwood and aloes, as an agreeable composition by joining metaphysics and Scotch law. However, the book, I believe, has merit; though few people will take the pains of diving into it. But, to return to your book, and its success in this town, I must tell you.—A plague of interruption! I ordered myself to be denied; and yet here is one that has broke in upon me again. He is a man of letters, and we have had a good deal of literary conversation. You told me that you was curious of literary anecdotes, and therefore I shall inform you of a few that have come to my knowledge. I believe I have mentioned to you already Helvetius's book De l'Esprit. It is worth your reading, not for its philosophy, which I do not highly value, but for its agreeable composition. I had a letter from him a few days ago, wherein he tells me that my name was much oftener in the manuscript, but that the Censor of books at Paris obliged him to strike it out. Voltaire has lately published a small work called Candide, ou l'Optimisme. I shall give you a detail of it—But what is all this to my book? say you.—My dear Mr. Smith, have patience: Compose

yourself to tranquillity: shew yourself a philosopher in practice as well as profession: think on the emptiness, and rashness, and futility of the common judgments of men: how little they are regulated by reason in any subject, much more in philosophical subjects, which so far exceed the comprehension of the vulgar.

——Non si quid turbida Roma
Elevet, accedas: examenve improbum in illa
Castiges trutina: nec te quæsiveris extra.

A wise man's kingdom is his own breast; or, if he ever looks farther, it will only be to the judgment of a select few, who are free from prejudices, and capable of examining his work. Nothing indeed can be a stronger presumption of falsehood than the approbation of the multitude; and Phocion, you know, always suspected himself of some blunder, when he was attended with the applauses of the populace.

"Supposing, therefore, that you have duly prepared yourself for the worst by all these reflections, I proceed to tell you the melancholy news, that your book has been very unfortunate; for the public seem disposed to applaud it extremely. It was looked for by the foolish people with some impatience; and the mob of literati are beginning already to be very loud in its praises. Three bishops called yesterday at Millar's shop in order to buy copies, and to ask questions about the author. The bishop of Peterborough said he had passed the evening in a company where he heard it extolled above all books in the world. The duke of Argyle is more decisive than he uses to be, in its favour. I suppose he either considers it as an exotic, or thinks the author will be serviceable to him in the Glasgow elections. Lord Lyttleton says, that Robertson and Smith and Bower are the glories of English literature. Oswald protests he does not know whether he has received more instruction or entertainment from it. But you may easily judge what reliance can be put on his judgment, who has been engaged all his life in public business, and who never sees any faults in his friends. Millar exults and brags that two thirds of the edition are already sold, and that he is now sure of success. You see what a son of the earth that is, to value books only by the profit they bring him. In that view, I believe it may prove a very good book.

"Charles Townsend, who passes for the cleverest fellow in England, is so taken with the performance, that he said to Oswald he would put the duke of Buccleugh under the author's care, and would make it worth his while to accept of that charge. As soon as I heard this, I called on him twice, with a view of talking with him about the matter, and of convincing him of the propriety of sending that young nobleman to Glasgow: for I could not hope, that he could offer you any terms which would tempt you to renounce your professorship. But I missed him. Mr. Townsend passes for being a little uncertain in his resolutions; so perhaps you need not build much on his sally.

"In recompence for so many mortifying things, which nothing but truth could have extorted from me, and which I could easily have multiplied to a greater number, I doubt not but you are so good a christian as to return good for evil; and to flatter my vanity by telling me, that all the godly in Scotland abuse me for my account of John Knox and the Reformation. I suppose you are glad to see my paper end, and that I am obliged to conclude with

Your humble servant,

DAVID HUME."

"After

"After the publication of the Theory of Moral Sentiments, Mr. Smith remained four years at Glasgow, discharging his official duties with unabated vigour, and with increasing reputation. During that time, the plan of his lectures underwent a considerable change. His ethical doctrines, of which he had now published so valuable a part, occupied a much smaller portion of the course, than formerly; and accordingly, his attention was naturally directed to a more complete illustration of the principles of jurisprudence and of political oeconomy.

"To this last subject, his thoughts appear to have been occasionally turned from a very early period of life. It is probable, that the uninterrupted friendship he had always maintained with his old companion Mr. Oswald, had some tendency to encourage him in prosecuting this branch of his studies; and the publication of Mr. Hume's political discourses in the year 1752, could not fail to confirm him in those liberal views of commercial policy which had already opened to him in the course of his own enquiries. His long residence in one of the most enlightened mercantile towns in this island, and the habits of intimacy in which he lived with the most respectable of its inhabitants, afforded him an opportunity of deriving what commercial information he stood in need of, from the best sources; and it is a circumstance no less honourable to their liberality, than to his talents, that notwithstanding the reluctance, so common among men of business to listen to the conclusions of mere speculation, and the direct opposition of his leading principles to all the old maxims of trade, he was able, before he quitted his situation in the university, to rank some very eminent merchants in the number of his proselytes.

"Among the students who attended his lectures, and whose minds were not previously warped by prejudice, the progress of his opinions, it may be reasonably supposed, was much more rapid. It was this class of his friends accordingly that first adopted his system with eagerness, and diffused a knowledge of its fundamental principles over this part of the kingdom.

"Towards the end of 1763, Mr. Smith received an invitation from Mr. Charles Townsend to accompany the duke of Buccleugh on his travels; and the liberal terms in which the proposal was made to him, added to the strong desire he had felt of visiting the continent of Europe, induced him to resign his office at Glasgow. With the connection which he was led to form in consequence of this change in his situation, he had reason to be satisfied in an uncommon degree, and he always spoke of it with pleasure and gratitude. To the public, it was not perhaps a change equally fortunate; as it interrupted that studious leisure for which nature seems to have destined him, and in which alone he could have hoped to accomplish those literary projects which had flattered the ambition of his youthful genius.

"The alteration, however, which, from this period, took place in his habits, was not without its advantages. He had hitherto lived chiefly within the walls of an University; and although to a mind like his, the observation of human nature on the smallest scale is sufficient to convey a tolerably just conception of what passes on the great theatre of the world, yet is it not to be doubted, that the variety of scenes through which he

afterwards passed, must have enriched his mind with many new ideas, and corrected many of those misapprehensions of life and manners which the best descriptions of them can scarcely fail to convey.—But whatever were the lights that his travels afforded to him as a student of human nature, they were probably useful in a still greater degree, in enabling him to perfect that system of political œconomy, of which he had already delivered the principles in his lectures at Glasgow, and which it was now the leading object of his studies to prepare for the public. The coincidence between some of these principles and the distinguishing tenets of the French œconomists, who were at that very time in the height of their reputation, and the intimacy in which he lived with some of the leaders of that sect, could not fail to assist him in methodizing and digesting his speculations; while the valuable collection of facts, accumulated by the zealous industry of their numerous adherents, furnished him with ample materials for illustrating and confirming his theoretical conclusions.

"After leaving Glasgow, Mr. Smith joined the duke of Buccleugh at London early in the year 1764, and set out with him for the continent in the month of March following. At Dover they were met by sir James Macdonald, who accompanied them to Paris, and with whom Mr. Smith laid the foundation of a friendship, which he always mentioned with great sensibility, and of which he often lamented the short duration. The panegyrics with which the memory of this accomplished and amiable person has been honoured by so many distinguished characters in the different countries of Europe, are a proof how well fitted his talents were to command general admiration: The esteem in which his abilities and learning were held by Mr. Smith, is a testimony to his extraordinary merit of still superior value. Mr. Hume, too, seems, in this instance, to have partaken of his friend's enthusiasm. "Were you and I together, (says he in a letter to Mr. Smith), we should shed tears at present for the death of poor sir James Macdonald. We could not possibly have suffered a greater loss than in that valuable young man."

"In this first visit to Paris, the duke of Buccleugh and Mr. Smith employed only ten or twelve days, after which they proceeded to Thoulouse, where they fixed their residence for eighteen months, and where, in addition to the pleasure of an agreeable society, Mr. Smith had an opportunity of correcting and extending his information concerning the internal policy of France, by the intimacy in which he lived with some of the principal persons of the parliament.

"From Thoulouse they went, by a pretty extensive tour, through the south of France to Geneva. Here they passed two months. The late earl Stanhope, for whose learning and worth Mr. Smith entertained a sincere respect, was then an inhabitant of that republic.

"About Christmas 1765, they returned to Paris, and remained there till October following. The society in which Mr. Smith spent these ten months, may be conceived from the advantages he enjoyed, in consequence of the recommendations of Mr. Hume. Turgot, Quesnai, Necker, d'Alembert, Helvetius, Marmontel, madame Riccoboni, were among the number of his acquaint-

quaintances; and some of them he continued ever afterwards to reckon among his friends. From madame d'Anville, the respectable mother of the late excellent and much lamented duke of Rochefoucauld, he received many attentions, which he always recollected with particular gratitude.

"It is much to be regretted, that he preserved no journal of this very interesting period of his history; and such was his aversion to write letters, that I scarcely suppose any memorial of it exists in his correspondence with his friends. The extent and accuracy of his memory, in which he was equalled by few, made it of little consequence to himself to record in writing what he heard or saw; and from his anxiety before his death to destroy all the papers in his possession, he seems to have wished, that no materials should remain for his biographers, but what were furnished by the lasting monuments of his genius, and the exemplary worth of his private life.

"The satisfaction he enjoyed in the conversation of Turgot may be easily imagined. Their opinions on the most essential points of political oeconomy were the same; and they were both animated by the same zeal for the best interests of mankind. The favourite studies, too, of both had directed their enquiries to subjects on which the understandings of the ablest and the best informed are liable to be warped, to a great degree, by prejudice and passion; and on which, of consequence, a coincidence of judgment is peculiarly gratifying.

"We are told by one of the biographers of Turgot, that, after his retreat from the ministry, he occupied his leisure in a philosophical correspondence with some of his old friends; and, in particular that various letters on important subjects passed between him and Mr. Smith. I take notice of this anecdote chiefly as a proof of the intimacy which was understood to have subsisted between them; for, in other respects, the anecdote seems to me to be somewhat doubtful. It is scarcely to be supposed, that Mr. Smith would destroy the letters of such a correspondent as Turgot; and still less probable, that such an intercourse was carried on between them without the knowledge of any of Mr. Smith's friends. From some enquiries that have been made at Paris by a gentleman of this society since Mr. Smith's death, I have reason to believe, that no evidence of the correspondence exists among the papers of M. Turgot, and that the whole story has taken its rise from a report suggested by the knowledge of their former intimacy. This circumstance I think it of importance to mention, because a good deal of curiosity has been excited by the passage in question, with respect to the fate of the supposed letters.

"Mr. Smith was also well known to M. Quesnai, the profound and original author of the Œconomical Table; a man (according to Mr. Smith's account of him) "of the greatest modesty and simplicity;" and whose system of political œconomy he has pronounced, "with all its imperfections," to be the nearest approximation to the truth that has yet been published on the principles of that very important science." If he had not been prevented by Quesnai's death, Mr. Smith had once an intention (as he told me himself) to have inscribed to him his "Wealth of Nations."

"It was not, however, merely the distinguished men who about this period

period fixed so splendid an æra in the literary history of France, that excited Mr. Smith's curiosity while he remained in Paris. His acquaintance with the polite literature both of ancient and modern times was extensive; and amidst his various other occupations, he had never neglected to cultivate a taste for the fine arts; less, it is probable, with a view to the peculiar enjoyments they convey, (though he was by no means without sensibility to their beauties,) than on account of their connection with the general principles of the human mind; to an examination of which they afford the most pleasing of all avenues. To those who speculate on this very delicate subject, a comparison of the modes of taste that prevail among different nations, affords a valuable collection of facts; and Mr. Smith, who was always disposed to ascribe to custom and fashion their full share in regulating the opinions of mankind with respect to beauty, may naturally be supposed to have availed himself of every opportunity which a foreign country afforded him of illustrating his former theories.

"Some of his peculiar notions, too, with respect to the imitative arts, seem to have been much confirmed by his observations while abroad. In accounting for the pleasure we receive from these arts, it had early occurred to him as a fundamental principle, that a very great part of it arises from the difficulty of the imitation; a principle which was probably suggested to him by that of the *difficulté surmontée*, by which some French critics had attempted to explain the effect of versification and of rhyme. This principle Mr. Smith pushed to the greatest possible length, and referred to it, with singular ingenuity, a great variety of phenomena in all the different fine arts. It led him, however, to some conclusions, which appear, at first view at least, not a little paradoxical; and I cannot help thinking, that it warped his judgment in many of the opinions which he was accustomed to give on the subject of poetry.

"The principles of dramatic composition had more particularly attracted his attention; and the history of the theatre, both in ancient and modern times, had furnished him with some of the most remarkable facts on which his theory of the imitative arts was founded. From this theory it seemed to follow as a consequence, that the same circumstances which, in tragedy, give to blank verse an advantage over prose, should give to rhyme an advantage over blank verse; and Mr. Smith had always inclined to that opinion. Nay, he had gone so far as to extend the same doctrine to comedy; and to regret, that those excellent pictures of life and manners which the English stage affords, had not been executed after the model of the French school. The admiration with which he regarded the great dramatic authors of France tended to confirm him in these opinions; and this admiration (resulting originally from the general character of his taste, which delighted more to remark that pliancy of genius which accommodates itself to established rules, than to wonder at the bolder flights of an undisciplined imagination) was increased to a great degree, when he saw the beauties that had struck him in the closet, heightened by the utmost perfection of theatrical exhibition. In the last years of his life, he sometimes amused himself, at a leisure hour, in supporting his theoretical conclusions on these subjects, by the

the facts which his subsequent studies and observations had suggested; and he intended, if he had lived, to have prepared the result of these labours for the press. Of this work he has left for publication a short fragment; the first part of which is, in my judgment, more finished in point of style than any of his compositions; but he had not proceeded far enough to apply his doctrine to versification and to the theatre. As his notions, however, with respect to these were a favourite topic of his conversation, and were intimately connected with his general principles of criticism, it would have been improper to pass them over in this sketch of his life; and I even thought it proper to detail them at greater length than the comparative importance of the subject would have justified, if he had carried his plans into execution. Whether his love of system, added to his partiality for the French drama, may not have led him, in this instance, to generalize a little too much his conclusions, and to overlook some peculiarities in the language and versification of that country, I shall not take upon me to determine.

"In October 1766, the duke of Buccleugh returned to London. His grace, to whom I am indebted for several particulars in the foregoing narrative, will, I hope, forgive the liberty I take in transcribing one paragraph in his own words: "In October 1766, we returned to London, after having spent near three years together, without the slightest disagreement or coolness; on my part, with every advantage that could be expected from the society of such a man. We continued to live in friendship till the hour of his death; and I shall always remain with the impression of having lost a friend whom I loved and respected, not only for his great talents, but for every private virtue."

"The retirement in which Mr. Smith passed his next ten years, formed a striking contrast to the unsettled mode of life he had been for some time accustomed to, but was so congenial to his natural disposition, and to his first habits, that it was with the utmost difficulty he was ever persuaded to leave it. During the whole of this period, (with the exception of a few visits to Edinburgh and London), he remained with his mother at Kirkaldy; occupied habitually in intense study, but unbending his mind at times in the company of some of his old school-fellows, whose "sober wishes" had attached them to the place of their birth. In the society of such men, Mr. Smith delighted; and to them he was endeared, not only by his simple and unassuming manners, but by the perfect knowledge they all possessed of those domestic virtues which had distinguished him from his infancy.

"Mr. Hume, who (as he tells us himself) considered "a town as the true scene for a man of letters," made many attempts to seduce him from his retirement. In a letter, dated in 1772, he urges him to pass some time with him in Edinburgh. "I shall not take any excuse from your state of health, which I suppose only a subterfuge invented by indolence and love of solitude. Indeed, my dear Smith, if you continue to hearken to complaints of this nature, you will cut yourself out entirely from human society, to the great loss of both parties." In another letter, dated in 1769, from his house in James's Court, (which commanded a prospect of the frith of Forth, and of the opposite coast of Fife), "I am glad (says he) to have some view of you; but

as

as I would also be within speaking terms of you, I wish we could concert measures for that purpose. I am mortally sick at sea, and regard with horror and a kind of hydrophobia the great gulf that lies between us. I am also tired of travelling, as much as you ought naturally to be of staying at home. I therefore propose to you to come hither, and pass some days with me in this solitude. I want to know what you have been doing, and propose to exact a rigorous account of the method in which you have employed yourself during your retreat. I am positive you are in the wrong in many of your speculations, especially where you have the misfortune to differ from me. All these are reasons for our meeting, and I wish you would make me some reasonable proposal for that purpose. There is no habitation on the island of Inchkeith, otherwise I should challenge you to meet me on that spot, and neither of us ever to leave the place, till we were fully agreed on all points of controversy. I expect general Conway here tomorrow, whom I shall attend to Roseneath, and I shall remain there a few days. On my return, I hope to find a letter from you, containing a bold acceptance of this defiance."

"At length (in the beginning of the year 1776) Mr. Smith accounted to the world for his long retreat, by the publication of his "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations." A letter of congratulation on this event, from Mr. Hume, is now before me. It is dated 1st April 1776, (about six months before Mr. Hume's death); and discovers an amiable solicitude about his friend's literary fame. "Euge! Belle! dear Mr. Smith: I am much pleased with your performance, and the perusal of it has taken me from a state of great anxiety. It was a work of so much expectation, by yourself, by your friends, and by the public, that I trembled for its appearance; but am now much relieved. Not but that the reading of it necessarily requires so much attention, and the public is disposed to give so little, that I shall still doubt for some time of its being at first very popular. But it has depth and solidity and acuteness, and is so much illustrated by curious facts, that it must at last take the public attention. It is probably much improved by your last abode in London. If you were here at my fire-side, I should dispute some of your principles. . . . But these, and a hundred other points, are fit only to be discussed in conversation. I hope it will be soon; for I am in a very bad state of health, and cannot afford a long delay."

"About two years after the publication of "the Wealth of Nations," Mr. Smith was appointed one of the commissioners of his majesty's customs in Scotland; a preferment which, in his estimation, derived an additional value from its being bestowed on him at the request of the duke of Buccleugh. The greater part of these two years he passed at London, in a society too extensive and varied to afford him any opportunity of indulging his taste for study. His time, however, was not lost to himself; for much of it was spent with some of the first names in English literature. Of these no unfavourable specimen is preserved by Dr. Barnard, in his well known "Verses, addressed to sir Joshua Reynolds and his friends."

If I have thoughts, and can't express 'em,
Gibbon shall teach me how to dress 'em
In words select and terse:

Jones

Jones teach me modesty and Greek,
Smith how to think, Burke how to speak,
And Beauclerc to converse.

"In consequence of Mr. Smith's appointment to the board of customs, he removed, in 1778, to Edinburgh, where he spent the last twelve years of his life; enjoying an affluence which was more than equal to all his wants; and, what was to him of still greater value, the prospect of passing the remainder of his days among the companions of his youth.

"His mother, who, though now in extreme old age, still possessed a considerable degree of health, and retained all her faculties unimpaired, accompanied him to town; and his cousin miss Jane Douglas, (who had formerly been a member of his family at Glasgow, and for whom he had always felt the affection of a brother), while she divided with him those tender attentions which her aunt's infirmities required, relieved him of a charge for which he was peculiarly ill qualified, by her friendly superintendence of his domestic œconomy.

"The accession to his income which his new office brought him enabled him to gratify, to a much greater extent than his former circumstances admitted of, the natural generosity of his disposition; and the state of his fund, at the time of his death, compared with his very moderate establishment, confirmed, beyond a doubt, what his intimate acquaintances had often suspected, that a large proportion of his annual savings was allotted to offices of secret charity. A small, but excellent library, which he had gradually formed with great judgment in the selection; and a simple, though hospitable table, where, without the formality of an invitation, he was always happy to receive his friends, were the only expences that could be considered as his own.

"The change in his habits which his removal to Edinburgh produced, was not equally favourable to his literary pursuits. The duties of his office, though they required but little exertion of thought, were yet sufficient to waste his spirits and to dissipate his attention; and now that his career is closed, it is impossible to reflect on the time they consumed, without lamenting that it had not been employed in labours more profitable to the world, and more equal to his mind.

"During the first years of his residence in this city, his studies seemed to be entirely suspended; and his passion for letters served only to amuse his leisure, and to animate his conversation. The infirmities of age, of which he very early began to feel the approaches, reminded him at last, when it was too late, of what he yet owed to the public, and to his own fame. The principal materials of the works which he had announced, had been long ago collected; and little probably was wanting, but a few years of health and retirement, to bestow on them that systematical arrangement in which he delighted; and the ornaments of that flowing, and apparently artless style, which he had studiously cultivated, but which, after all his experience in composition, he adjusted, with extreme difficulty, to his own taste.

"The death of his mother in 1784, which was followed by that of Miss Douglas in 1788, contributed, it is probable, to frustrate these projects. They had been the objects of his affection for more than sixty years; and in their society he had enjoyed, from his infancy,

cy, all that he ever knew of the endearments of a family. He was now alone, and helpless; and, though he bore his loss with equanimity, and regained apparently his former cheerfulness, yet his health and strength gradually declined till the period of his death, which happened in July 1790, about two years after that of his cousin, and six after that of his mother. His last illness, which arose from a chronic obstruction in his bowels, was lingering and painful; but had every consolation to sooth it which he could derive from the tenderest sympathy of his friends, and from the complete resignation of his own mind.

"A few days before his death, finding his end approach rapidly, he gave orders to destroy all his manuscripts, excepting some detached essays, which he entrusted to the care of his executors; and they were accordingly committed to the flames. What were the particular contents of these papers, is not known even to his most intimate friends; but there can be no doubt that they consisted, in part, of the lectures on rhetoric, which he read at Edinburgh in the year 1748, and of the lectures on natural religion and on jurisprudence, which formed part of his course at Glasgow. That this irreparable injury to letters proceeded, in some degree, from an excessive solicitude in the author about his posthumous reputation, may perhaps be true; but with respect to some of his manuscripts, may we not suppose, that he was influenced by higher motives? It is but seldom that a philosopher, who has been occupied from his youth with moral or with political enquiries, succeeds completely to his wish in stating to others, the grounds upon which his own opinions are founded; and hence it is, that the known principles of an individual, who has approved to the public his candour, his liberality, and his judgment, are entitled to a weight and an authority, independent of the evidence which he is able, upon any particular occasion, to produce in their support. A secret consciousness of this circumstance, and an apprehension, that by not doing justice to an important argument, the progress of truth may be rather retarded than advanced, have probably induced many authors to with-hold from the world the unfinished results of their most valuable labours; and to content themselves with giving the general sanction of their suffrages to truths which they regarded as peculiarly interesting to the human race.

"The additions to the Theory of Moral Sentiments, most of which were composed under severe disease, had fortunately been sent to the press in the beginning of the preceding winter; and the author lived to see the publication of the work. The moral and serious strain that prevails through these additions, when connected with the circumstance of his declining health, adds a peculiar charm to his pathetic eloquence; and communicates a new interest, if possible, to those sublime truths, which, in the academical retirement of his youth, awakened the first ardours of his genius, and on which the last efforts of his mind reposed.

"In a letter addressed, in the year 1787, to the principal of the University of Glasgow, in consequence of his being elected rector of that learned body, a pleasing memorial remains of the satisfaction with which he always recollected that period of his literary

career,

career, which had been more peculiarly consecrated to these important studies. "No preferment (says he) could have given me so much real satisfaction. No man can owe greater obligations to a society than I do to the University of Glasgow. They educated me; they sent me to Oxford. Soon after my return to Scotland, they elected me one of their own members; and afterwards preferred me to another office, to which the abilities and virtues of the never to be forgotten Dr. Hutcheson had given a superior degree of illustration. The period of thirteen years which I spent as a member of that society, I remember as by far the most useful, and therefore, as by far the happiest and most honourable period of my life; and now, after three and twenty years absence, to be remembered in so very agreeable a manner by my old friends and protectors, gives me a heart-felt joy which I cannot easily express to you."

"The short narrative which I have now finished, however barren of incident, may convey a general idea of the genius and character of this illustrious man. Of the intellectual gifts and attainments by which he was so eminently distinguished;—of the originality and comprehensiveness of his views; the extent, the variety and the correctness of his information; the inexhaustible fertility of his invention; and the ornaments which his rich and beautiful imagination had borrowed from classical culture;—he has left behind him lasting monuments. To his private worth the most certain of all testimonies may be found in that confidence, respect and attachment, which followed him through all the various relations of life. The serenity and gaiety he enjoyed, under the pressure of his growing infirmities, and the warm interest he felt to the last, in every thing connected with the welfare of his friends, will be long remembered by a small circle, with whom, as long as his strength permitted, he regularly spent an evening in the week; and to whom the recollection of his worth still forms a pleasing, though melancholy bond of union.

"The more delicate and characteristical features of his mind, it is perhaps impossible to trace. That there were many peculiarities, both in his manners, and in his intellectual habits, was manifest to the most superficial observer; but, although to those who knew him, these peculiarities detracted nothing from the respect which his abilities commanded; and, although to his intimate friends, they added an inexpressible charm to his conversation, while they displayed, in the most interesting light, the artless simplicity of his heart; yet it would require a very skilful pencil to present them to the public eye. He was certainly not fitted for the general commerce of the world, or for the business of active life. The comprehensive speculations with which he had been occupied from his youth, and the variety of materials which his own invention continually supplied to his thoughts, rendered him habitually inattentive to familiar objects, and to common occurrences; and he frequently exhibited instances of absence, which have scarcely been surpassed by the fancy of Bruyere. Even in company, he was apt to be engrossed with his studies; and appeared, at times, by the motion of his lips, as well as by his looks and gestures, to be in the fervour of composition. I have often, however, been struck, at the distance of years, with his accurate

curate memory of the most trifling particulars; and am inclined to believe, from this and some other circumstances, that he possessed a power, not perhaps uncommon among absent men, of recollecting, in consequence of subsequent efforts of reflection, many occurrences which, at the time when they happened, did not seem to have sensibly attracted his notice.

"To the defect now mentioned, it was probably owing, in part, that he did not fall in easily with the common dialogue of conversation, and that he was somewhat apt to convey his own ideas in the form of a lecture. When he did so, however, it never proceeded from a wish to ingross the discourse, or to gratify his vanity. His own inclination disposed him so strongly to enjoy in silence the gaiety of those around him, that his friends were often led to concert little schemes, in order to bring him on the subjects most likely to interest him. Nor do I think I shall be accused of going too far, when I say, that he was scarcely ever known to start a new topic himself, or to appear unprepared upon those topics that were introduced by others. Indeed, his conversation was never more amusing than when he gave a loose to his genius, upon the very few branches of knowledge of which he only possessed the outlines.

"The opinions he formed of men, upon a slight acquaintance, were frequently erroneous; but the tendency of his nature inclined him much more to blind partiality, than to ill-founded prejudice. The enlarged views of human affairs, on which his mind habitually dwelt, left him neither time nor inclination to study, in detail, the uninteresting peculiarities of ordinary characters; and accordingly, though intimately acquainted with the capacities of the intellect, and the workings of the heart, and accustomed, in his theories, to mark, with the most delicate hand, the nicest shades, both of genius and of the passions; yet, in judging of individuals, it sometimes happened, that his estimates were, in a surprising degree, wide of the truth.

"The opinions, too, which, in the thoughtlessness and confidence of his social hours, he was accustomed to hazard on books, and on questions of speculation, were not uniformly such as might have been expected from the superiority of his understanding, and the singular consistency of his philosophical principles. They were liable to be influenced by accidental circumstances and by the humour of the moment; and when retailed by those who only saw him occasionally, suggested false and contradictory ideas of his real sentiments. On these, however, as on most other occasions, there was always much truth, as well as ingenuity, in his remarks: and if the different opinions which, at different times, he pronounced upon the same subject, had been all combined together, so as to modify and limit each other, they would probably have afforded materials for a decision, equally comprehensive and just. But, in the society of his friends, he had no disposition to form those qualified conclusions that we admire in his writings; and he generally contented himself with a bold and masterly sketch of the object, from the first point of view in which his temper, or his fancy, presented it. Something of the same kind might be remarked, when he attempted, in the flow of his spirits, to delineate those characters which, from long intimacy, he might have

been supposed to understand thoroughly. The picture was always lively and expressive; and commonly bore a strong and amusing resemblance to the original, when viewed under one particular aspect; but seldom, perhaps, conveyed a just and complete conception of it in all its dimensions and proportions. In a word, it was the fault of his unpremeditated judgments, to be too systematical, and too much in extremes.

"But, in whatever way these trifling peculiarities in his manners may be explained, there can be no doubt, that they were intimately connected with the genuine artlessness of his mind. In this amiable quality, he often recalled to his friends, the accounts that are given of good La Fontaine; a quality which in him derived a peculiar grace from the singularity of its combination with those powers of reason and of eloquence which, in his political and moral writings, have long engaged the admiration of Europe.

"In his external form and appearance, there was nothing uncommon. When perfectly at ease, and when warmed with conversation, his gestures were animated, and not ungraceful; and, in the society of those he loved, his features were often brightened with a smile of inexpressible benignity. In the company of strangers, his tendency to absence, and perhaps still more his consciousness of this tendency, rendered his manner somewhat embarrassed;—an effect which was probably not a little heightened by those speculative ideas of propriety, which his recluse habits tended at once to perfect in his conception, and to diminish his power of realizing. He never sat for his picture; but the medallion of Tassie conveys an exact idea of his profile, and of the general expression of his countenance."

Account of the Personal Appearance, Mode of Living, Character, and Peculiarities of Linnæus: Supplementary to the Particulars of his Life inserted in the New Annual Register for 1781.

[From Dr. Stoever's Life of Sir Charles Linnæus, translated from the Original German, by Joseph Trapp, A. M.]

"THE stature of Linnæus was a little below the common size, though neither lusty nor lean, yet the structure of his frame was strong and solid. He rather stooped a little when walking, and had contracted this habit from the frequent examination of plants, and from his constant search after vegetable or other natural productions. From his infancy his veins had much swelled with blood. His head was large, somewhat elevated backwards, and a traverse line separated the fore part from the hind. His eyes were brown and fiery, his sight was very sharp, and his ear extremely quick in catching every sound, except music. It is rather singular, that the man, who was all alive to joy and social harmony, should have felt an antipathy, as it were, for that art which best expresses those affections, and has mostly been the delight of great men. Even the grave and serious Boerhaave found his chief comfort and recreation in music. Another circumstance to be noticed as a peculiarity in Linnæus was, that his memory, so excellent

and uncommonly vigorous in his youth and in the flower of his age, — that memory which encompassed whatever was remarkable in nature, became at last as weak as it formerly had been strong, and began already to fall off very considerably after he had completed his fiftieth year. To the too violent exertion and overburdening of his memory, its early decay ought, therefore, to be attributed.

"His memory, like all his talents and endowments, was, in point of science, solely devoted to natural history. He loved the *Belles Lettres*, and even when old age had chilled the brilliancy of his imagination, would frequently read Ovid and Virgil, and rehearse, with ease and pleasure, several passages from the works of those poets. He was not fond of what is properly called the philology of words. While at college, he had already but too much evinced his aversion to the learning of languages. In the foreign countries which he had visited, in England, Holland and France, the Latin language became mostly his aid in his intercourse, which was almost entirely confined to the learned. In this language, with the assistance of the Greek, of which he had a competent knowledge for his profession, he expressed himself in describing objects of natural history, with ease, fluency, masterly conciseness, perspicuity, and precision. Simplicity, the predominant feature of his whole character, was also remarkable in the language of his science, which derived from him so many reforms and perfections. The diction of a technical man could not surely be that of a Cicero. The object of which he complained, appeared more important to him than the vesture which he threw about it. His descriptions and his letters please, though one ought not to search for elegance of latinity in them. Owing to the quickness with which he wrote, he would sometimes commit errors even against the grammatical accuracy of the vernacular tongue of the Romans, and some of his letters will furnish ample proof of the truth of this assertion. The greatness of Linnæus becomes an inducement even to mention the most trifling particulars. He frequently used to say his friends:— "I would rather have three slaps from Priscian than one from nature. —*Malo tres alapas a Prisciano, quam unam a natura.*" When he was chosen member of the French Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris in 1763, he composed his letter of thanks to that learned body in Swedish, and had it translated into Latin by his friend the late Swedish librarian Froudin. In other respects, it cannot be denied, that a more extensive knowledge of languages, especially of the modern ones, would have proved highly useful to Linnæus. The complaints of his not having profited with utility by the works of foreigners, would then have been less numerous, if not entirely removed. He was tolerably well versed in the German, but spoke it very rarely. "I had however the pleasure," says the celebrated botanist Ehrhard at Hanover, of his once conversing with me in German for a whole afternoon in the spring of 1773.

"His activity was as great, as his thirst for truth, and for the more profound and more extensive knowledge of his science, was unquenchable. The strictest order, the most punctual regularity distinguished all his

his actions. In summer he usually slept five hours, from ten at night till three o'clock in the morning; in winter his rest lasted nine hours, namely, from nine in the evening till six in the morning. He proportioned the length and duration of his sleep to the season of the year; and the time for study and occupation he always limited by the natural flow of his spirits. Whenever he felt himself fatigued, he laid by his work; at night he used to be very fond of good company, displayed much mirth and jollity, joked, and would often set whole circles in a roar in which he most heartily joined them. Owing to his sanguine temper he became very susceptible to transitions from joy to sadness, and from these to anger. His heart was downright probity itself, and from his lips streamed candor, truth and virtue. Faithful and affectionate to his friends, he never even retaliated upon his enemies their malice and enmity; he was was not apt to forget an offence easily, and used to say: "I will not suffer myself to be deceived a second time." All the concerns of house-keeping and domestic œconomy he entrusted to the care of his spouse, who ruled the family. He was a true and tender husband, and his fondness as a father was not less remarkable than his other good qualifications.

"His mansion was neat and filled with handsome furniture: he never disliked feasting his friends; but the poverty which had once oppressed him in his youth, would not permit him to be lavish of expence. In all that related to his science, to natural curiosities, books, correspondence; or if he saw a person that really needed relief, for instance, a widowed mother with infant orphans, nothing could then restrain his liberality and beneficence. The excellent collections of literary and natural treasures which he left behind him, prove what considerable expence he was at, as a literatus and a friend of nature. We will illustrate this assertion by the following comparatively speaking diminutive instance: In 1764 he wrote thus to the celebrated Austrian naturalist J. A. Scopoli, who was at that time a physician at Istria in Carinthia, and became afterwards professor of chemistry and botany at Pavia, where he terminated his meritorious life May 3, 1788: "After many vain endeavours, I have at last received your description of the Carinthian insects from Holland. The postage alone stands me in about three ducats, but I do not grudge the expence. That work has afforded me more pleasure than an hundred ducats would have done. I am astonished at your boundless industry in collecting, classing, and describing your work. None but him who had a share in such labour can form himself an adequate idea of it."

"To the poor and even to the rich, foreign students, who resided at Upsal entirely on his account, he left the whole of the perquisites, which they must otherwise have paid him for his lectures. To the former he remitted that money from pure motives of beneficence, and from the latter he would not receive it, that he might convince them how nobly proud he was of his science. Besides the testimony which professor Fabricius gives in this particular with regard to Zoega and himself, we will communicate here the following farther illustrations of the generosity of Linnæus.

"When Dr. Gieseke took his leave of our luminary in autumn of 1771, he presented to him a Swed-

ish bank note as an acknowledgment for the pains he had taken to instruct him, but he absolutely declined acceptance. After reiterated intreaties he asked Gieseke: "Pray, tell me candidly, are you rich, and can you afford it—can you well spare this money on your return to Germany?—If you can, give the bank note to my wife. But should you be poor, so help me God, I would not take a single farthing from you."

"To the praise of Linnæus I must farther own," says Mr. Ehrhart, the celebrated botanist at Hanover, —"that notwithstanding his parsimony, he neither did nor would accept a single penny as an honorary for the lectures which he gave me." —"You are a Swiss," said he once to me, "and the only Swiss that visits me. I shall take no money of you, but feel a pleasure, in telling you all I know gratis."

"Notwithstanding those liberal sentiments, gold, the noblest of metals, did not a little recreate his sight, and inspire him with fondness. "And why," says Dean Bæck, "should gold not have been amassed by him, who hoarded up all that was precious or beautiful in the lap of nature?"

"In the common social intercourse he was fond of conversation, kind and condescending towards his inferiors,—and at the same time, a prepossessed and enthusiastic friend of reputation and honour. His coat of arms bore for its motto the words, with which Anchises spirits up Æneas, and Pallas invokes Hercules; "Famam extendere factis." —"To spread fame by deeds". The truth of this motto he fully realized. Honour was in him like in other eminent men, the source of his greatness. The liberal will in other respects hardly deem it necessary to gloss over by apologies that manifestation of self-love, which is generally inseparable from true honour.

"Linnæus is censured," says Dean Bæck, "for having aspired at universal dominion in botany, and for having been angry with those who strove like him to acquire eminence in that science. Jealousy is almost constantly found to operate upon great men. And the republic of science has neither Pompeys nor Cæsars. Exclusive domination in the regions of literary eminence belongs to him alone who has truth on his side; nature confirms the truth, while time on the other hand, destroys presumption and caprices. And who had more virtue and more merit on his side than Linnæus? who could with greater right raise himself the monarch of natural science? Hence how generally and voluntarily have his laws been adopted," We will readily allow that Linnæus wished to acquire honour by his labours; but he did not neglect, as his pupils can prove, to pay proper homage to the discoveries of other men. He mentioned with gratitude all those, who showed or sent him the least curiosities of nature. He thought it was his prerogative, to see and describe those plants, which his disciples procured by resources of their own. He acknowledged their confidence as a strong mark of politeness; but when they lost sight of this confidence, he could not forbear expressing his displeasure. In other respects he did not like to speak publicly of things which he had not seen himself.

"The arms of Linnæus were perhaps the most expressive of any learned man of the age; at the top above the helmet was the plant which bears his name, and whose leaves

leaves hung down on both sides; in the centre of the divisions was an egg,—an allusion to the principle of Harvey: "*Omne animal ex ovo*," and to the basis of his sexual system: "*Omnis planta e semine*;"— at the top was a crown, and on each side another, signifying the three reigns of nature, and borrowed from the medal which count Tessin had ordered to be struck in honour of him; from below appeared the order of the Polar Star, encompassed by his motto: *Famam extendere factis*.

"The hand which Linnæus wrote, was upon the whole of a diminutive size, but remarkably plain, and well formed for a literatus. In the earlier part of his life it must even have been remarked as a fine hand.

"One of the most distinguished attributes of the mind of Linnæus were his religious sentiments, and his profound adoration of the Divinity. He resembled in this respect, Newton, Haller, Locke, Euler and others, whose respect of religion rendered their knowledge still more estimable. The deeper he penetrated into the secrets of nature, the more he admired the wisdom of her creator. He praised this wisdom in his works, recommended it by his speeches, and honoured it in his actions. Whenever he found an opportunity of expatiating on the greatness, the providence, and omnipotence of God, which frequently happened in his lectures and botanical excursions, his heart glowed with a celestial fire, and his mouth poured forth torrents of admirable eloquence. This made him one of the best inculcators of morality; he instilled by so doing a similar spirit of religion into the breast of his pupils. He kept, as we already observed, a diary like Haller, in which he recorded the principal occurrences of his life. Besides this, he had begun to write a little work in 1733, which he called Nemesis Divina; and in which he recorded, as it were for his own warning, the punishments inflicted by providence, and those catastrophes and adversities which befel others, and which from long experience, he had either foreseen or had a presentiment of. Over the door of the hall, in which he gave his lectures, was the following inscription: "Innocui vivite! Numen adest!"—"*Live guiltless! God observes you!*"—He could never think on the wonderful paths on which the Almighty had guided him without being moved, and without thanking his Providence for all the proofs of his grace and mercy. He concluded the tract which contains the occurrences of his life with these words: "The Lord was with thee, where ever thou didst go, &c. &c."

"One of his celebrated pupils, the late chevalier Murray of Goettingen, when publicly announcing the death of his great teacher in 1778, added the following illustration of his character.—"Every candid and impartial mind cannot but acknowledge how much natural history stands indebted to Linnæus for his writings, for his lectures, for his correspondence, for his most active zeal, and for sending the ablest pupils to all quarters of the globe; and with regard to medicine, for fixing the solid basis of a successful practice and ascertaining the remedies. By the order, truth, precision and perfection, and the immediate application of theory to practical use, which he introduced in his favourite science, he not only weaned his countrymen from a whimsical and pretended study of antiquities, but kindled in all Europe and in other enlightened parts of

of the world, an enthusiastic love of natural history, which even captivated monarchs. As long as the world shall exist, there will be opportunities of making alterations, additions, and commentaries in certain learned productions; but what is all this, if compared to the merits of an original creator? His mind was too elevated and too noble to have ever suffered him to abuse or vex even those who had cowardly and morosely attacked him. Not a line of such a tendency obscures his splendid literary career. The Swedish court expressed the esteem which it felt for him, not only by promoting and facilitating the progress of his science, but also by conferring upon him personal rewards; he graced the presence of his king; in the temple which is consecrated to nature at Drottningholm, a medallion representing him is suspended amidst the most illustrious Swedes, and a superb mausoleum has been erected to him after his death.—Many of his countrymen, heedless of the dangers which abound on the stormy seas and in wildernesses, the repairs of ferocious beasts, exposed themselves, merely to gratify their venerable professor by natural collections. One of them sent him a service of porcelain from China, purposely manufactured for him and bearing a representation of the Linnæa Borealis on the outside. Others attempted by their pencil, or chisel, to render imperishable their name by publishing his portrait. As long as Linnæus preserved the faculty of thinking, he constantly had in his mind his darling motto: *Famam extendere factis.*—It raised him from the humblest obscurity to the summit of permanent fame."

"Tender to his friends," says Condorcet in his panegyric, delivered before the Royal Academy of sciences at Paris, "amiable and blithsome in familiar converse, noble with the great, plain and good-natured to his inferiors, Linnæus never purchased by baseness the privilege of making others feel the humiliating weight of pride; and was the less jealous of affecting a precarious prerogative than he was confident of his real greatness. Rich by the munificence of his court, he never deviated from that simplicity of life, from which no man can stray without being punished by ridicule and loneliness."—A short time after he had suffered an apopletic stroke, he composed a brief account of his life, and sent it to this Academy to furnish materials for his panegyric. In this production he speaks with as much candor of his labours and discoveries as he does of his faults.—"He owns that he might perhaps be too easily moved or irritated; that he is but slow in adopting opinions, and perseveres perhaps with too much obstinacy in those which he had once received; that he was not possessed of moderation sufficient to resist the censure and the contradictions of his rivals.—Such avowals only prove, that Linnæus was passionately fond of fame, and that this passion like all others is subject to frailties and excesses. But how small is the number of men who have that courage which he had to own their frailties."

"Thus the care which he took of his Eulogium, and which in another man might perhaps have been the mere impulse of vanity, was in him but a fresh proof of his love of truth. After having combated errors all his life time, he would not palliate those which admiration or envy might have urged for or against him."

"The

"The extraordinary laconism in the works of Linnæus, and perhaps the too frequent use of systematic description, render the perusal of them difficult; they require more being studied than read; but afford afterwards a rich compensation in the precision of his ideas, and in the advantage of presenting, all at once, a multiplicity of results. Linnæus was well aware that naked truth possessed the most captivating charms, and that those ornaments which are used to set her off, serve only to mask her. He was more eager to form naturalists and to instruct students than to entertain amateurs. The powers of eloquence which allure the latter and please the idle fancy, were a gift which he never desired to make his own. His countrymen, at the same time, found in the works which he wrote in his mother-tongue, an elegant and pleasant diction, and that kind of eloquence, which, among all others, is the most enrapturing, and perhaps the only one peculiarly adapted to philosophical works, I mean, that eloquence which comprises many thoughts in a few words, and expresses new and important truths, in a noble and artless language.

"In all the works of Linnæus, there reigns a profound adoration of Providence, a lively admiration of the greatness and wisdom of his ways, and a tender gratitude for his benefits. He believed in Providence, because his daily observations upon nature furnished him with fresh proofs of her sublime immensity, and he daily saw instances of it before his eyes.

"All authentic particulars, which can contribute to a stricter knowledge of the life, character and peculiarities of a man, who has rendered himself as eminent and as immortal as Linnæus, cannot fail to prove agreeable and interesting. We shall therefore subjoin here those anecdotes which professor Fabricius of Kiel, one of his most celebrated pupils, has collected respecting him.

"For two whole years," relates Fabricius, namely from 1762 till 1764, "have I been so fortunate as to enjoy his instruction, his guidance and his confidential friendship. Not a day elapsed, on which I did not see him, on which I was not either present at his lectures, or, as it frequently happened, spent several hours with him in familiar conversation. In summer we followed him into the country. We were three, Kuhn, Zoega, and I, all foreigners. In winter we lived directly facing his house, and he came to us almost every day, in his short red robe de chambre, with a green fur-cap on his head and a pipe in his hand. He came for half an hour, but stopped a whole one, and many times two. His conversation on these occasions was extremely sprightly and pleasant. It either consisted in anecdotes relative to the learned in his profession, with whom he got acquainted in foreign countries, or in clearing up our doubts, or giving us other kinds of instruction. He used to laugh then most heartily, and displayed a serenity and an openness of countenance, which proved how much his soul was susceptible of amity and good fellowship.

"Our life was much happier when we resided in the country. Our habitation was about half a quarter of a league distant from his house at Hammarby—in a farm where we kept our own furniture and other requisites for housekeeping. He rose very early in summer, mostly about four o'clock. At six he came to us because his house

house was then building, breakfasted with us, and gave lectures upon the natural orders of plants (*ordines naturales plantarum*), as long as he pleased, and generally till about ten o'clock. We then wandered about till twelve upon the adjacent rocks, the productions of which afforded us plenty of entertainment. In the afternoon we repaired to his garden, and in the evening we mostly played at the Swedish game of trissett, in company with his spouse.

"On Sundays the whole family usually came to spend the day with us. We sent for a peasant who played on an instrument resembling a violin, at the sound of which we danced in the barn of our farmhouse. Our balls were certainly not very splendid, the company but small, the music superlatively rustic, and no change in the dances, which were constantly either minuets or Polish; but regardless of these wants we passed our time very merrily. While we were dancing, the old man, who smoaked his pipe with Zoega, who was deformed by nature, and emaciated, became a spectator of our amusement, and sometimes, though very rarely, danced a Polish dance, in which he excelled every one of us young men. He was extremely delighted whenever he saw us in high glee, nay, if we even became very noisy; had he not always found us so, he would have manifested his apprehensions lest we should not be sufficiently entertained.—Those days, those hours shall never be erased from my memory, and every remembrance of them is grateful to my heart!

"What made him so excessively kind towards us was, because we were foreigners, and besides some Russians who did not bestow great pains upon their studies, we also were those who alone adhered to him, who alone heard and attended him, and remained at Upsal entirely on his account. He found that we loved his science, and that we proved this love by a most zealous application to its different pursuits. He felt, therefore, great pleasure in convincing his own countrymen, that his science would be esteemed abroad, even when it should begin to decline in Sweden. He was also fond of conversation on all subjects relative to natural history, for which he had but too little opportunity at Upsal. That science almost entirely engrossed his speech, and every thought of his mind; and being the only naturalist then at that university, such a privation must have occasioned to him a great deal of irksomeness.

"When I got acquainted with sir Charles Linnæus, who was then in his fifty-sixth year, increasing age had already furrowed his front with wrinkles. His countenance was open, almost constantly serene, and bore great resemblance to his portrait in the *Species Plantarum*. But his eyes,—of all the eyes I ever saw,—were the most beautiful. They certainly were but little, but darted a refulgent splendor and a penetration of aspect which I never observed before in any other man. It sometimes appeared to me, as if his looks would penetrate through the very innermost recesses of the heart.

"His mind was remarkably noble and elevated, though I well know that some persons accused him of several faults; the acuteness and energy of his mental faculties even shone through his eyes. But his greatest excellence consisted in the systematical order, by which his thoughts succeeded each other.

What-

Whatever he said or did was faithful to order, to truth, and to regularity. In his youth his memory was uncommonly vigorous, but it began to sink early into decay. Even when I was with him, he could not sometimes remember the names of his dearest friends and relatives. I still recollect to have seen him once very much embarrassed, when, after writing a letter to Moræus, his father-in-law at Fahlun, he almost found it impossible to recollect his name.

"His passions were strong and violent. His heart was open to every impression of joy; and he loved jocularity, conviviality, and good living. He was an excellent companion, pleasant in conversation, full of strong hits of fancy, and seasonable and entertaining stories; but at the same time, suddenly roused to anger and boisterous; the sudden effervescence of this fiery passion subsided however, almost at the very moment of its birth, and he immediately became all plain good nature again. His friendship was sure and invariable. Science was generally its basis; and every one who knew him must own what concern he always manifested for his pupils, and with how much zeal they returned his friendship, and frequently became his defenders. He was so fortunate as to find among his favourites none that were ungrateful; even Rolander deserved more to be pitied than blamed.

"The ambition of Linnæus knew no bounds; and his motto, *Famam extendere factis*, was the real mirror of his soul. But this ambition never extended beyond the regions of his science, and it never degenerated into surly and offensive pride. He certainly did not care much for the opinion of his contemporaries, and only heeded that which proceeded from those, who were men of genuine literary merit. His way of living was moderate and parsimonious, his dress plain, and oftentimes even shabby. The high rank to which his king had raised him, pleased him only as far as he considered it as a proof of his scientific greatness.

"In the pursuits of his studies, he could but ill brook contradiction and opposition. He corrected his works agreeable to the just remarks of his friends, whose hints he received with gratitude;—but the attacks of his opponents he despised, and instead of answering, he consigned them to that obscurity and oblivion, in which they have long ago been buried. Notwithstanding this, he could not easily forgive aggressions, and strained every nerve to erase them from the annals of literature. He was liberal in dispensing praise, because he was fond of being flattered; and this, indeed, may be considered as his greatest foible. At the same time, his ambition was founded upon the consciousness of his own greatness, and upon the merits which he acquired in a science, over which he had for so many years wielded the sceptre of sovereignty. Tournefort, as he often told me, was his pattern in his youth; he did all he could to equal him, and found at last, that he had left Tournefort at a great distance beneath him.

"Linnæus has been particularly charged with avarice. It cannot be denied, that his way of living, considering his good circumstances, was very moderate, and that he surely did not despise gold. But if I weigh in my mind those extremes of poverty, which so long and so heavily overwhelmed him, I can easily account

count for this parsimony. But I could not say, that his frugality ever degenerated into sordid avarice. I can even prove quite the contrary by my own experience. After having given us lectures all the summer round, we were not only obliged to urge him to receive the fee due for these lectures, but even to leave the money slily upon his chest, as he had signified his resolution not to take it, in a final and peremptory manner.

"He was not quite happy and comfortable in his own family. His wife was tall, robust, domineering, selfish, and destitute of every advantage of a good education. She frequently robbed us of the joys which gilded our social moments. Unable to hold any conversation in decent company, she consequently was never much fond of it herself.

"Under those disadvantages, the education of the children of Linnæus could not but be of an inferior description. The young ladies, his daughters, are all good-tempered, but rough children of nature, and deprived of those external accomplishments which they might have derived from a better education. The younger Linnæus, who succeeded his father in his professorship at Upsal, is certainly not endowed with the same vivacity; but the great knowledge which he acquired by a constant practice of botany, and by the many and excellent observations of his parent, which he found in his manuscripts, must have rendered him a very useful man there. The eldest daughter, who married captain Von Bergencranz, returned afterwards to her parents, and lived constantly in their house.

"The merits of Linnæus in the sciences are uncommonly great. He not only enriched them considerably himself, but formed also a great number of pupils of the greatest scientific eminence. He found means, partly by the charming method of delivering his lectures, partly by his excursions and friendly demeanour, to inspire them with a love of natural history, which they always preserved afterwards, and which induced them to undertake long and important travels and voyages, and to enrich their science at home by valuable tracts and observations. But few were those teachers, who had the good fortune to form so great a number of disciples, who all contributed, in some measure, to extend the limits of their science; and there is no country but Sweden, which ever sent out so many travellers to make discoveries in natural history.—Linnæus was also my teacher, and I acknowledge with emotion, how greatly indebted I am to him for his lessons and his friendship.

"Besides the labour which he bestowed upon medicine, especially upon the materia medica and pathology, nature was his principal occupation, and proclaimed him also as the first darling of his time. Great was he in discerning and arranging the immensity of beings which cover the globe: and perhaps greater still in the extraordinary number of observations, and in the hypotheses which are founded upon them, and gradually became theoretical truths. The hypotheses of Linnæus indicate most particularly the brilliancy of his imagination, and at the same time, the strength of his judgment. Some of them appear extremely bold and venturesome at first; but upon closer inspection, we find the observations in nature on which they are founded, and must acknowledge

 them

them afterwards, if not as true, at least as probable and as deserving of a more minute enquiry.

"Among his manuscripts there must certainly have been found many important remarks; I should have been very desirous of seeing those which relate to the general arrangement of nature. He must have collected the most interesting observations on this head. He contemplated nature with the greatest accuracy, and with so much knowledge and judicious skill, as to have penetrated into her most secret mysteries. But he dared not, as he himself assured me, publish those observations during his life, because he was afraid of the excessive violence of the Swedish divines, who, frequently too faithful and too bigotted to their own arguments, do not consider, that nature as well as revelation, proclaim, in unison of principle, the hands of that Great Master, who formed both. Linnæus had the example of his pupil Forskal before his eyes, who, immediately after his return from Goettingen, saw himself involved in so many theological disputes, as would, perhaps, have been carried too far, had he not left the field of litigation, by setting out on his voyage to Arabia.

"Linnæus knew how to secure to himself, even in his earlier days, that dominion over the three reigns of nature, which he preserved till death.

"In mineralogy, his very countrymen entered the lists of contention against him. He certainly was often attacked and censured with injustice; and the little inaccuracies, which will never fail to exist in works of that importance, ought to have been palliated and overlooked, on account of the other great merits of their author. It is, however, an incontrovertible fact, that he first introduced systematic regularity in the mineral reign. He formed the classes, and determined the genera and species by regular distinctive marks, which he derived from the external appearance. Thus mineralogy became a regular science, after it had formerly been but a chaos created by the miners, who used to discriminate the minerals partly by practice and partly by fire. Linnæus having once left the mines, having no laboratory, and being over-burdened by a multiplicity of other occupations, discontinued to exert himself so much in mineralogy. His system is however excellent, his hypothesis the fruit of the ripest reflection, his descriptions of the species are excellent, and his observations truly important. In spite of all attacks, his name will likewise be handed down in this science to the latest posterity.

"The vegetable reign possessed the greatest charms for Linnæus; he bestowed upon it the best share of his time and abilities. When he first appeared in the field of science in 1732, Tournefort's system of botany, derived from the structure of the inward cover of the flower, was every where popular and universally accepted. But during the latter part of its most flourishing epoch, a kind of barbarism was perceived in that system. A great number of new plants having been discovered, it so happened that the characters of the inward cover of the flower proved insufficient to distinguish one from another with plainness and regularity. Botanists began, therefore, to have recourse to the outward appearance, and to copper-plates, not without prejudice to the certainty of the real system.

"Lin-

"Linnæus soon perceived the error and its real foundation, in the want of sufficient and solid characters, which the inward cover of the flower could never have procured. He sought, therefore, a safer basis for his system, and took at first the outward cover of the flower to effect his purpose. But he found it equally insufficient. He ultimately examined the sex of the plants, which had in some measure been already known before him, though never used as a system. Upon these enquiries he built his sexual system, which soon met with universal approbation, and spread itself throughout Europe. That he might render it the more firm and imperishable, he introduced the natural characters of the genera, which he took from all the parts of fructification, and from which he obtained a great number of distinctive marks, which will never fail accurately to point out the genera. He demonstrated the true principles of a botanical system, introduced a solid, certain, and definitive technology, and demonstrated the various errors of his predecessors, which had made their systems totter, and rendered uncertain the definition of the plants. This laid the foundation of his authority in the science of botany, which he extended still farther in a most extraordinary manner, by the excellent, concise, and plain Differentiæ Specificæ, by the trivial names, and a solid and precise synonymy. After the entire arrangement and completion of his system, when the denomination and definition of plants could no longer embarrass its progress, he began to give a great number of the descriptions of the new species, which are all real master-pieces, and the knowledge of which he partly owed to his travels, partly to his pupils, and from which the many editions and the important emendations of his system have originated. He was, at the same time, extremely cautious in not mentioning any plant as a species or as a genus, of which he either did not well know the characters, or did not find them sufficiently clear to his understanding. He acted thus, merely that he might not prejudice the solidity of his system.

"The number of his new and important observations in botany is very great. They are for the most part to be found in the collection of his academical dissertations. He also took uncommon pains to finish his Ordines Naturales, or the natural affinity which subsists among the plants; but notwithstanding the great extent of his exertions, those productions only remained fragments, and many plants still are left, to which he could not assign a place in their natural order. I aspired at the same time to get better acquainted with the distinctive marks of his natural classes and with his observations upon them. He subjoined them finally, though with too much laconism, to the last edition of his Genera Plantarum, which was the result of some lectures he gave us in summer, in the country, upon the natural order.

"These are his merits in botany, to which he gave a quite new appearance, and enriched with many valuable remarks."—"If we make conjecture of the value of the Linnæan method," says the celebrated Lyell in his Vegetable System, "it will live, even when a natural method shall be found, as long as there is science."

"Linnæus manifested the same spirit of systematical order in the animal reign. He found it a real chaos, in which the infinite number

r of animals were confounded thout characteristic distinction d without order. There had rdly been any regular and fixed sses introduced, at least not ong the smaller kinds of animals. t he made it a regular science. e limited the various classes by ain distinctive marks, introduced e solid genera, determined the ecies, and took pains to lessen the eat number of variations. I must eely own, that Linnæus himself as very sensible, that his system f the animal reign was not built pon so safe a foundation as his bony, and that his generical characters were far more tottering and nore undefined. It is, however, he only system which comprises he whole animal reign, which is ertainly a great prerogative, if we only consider the circumstances in which Linnæus found that science. It remained almost entirely uncultivated, consisted only of a few descriptions which were extremely deficient, and of a small number of copper-plates, so badly executed, as hardly to be discernible. In ichthyology, he alone profited by the labours of his ill-fated friend Artedi.

"Linnæus was likewise the first who separated the worms from the insects, defined both classes by real characters, and introduced genera, sorts, and orders—a foundation upon which almost all his successors built after him. He also augmented all the different parts of the animal reign by a very considerable number of new discovered species, by exact and more accurate descriptions, and by a great quantity of the most important discoveries, which chiefly relate to animal œconomy.

"Linnæus was therefore a great man in all the branches of natural history. His name will consequently remain immortal in them all. Posterity will admire the penetrating spirit, the precision and the energy, which shine forth in the works of that original genius, who rendered his science the most regular, and was the boast of his country and the pride of his age."

ANECDOTES of the TRAVELLING PUPILS of LINNÆUS.

[From the same Work.]

"IF I look back upon the fate of naturalists," says Linnæus, "must I call madness or reason that desire which allures us to seek and examine plants? The irresistible attractions of nature can alone induce us to face so many dangers and troubles. No science ever had so many martyrs as natural history. Pliny, the prince of nature among the Romans, plunged into the fiery abyss of Mount Ætna, Simon Pauli from his love of plants broke his leg; Clusius, an enthusiast equally unfortunate, was thrown into irons, and robbed of all his treasures in Barbary; Guillandini was taken by pirates; the Dutch consul Rumf died blind in the island of Amboyna, where he preferred his toils to all the wealth of the universe; Lippi was murdered in the wilds of Æthiopia; Steller fell a victim to his exertions in Siberia; Gmelin was thrown into a dungeon by the Tartars; Lowitz impaled; Scheuchzer left all the conveniencies of life to gather grasses, exposed to a thousand dangers, on the Alps; Tournefort exchanged the luxuries of Paris to range through the wilds of Turkey; a Banks, a Forster, and other cotemporaries are equal

equal to, nay they excel Tournefort in point of enthusiasm; because they exchanged smiling fortune at home with the threatening dangers of foreign climes, in barbarous and unknown regions; Rudbeck lost his collections in the fire of Upsal, and died of a broken heart; Plumier suffered shipwreck; Bannister was hurled headlong down a rock in Virginia; Barelli, Micheli, Donati, Vaillant and others, without number, fell a sacrifice to their scientific exertions in natural history."

"The pupils of Linnæus augmented the number of victims of science. We shall begin with those whose ill-fated career deserves most to be lamented.

"Sweden stands indebted to count Tessin for the preservation of the great professor at Upsal; likewise for the numerous peregrinations of his pupils. The patriotic disposition of many of his fellow-citizens imitated afterwards his example. He requested of the Swedish East India company at Gothenburgh, to let every year a young naturalist make a voyage to India in their ships, free from expence; a request made by so great a man, was instantly complied with. Magnus Lagerstroem, a great lover of natural history, was then director of that company, and the academy of Stockholm afterwards received him as one of its members. He gratified every wish of Linnæus; took the young travellers under his special protection, and charged the captains of the ships to serve them whenever they found an opportunity. Lagerstroem even brought it so far, that they could purchase natural curiosities in China at the company's own expence.

"The first of the pupils of Linnæus, who profited by this opportunity to visit a remote part of the world, was C. Ternstroem, a young man who seemed to be born to collect natural curiosities. In 1745 he embarked at Gothenburgh for China; but fell a victim to the climate, even before he could reach the place of his destination. He died at Poulicandor, towards the close of 1745.

"Soon after Linnæus became the instrument of a second voyage. He represented in his lectures, in the most eloquent and persuasive manner, the extraordinary merits and great celebrity which a young student might obtain by travelling through Palestine, and by enquiring into and describing the natural history of that country, which was till then unknown, and had become of the greatest importance to interpret the bible, and to understand eastern philology. This certainly was an Herculean and dangerous enterprize. Nevertheless there was a young man whose courageous zeal was bent upon this expedition.

"His name was Frederick Hasselquist, then a student, and afterwards doctor of physic. The lively representations of Linnæus, and the obvious importance of the voyage itself soon rendered it an object of patriotic concern. There being no fund arising from the liberality of the crown, private collections were made, which poured in very copiously, especially from the province of East Gothland, the native country of the young traveller. All the faculties of the university of Upsal also granted him a stipend.

"Thus protected, he commenced his journey in the summer of 1749. By the interference of Lagerstroem, he had a free passage to Smyrna in one of the Swedish East Indiamen. He arrived there at the conclusion of

of the year, and was received in the most friendly manner by Mr. A. Rydel, the Swedish consul. In the beginning of 1750 he set out for Egypt, and remained nine months at Cairo the capital. Hence he sent to Linnæus and to the learned societies of his country, some specimens of his researches. They were published in the public papers, and met with the greatest approbation, and upon the proposition of Dean Bæck and Dr. Wargentin, secretary of the royal academy of sciences, a collection of upwards of 10,000 dollars in copper-money was for made the continuance of the travels of young Hasselquist. Counsellors Lagerstroem and Nordencrantz, were the most active in raising subscriptions at Stockholm and Gothenburgh. In the spring of 1751, he repaired to his destination, and passed through Jaffa to Jerusalem, Jericho, &c. He returned afterwards through Rhodus and Scio to Smyrna. Thus he fulfilled all the expectations of his country, but he was not to reap the reward of his toils. The burning heat of the sandy deserts of Arabia had affected his lungs; he reached Smyrna in a state of illness, in which he languished for some time, and died February 9, 1752, in the 30th year of his age.

"The fruits of his travels were, however, preserved through the liberality of a great princess. He had been obliged to contract debts. The Turks, therefore, seized upon all his collections and threatened to expose them to public sale. The Swedish consul prevented it. He sent with the intelligence of the unhappy exit of his countryman, an account of the distresses under which he died;—and at the representation of Dean Bæck, queen Louisa Ulrica granted the sum of 14,000 dollars in copper-specie, to redeem all his collections. They arrived afterwards in good preservation at Stockholm, consisting of a great quantity of antiques, Arabian manuscripts, shells, birds, serpents, insects, &c. and were kept in the cabinets at Ulrichsdale and Drottningholm. The specimens of the natural curiosities of these museums being double or treble in number, Linnæus obtained some of them, and published the voyage of his ill-fated friend, and honoured his memory with a plant which he called from his name Hasselquistia.

"The plan which Linnæus had first projected, and which Hasselquist on account of his illness was not able to execute alone, was soon afterward revived by a German. Professor Michælis of Goettingen, one of the greatest adepts in the eastern languages, who from the great respect which count Hoepken entertained for him, was created a knight of the polar star in the year 1775, demonstrated the necessity of obtaining a more extensive knowledge of that country, which had been the theatre of most of the events related in the Holy Scripture; and he brought it so far, through the interference of the Danish ministers counts Bernstorf and Moltke at Copenhagen, that an expedition was made into Arabia, which will always be recorded in the history of Frederick V. king of Denmark, as a striking and honourable testimony of his liberality and zeal in the promotion of the sciences. Five persons were chosen for this purpose, viz. counsellor Niebuhr, professor Forskal, professor Von Haven, professor Cramer, M. D. and Baurnfeind, the painter. The former had been proposed by counsellor Kæstner, and the two

latter by Michælis. Forſkal was a native of Sweden, a pupil of Linnæus, and well verſed in the eaſtern languages, which he had ſtudied under Michælis at Goettingen. He was ſoon after appointed profeſſor at Copenhagen, and heard the lectures of Linnæus upon natural hiſtory at Upſal. The voyage was commenced in 1761; Arabia Felix proved as unfortunate to theſe naturaliſts as it had once proved to Haſſelquiſt. Forſkal ſent a letter, with ſome diſpatches to count Bernſtorf, on the 9th of June, 1763, in which he gave him a preciſe account of the Arabian balſam of Mecca. Theſe were the laſt diſpatches which he ever ſent to Denmark. One month after, on the 11th of July 1763, he departed this life, in the 31ſt year of his hopeful age. The fate of his companions was equally fatal. Death ſnatched them all away in Arabia, except M. Niebuhr, who afterwards publiſhed an account of this memorable voyage. The obſervations of Forſkal were not loſt. His ſurviving friend publiſhed them at Copenhagen, and the intereſting contents of his laſt letter were communicated to Linnæus, who called a plant after his name—Forſkahlea tenaciſſima.

"Thus three of his young pupils found an early grave in Aſia. The aſhes of a fourth were deſtined for another part of the world. However flattering the choice of Forſkal to act as a naturaliſt in the Daniſh voyage to Arabia muſt have been, yet the ſelection of another pupil of Linnæus proved equally honourable to our luminary. Application was made to him from the weſt of Europe, from Madrid, for an able botaniſt. He choſe for this purpoſe a young Swede of the name of Peter Loefling, who went to Spain in 1751, where he acquired great merit in his profeſſion of botaniſt to the king, and in advancing natural knowledge. The Spaniſh government wiſhed to profit ſtill farther by his talents. In 1755 he was ſent to South America, to travel through the different Spaniſh ſettlements and poſſeſſions, and to explore their natural produce; but ſcarce had he been a twelve-month in that ſouthern region ere he fell a victim to its climate. He died February 11th, 1756, in the flower of youth, aged twenty-ſeven years, and crowned with merit. Linnæus was ſingularly affected at the loſs of him. Among all his travelling diſciples he was one of the moſt zealous and moſt learned botaniſts, and none had a finer opportunity to enrich his ſcience. He left to his great teacher at Upſal the melancholy pleaſure of publiſhing his voyage, and dedicating to his memory a plant which he denominated Loeflingia.

"Linnæus did not live to hear of the tragical exit of another of his pupils, who, like Loefling, revered him as his promoter. This was J. P. Falk. He was born in Weſt Gothland in 1730, and came to Upſal in 1751, to ſtudy natural hiſtory. His diligence and poverty were equally great. He was as much diſtreſſed as Linnæus once had been. The latter did for Falk what Celſius and Rudbeck had formerly done for himſelf. He took him into his houſe and made him tutor to his ſon, afterwards profeſſor Linnæus. In the year 1759 he made a tour to Gothland. The good fortune of Forſkal induced him two years after to go to Copenhagen, in hopes of being choſen a member of the ſociety of the Arabian travellers. His hopes were, however, fruſtrated, and he returned to Upſal,

ſal, were he publiſhed in the year 1762 his Planta Alſtroemeria. In the following year the horizon of his fate become ſomewhat more ſerene. Through the recommendation of Linnæus he was called to Peterſburgh, to be inſpector of the cabinet of natural curioſities belonging to Mr. Kruſe, firſt phyſician to the empreſs of Ruſſia, and counſellor of ſtate. He ſuffered ſhipwreck at Narva, and loſt the beſt part of his effects. In 1765 he was made profeſſor of the medical college and inſpector of the botanical garden. His unbounded paſſion for ſtudy had a very ſiniſter influence upon his health. He became ſubject to obſtructions in the abdomen, and conſequently to extreme fits of melancholy. He ſhot himſelf on his laſt travels through the Ruſſian empire, at Caſan in Tartary, in the night of the 20th of March 1774. Thus deſpair terminated the life of a man who had been too great a ſlave to ſcience ever to enjoy happineſs and ſocial hilarity.

"To the above ill-fated perſons may be added the celebrated J. J. Bjoernſtahl. He certainly made the *Belles Lettres* his chief ſtudy, yet at the ſame time he had frequented the Linnæan lectures upon natural hiſtory. After twelve years peregrination he ended his career on the 12th of July 1779, in the forty-ninth year of his age, at Salonichi in Macedonia. The patriotiſm of his countrymen honoured his memory by medals, and his tomb with a marble monument.

"Theſe were the ſix pupils of Linnæus, the ſix ambaſſadors of Flora, who were ſtopped in their miſſion by premature death. We ſhall now ſpeak of thoſe whoſe deſtinies proved more auſpicious.

"Beſides Loefling, two other pupils of Linnæus made a voyage to America. The principal among theſe was Peter Kalm. A patriotic thought of Linnæus occaſioned his voyage. He well knew that a ſpecies of mulberry tree *(morus rubra)* grew wild in North America, and roſe to a fine height in the open diſtricts of Canada. The ſituation and climate of that country are much analagous to that of Sweden. The importation of raw ſilk in this latter kingdom was reckoned at twenty-thouſand Swediſh pounds, which conſequently drew out of the national coffer the ſum 250,000 dollars per annum. Linnæus propoſed to the royal academy of Stockholm a voyage to Canada, to learn, among other things, whether or not the American mulberry trees and the ſilkworms which feed on them could be tranſplanted into Sweden with advantage. Patriotiſm ſoon executed this propoſal. The royal academy of ſciences, the univerſities of Upſal and Abo, the magiſtrates of Stockholm, and the commercial college of the ſtates contributed liberally to defray the expences. Linnæus choſe Kalm, who was then a ſtudent, and had already made himſelf known by his obſervations on domeſtic natural hiſtory, to undertake this voyage. He ſet out in October 1747, and paſſed from England to North America, where he remained three years. In 1751 he returned in good health to his country, where he publiſhed an account of his voyage, and took upon him the functions of profeſſor of natural hiſtory at the univerſity of Abo, in Finland, which charge Linnæus had previouſly obained for him, and where he terminated his literary career in the year 1790. The mulberry-tree of Canada was by him introduced into Sweden, and culti-

vated in several gardens; the Swedish government set a prize upon its cultivation in 1757, but the silk manufactures of that country never rose to a flourishing state.

'Some time after Kalm's return, Dr. Rolander, one of his colleagues, who had also been tutor to Linnæus junior, made a voyage to Surinam and to the island of St. Eustatius in 1755; but his voyage was of no great utility, and he was one of those pupils with whose conduct Linnæus was most dissatisfied.

"The melancholy fate of Ternstroem, Hasselquist and Forskal, who were cut off in the flower of youth in Asia, could by no means deter their countrymen. In 1750 Olof Torén made a voyage to the coast of Malabar and Surat, and some time after, Peter Osbeck, as chaplain of a Swedish East-Indiaman, sailed to China. Both returned safely with their treasures to Sweden, and published their observations. The captain of the ship himself became conspicuous for his love of natural history and the zeal with which he served Linnæus. His name was Eckeberg. In 1765 A. Sparrmann made likewise a voyage with him to China; he returned three years after, and from the year 1772 till 1776 made a voyage round the world with Capt. Cook and Forster—also to the Cape of Good Hope, and into the interior parts of the South of Africa, by which his name became so celebrated. Much about the same time a voyage was made to this latter country and the South-Eastern part of Asia, by one of the most distinguished pupils of the Linnæan school, then a physician in the service of the Dutch East-India company. This was doctor Charles Peter Thunberg, that celebrated naturalist and worthy successor of his great teacher at Upsal, and of his friend Linnæus junior. He has been created a knight of the order of Vasa, since the year 1785.

"Thus the spirit of Linnæus diffused itself from the North through all the zones of the earth, thus his name was spread by his disciples over most parts of the world, even in the Southern Indies. Some of his pupils were among the first who entered and explored the new discovered countries. One of them was Sparrmann—and before him Dr. Solander, who, after Linnæus, travelled through the Alps of Lapland, and accompanied, with sir Joseph Banks, the great and immortal captain Cook in his voyage of discovery. He remained at London, where he held an office in the British Museum till his death, which happened in the year 1782.

"In all those parts of the world, whence the Muses are not entirely banished, Linnæus became the modern teacher of natural history. His system was equally as well received at Batavia and Calcutta, as at New York and Philadelphia. The friends of nature, of all nations and all religions, did homage to his system. His name and his doctrine became even known among the Mahometans. Bjoernstahl unexpectedly experienced the truth of this assertion. While he was at Tharapia in Turkey he saw a Greek in a field, who was walking about with a book in his hands. He accosted him, and found with astonishment that the book which he held, was no other than the Linnæan System of Nature, the edition printed at Halle in 1761. The Greek, whose name was Demetrios, informed him, that he had formerly been first physician to the Pacha of Egypt; that five European

an learned men had been presented to him, among whom there was a botanist, with whom he had made several botanical excursions in the environs of Cairo, where they remained six months; that this same botanist had inspired him with the love of plants, made known to him the great man in Europe, (meaning Linnæus) and had shown him the way to collect and preserve plants. —The botanist whom Demetrios alluded to was the ill-fated Forskal.

"Not only the remotest quarters of the globe, but also many of the European states became the objects of the travels of the disciples of Linnæus. In 1752 Martin Koehler made a tour through Italy; in 1760 Alstroemer visited the same country, France and Spain; in 1758, Anthony Rolandson Martin explored Spitzbergen; Uno Van Troil, now archbishop of Upsal, made a tour to Iceland in 1772; Rothmann to France, Africa, &c. Fabricius to Norway, England, and France; Gieske to Great Britain and France; Ehrhart through the territories of Brunswick, Hanover, &c; Ferber through Italy and Hungary; besides many whose names would form too long a list to admit of being inserted here.

"The natural history of Sweden, however much Linnæus himself had already done for its progress, was remarkably more advanced and enriched by the travels and observations of his pupils. Dr. Solander travelled through Pithea Lapland; Montin in 1759 to Lulea Lapland; Falk and Dr. Bergius in 1752 to Gothland; Kalm to West Gothland, &c. &c.

"Among his foreign pupils there were several Germans whose merits he had most reason to boast. Among them we reckon the following, according to the chronological order in which they studied at Upsal:

"1. Counsellor Schreber at Erlangen, frequented the lectures of Linnæus about the years 1759 and 1760; and besides Nicholas Lawrence Burmann, the present professor of botany and physic at Amsterdam, was the only foreigner who ever lived in the house of Linnæus. The latter gave him this character: "He was as penetrating as any of the pupils I ever had under me."

"2. Professor Fabricius at Kiel, studied at Upsal 1762 till 1764, with the late Danish counsellor of state Zoega, who died in the year 1788. Linnæus said of them: "If Fabricius comes to me with an insect, or Zoega with a moss, I pull off my hat, and say—Be you my teachers!"

"3. Professor P. D. Gieseke at Hamburgh, frequented the Linnæan lectures in 1771, having taken his degree of doctor at Goettingen in 1768. "How much I loved and esteemed Gielke," said Linnæus afterwards to another of his German pupils, "he himself cannot but have known. I made him acquainted with the higher curiosities of nature, and took no small pains in giving him lectures on the natural orders of plants.

"4. F. Ehrhart, botanist at Herrenhausen, near Hanover, was one of the most confidential and most persevering pupils of Linnæus, at whose lectures he assisted between three and four years, viz. from the 20th of April 1773, to the 28th of April 1776, and the only native of Switzerland who perhaps ever studied at Upsal. For several years back that republic has been famous for being the native country of botanists and naturalists. Linnæus had acquired some of his knowledge from their productions.

How great therefore must have been his joy to see the penetration of his genius and the fame of his science transmitted to posterity by a native of that country.

"Among the Swedish pupils of Linnæus who settled in Germany, was the celebrated mineralogist, J. J. Ferber, professor at Mitau, and afterwards counsellor of the mines of the king of Prussia. He was born at Carlscrona, August 29th, 1743, and died at Bern, in 1791.—Farther, the aulic counsellor and chevalier Murray at Goettingen, who was born at Stockholm June 27, 1740, and died May 22, 1791.

"To the eminent German disciples of Linnæus, may be added M. Meyer at Stettin, and doctors Leppentin and J. Grunov of Hamburgh. The latter died in 1783.

"These pupils esteemed and revered their master, who, in return, testified gratitude to their love and friendship to their merits. He conferred upon them the greatest honour he could confer, by perpetuating their names in the vegetable reign. He thus glorified, for instance, his German pupils and friends, by the Schrebera, Giesekia, Ehrharta, Murraya, Jacquinia, Scopolia, Ludwigia, Gleditschia, Munchausia, Moehringia, Trewia, &c. &c.—His Swedish disciples and friends, by the Torenia, Osbeckia, Solandra, Kalmia, Alstrœmeria, Lagerstrœmia, Browallia, Celsia, Rudbeckia, Moræa, Bœckia, &c. —His friends and the meritorious botanists of Switzerland, by the Halleria, Gesneria, Scheuchzeria. —His friends in Great Britain, by the Sloanea, Sherardia, Dillenia, Collinsonia, Milleria, Lawsonia, Ehretia, Ellisia, Hopea, Hillia, Sibthorpia, &c.—His Spanish pupils and friends, by the Queria, Minuartia, Valetia, Ortegia, Salvadora, Ovieda, Monarda, Barnadesia, Mutisia, Hernandia, Ximena, &c.—His friends in France, by the Sauvagesia, Jussiœa, Reaumuria, Valantia, Dodartia Barreria, Isnardia, Guettarda, Govania, Magnolia, &c.—His Dutch friends by the Gronovia, Royena, Cliffortia, Boerhaavia, Swietenia, Burmannia, Gorteria, &c.

"Thus the majestic prerogative which Linnæus was possessed of, to confer titles in the vegetable reign, became an excellent means for him to honour merit and to demonstrate his friendship. But the use he made of this prerogative, did not escape the eye of critical censure; and Haller morosely complains of it in the following expressions:

"We find it very natural to assign to the genera of plants the names of celebrated men, and so far they ought not to be altered. But, as these names are the reward of labours generally unrewarded by the world, and an encouragement to devote oneself to such labours; and as no prince or minister is particularly honoured by having his name assigned to some herb or plant, we would reserve all those garlands for those alone who are real and experienced botanists. Nor would we ever assign such a denomination to the mere hopes conceived of men who have not passed the ordeal of merit; nay, we would by no means advance with a title, those whom experience may afterwards prove to be unworthy of such distinction. Above all, personal services, receptions into learned societies, presents, and casualties of this kind, ought by no means to be acknowledged with an honour which confers immortality, and is congenial alone to merit!"

SKETCHES

Sketches of the Character of Tippoo Sultan.

[From Lieutenant Moor's Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment.]

"THAT Tippoo is a great man, may, we think, be asserted without much hazard of refutation: that he is a good one, has never been said; and he who has the boldness to declare so, must prepare himself to oppose the opinions of all who have ever heard the name of Tippoo mentioned. Of late years, indeed, our language has been ransacked for terms in which well disposed persons were desirous to express their detestation of his name and character; vocabularies of vile epithets have been exhausted, and doubtless many have lamented that the English language is not copious enough to furnish terms of obloquy sufficiently expressive of the ignominy, wherewith they in justice deem his memory deserves to be branded. It is not, therefore, at all a matter of surprize, that the generality of people, particularly in parts so remote as England, should have the most unfavourable ideas of this prince's character; and, as just noticed, it would be an instance of great temerity, in any one attempting to defend it.

"Sensible of this, it is not to be supposed that what may be here said, is with the view of entirely exonerating Tippoo of the innumerable cruelties of which he stands accused; or to offer any thing decisively in extenuation of his conduct, in having so often, and so unprovokedly, disturbed the tranquillity of our possessions in the east.

"Those, however, who do not choose to be carried away by the torrent of public opinion, but, in preference to thinking by proxy, venture to think for themselves, can find the same excuse for the restlessness of Tippoo, as for that of any other ambitious sovereign; and on the subject of his cruelties, venture to express a doubt whether they may not possibly have been exaggerated. Tippoo is not, in fact, much more justifiable in extending his territories, than the Mahrattas, the French, or any other nation; but the desire of retaining self-conquered countries, as well as the acquisitions of ancestors, is so strong, that we ought not to wonder if a man of spirit and power, in preference to relinquishing any part of his inheritance or conquests, should, to prevent their dismemberment, tenaciously endeavour to defend them, or even to incroach on his neighbours; whose right of possession in the neighbourhood was established by the very means that he adopts to subvert it.

"It is not our business to inquire into the radical establishment of sovereignties or governments: if the historic page of remote ages were impartially indited, and its records collated with the more recent accounts of later times, we should, perhaps, find the majority of governments proceeding from the same origin; and that origin to be usurpation.

"On the score of cruelty:—A flowery narrator may, by an appeal to the passions, impose an act of ordinary and necessary justice, on his unsuspecting readers, as an instance of the most arbitrary despotism and unfeeling cruelty. We read with horror and indignation of a sub-

a subject, at the nod of an imperious tyrant, being dragged from his family and trodden to pieces at the foot of an elephant; and without enquiring into the degree of criminality that might have called for the interference of authority in so sanguinary a proceeding, hesitate not to pronounce the punishment severe and oppressive; and involuntarily suffer ourselves to be actuated solely by emotions of pity for the subjects of such a bloody tyrant, and detestation of the tyrant himself. It should be recollected, that in governments, like that of Mysore, unlimitedly monarchical, the mandate of the sovereign is the law; the execution of that law, therefore, in all those interested, necessarily excites reflections invidious to the immediate cause of their distress: in governments more intricate, and more refined, punishment assumes the name of justice, and is softened by being inflicted according to law, in that case made and provided; and which law, even the subject who suffers for a breach of it, had indirectly a concern in forming, and cannot, therefore, in reason, produce effects, by any means so prejudicial to the sovereign in the affections of his people.—We may hence with apparent certainty infer, that a monarch who wields not the iron sceptre of vindictive justice, but has the power of dispensing on an extensive scale the pleasing portion of mercy, favour, and honour, will consequently be more exalted in the love of his subjects, than him who being himself sole awful judge, is frequently necessitated to appear arrayed in fatal frowns, and surrounded by the instruments of death.

"This inference, on a general view, has seemingly in its favour every thing that reason can urge; in some cases, however, facts appear to oppose it; before which theoretical inference, however rational, hides its diminished head, and arguments lose their weight, how powerfully soever reason may urge them to conviction.

"The summary mode of punishment sometimes practised in the east, has, to us, an appearance much more irreconcileable than the form of process established in Europe; but divested of national and local prejudice, it is of very little consequence, whether a delinquent suffers on a gallows, guillotine, or by an elephant or sabre; or whether his body be gibbeted, anatomized, given to the worms of the earth, or consigned to the birds of the air: the process and investigation, however, for ascertaining the delinquency, it must be admitted, differ widely.

"Throughout the sultan's territories, the odium of every execution is, by strangers and observers, thrown upon him; and indeed with some degree of reason, because, as he delegates the power of life and death to his representatives in the distant parts of his territories, he ought to be answerable for all abuses of that power committed by them. This doctrine, although plausible in argument, will yet bear a controversy, for many enormities may be committed by viceroys in situations remote from the seat of sovereignty, which, should they come to the monarch's ears, he has it not in his power to remedy. This argument, therefore, if generally admitted, will be opposed by particular facts, and facts are stronger than arguments. But this topic requires not to be handled here.

"During our short sojournment in

in England, we have often been diverted with the ideas of very respectable people, on the subject of Tippoo's public character, and even of his domestic arrangements: some are firmly of opinion, that from the qualms of his afflicted conscience, he cannot repose without a servant and candle in his chamber; and as guilt creates suspicion in the sullied soul, it is asserted that a dish is never brought to his table, without being previously acquitted of apprehended evil, by the cook tasting it in his presence. Other opinions, equally correct and entertaining, are indulged by the good people of England; which it is vain to oppose, for the party "was told so by a gentleman who had been in India;" perhaps a voyage or two; but these, however respectable in their profession, are surely not the persons to receive information from, on the subject of the political characters of the east; no more (nor indeed much less) than some gentlemen who may have resided a few years in India; for we can easily admit the possibility of a person spending many years of his life in the cities of Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, without knowing much more of the politics, prejudices, &c. of interior states or countries, than if he had never stirred out of London, Dublin, or Edinburgh.

"The idea of Tippoo being so execrable a creature, is not confined to instances of the nature here given: we shall in this place quote the opinion of the best authority in England, and we beg it may be understood, that nothing is more remote from our intention, than saying any thing disrespectful of that authority; for in almost every other instance, we have on it the most implicit reliance.

"Major Rennel, in his Memoir, speaking of Tippoo, says, "His general character is that of a man of high ambition, with great abilities for war and finance; cruel to an extreme degree, and obstinately attached to his own schemes. He is unquestionably the most powerful of all the native princes of Hindoostan; but the utter detestation in which he is held by his own subjects, renders it improbable that his reign will be long."

"Impressed with the same sentiments, that Tippoo was, in his own country, utterly detested, many highly respectable persons, at the commencement of the late war, doubted not but the defection of his whole army would be the immediate consequence of the approach of the confederate forces: but, in the very reverse, have been seen of his army, such instances of attachment and fidelity, as excite our admiration, and perhaps can scarcely be equalled. Without attempting to draw a comparison that might have an invidious appearance, let it be asked what troops, under such highly disadvantageous circumstances, would have shewn an attachment superior to those of Tippoo?

"Without, in the course of two years severe service, it may be said, scarcely one event from which they could draw a ray of hope, or glimmering of encouragement, we have seen their fidelity unshaken, and their courage unbroken:—it is no reflection upon British troops to say that such conduct would not have discredited them; even with all the advantages of fighting for a government so justly enviable, and for a sovereign they with so much reason adore. When we see troops, after being continually beaten for two years, fight as well at the end as at the beginning of the war, we must surely allow it to proceed from some-

ſomething ſuperior to a blind obedience to commands, without admitting loyalty and attachment to the commander, to have any ſhare in ſtimulating them to their duty.

"Imagination can ſcarcely frame an idea of two ſituations more oppoſed to each other, than thoſe of one army fluſhed with a ſeries of continued victories, and another depreſſed with the mortifying reflection of invaried diſcomfiture: —the one ruſhes on with the cheering confidence of certain conqueſt; the other proceeds with a reluctant diffidence, reſulting from a retroſpection of experienced defeats. Still under theſe circumſtances did Tippoo's troops oppoſe the Britiſh, with a perſeverance that might, had not their ideas led them to ſuppoſe it was in a good cauſe, have been termed obſtinacy; and the man who views events with philoſophic liberality, will not withhold from them the tribute of applauſe. Abſtracted from the confined prejudices of contracted minds, he will not feel his own merit diminiſhed by allowing others their ſhare. A ſoldier, by admitting the enemy their portion of credit, will in this inſtance be afforded a cauſe for exultation, for the ſuperior proweſs of the Britiſh arms is confeſſed; and a Briton too may exult in the idea, that however remote the clime in which the Britiſh flag flies triumphant, the nation, through its army, is competent to its defence.

"An opinion has been maintained that militates materially againſt Tippoo's character of an able ſtateſman; and if admitted without inquiry, will reduce his credit for political ſagacity to a very low ebb. This opinion regards his having provoked the Engliſh, with all India to ſupport them, to a declaration of war at a time when they were ſo well prepared; and, from profound tranquillity in Europe, enabled to direct their whole force with accumulated energy at him alone. The ſituation of his European ally, too, was moſt unfavourable to his intereſts.

"From every circumſtance that has come to light, we have reaſon to conclude that Tippoo expected from France very powerful ſuccours to ſupport him in his late enterprize: the diſtracted ſtate of that kingdom, precluding the poſſibility of ſending any, may therefore be deemed the dawn of Tippoo's inauſpicious fortune; for had five thouſand French been added to his army, it would have rendered the operations in the field more precarious, and the ſhips attending the expedition might materially have affected our means of forwarding ſupplies to different parts by ſea, which, throughout this war, we did uninterruptedly. Deprived by chance of his European ally, fortune frowned alſo upon his endeavours of attaching any of the native powers of the Peninſula to his intereſt; and from the great abilities of the Britiſh ambaſſadors at the principal courts, the war commenced with a general confederacy in our favour: an inſtance unparalleled in the annals of our hiſtory in the eaſt. Had not our negociations at the court of Poona ſucceeded, in gaining to our party the powerful nation of the Mahrattas, the war would have been carried on under circumſtances comparatively unfavourable: or had not the fluctuating councils of Hydrabad, by addreſs, been fixed in our intereſt, we ſhould have found the effects of the Nizam's alliance with Tippoo, more ſevere than will at firſt be imagined probable, when their inactivity as our friends is only ſeen; which will admit

admit the Nizamites no greater share of credit in the operations of the war, than having been of negative assistance: it is an indulgence to allow them even that, for sometimes they were, doubtless, felt as an incumbrance.

"Tippoo being thus constrained to fight his own battles unaided, was expected to fall an easy conquest to so powerful a confederacy; but, under every unpropitious event that could possibly befal him, in a continued series of ill-fated operations during a two years war, he found means to support himself in a manner that astonished even those, who from political situations and minute enquiries, had opportunities of knowing the probable state of his army and treasury—the life and soul of Asiatic governments.

"Never was more head in planning, or heart in executing operations displayed, than by our generals and armies in this war; still had not fortune forwarded their endeavours, they would not in so eminent a degree, have been crowned with such glorious successes. The public, from the official accounts, are already in possession of the events to which we allude, and we shall only notice two or three in a general manner: indeed we have it not in our power, nor is it our plan, to be particular.

"In the first campaign of 1790, our army was unavoidably so situated, that Tippoo's whole force was brought against a little more than one third of ours; and had not that third performed what we really must call by the trite term of wonders, the war might probably have ended (but in a manner very different to its subsequent termination) with that campaign and year. Tippoo made his attack with almost a certainty of success, but the invincible steadiness of our troops, baffling his attempt, astonished not only his, but our army. Had this promising attack succeeded, a similar might have been immediately expected on the main body, at that time considerably reduced by a detachment against Dindigul, consisting of nearly one of the remaining two thirds of the army. Colonel Floyd's masterly defence against Tippoo's attack, however, saved our army on this occasion. The fall of Dindigul about this time was a very fortunate occurrence:—the party besieging it, having expended their ammunition, determined to storm a breach avowedly impracticable; and though they were repulsed, the garrison unaccountably surrendered the next day; putting into our possession an important post, at an important time, when we had no reason to expect such a surrender, nor means to enforce it. The next event that occurs to us, where fortune smiled propitiously on our exertions, was at the storm of Bangalore: had not a most unforeseen and unexpected accident seconded the bravery of our troops, terms of peace would never have been dictated to Tippoo under the walls of Seringapatam.

"By the concurrence of all these successes, the British army were led to the enemy's capital, and in a desperate action, gained a brilliant and complete victory; which, however, was not sufficient to enable the army to keep the field, or to preserve the stores in the artillery and other departments, and they were accordingly destroyed, as detailed in the public accounts, and noticed in page 73 of this work.

"In this state the army bent its melancholy course back toward Bangalore, cheered only by the hope of commencing a third campaign

paign with a brighter prospect, for that now before their eyes was scarcity and distress in their most gloomy form.

"Scarcely had one day's retrograde march been measured, when on an alarm of the enemy's approach, the advance, turning out to receive them, received—instead of enemies, armies of friends, well supplied with food, and every thing wanted; which armies, by every supposition, were, at that time, at the distance of a hundred miles.

"Other instances might be adduced, as links of that chain of fortuitous events, that so eminently connected all our operations in the late war; but these shall suffice to shew that Tippoo, although pursued by such invaried mischance, from the preparatory negociations to the last period of action, was not yet in so desperate a case, but one lucky occurrence might have retrieved him. Hence it may be discovered, that Tippoo's rashness in provoking hostilities, was not so great as would at first appear; for had any one of these events taken a contrary turn, it might have given a contrary turn to the termination of the war.

"As it is, however, let not a retrospection to probable depression, prevent our enjoying our present exultation. Let us rejoice (and we do most heartily) at the glorious successes of our arms; by which our honourable masters are raised to such a pitch of prosperity, and their interests established on a basis not to be shaken.—May their prosperity increase!

"We will now consider Tippoo, not as a general or a statesman, but as the guardian to his people.—When a person travelling through a strange country finds it well cultivated, populous with industrious inhabitants, cities newly founded, commerce extending, towns increasing, and every thing flourishing so as to indicate happiness, he will naturally conclude it to be under a form of government congenial to the minds of the people.—This is a picture of Tippoo's country, and our conclusion respecting its government.

"It has fallen to our lot to tarry some time in Tippoo's dominions, and to travel through them as much as, if not more than, any officer in the field during the war, and we have reason to suppose his subjects to be as happy as those of any other sovereign; for we do not recollect to have heard any complaints or murmurings among them, although, had causes existed, no time could have been more favourable for their utterance, because the enemies of Tippoo were in power, and would have been gratified by any aspersion of his character. The inhabitants of the conquered countries submitted with apparent resignation to the direction of their conquerors, but by no means as if relieved from an oppressive yoke in their former government: on the contrary, no sooner did an opportunity offer, than they scouted their new masters, and gladly returned to their loyalty again.

"Major Dirom, in his Narrative, has a passage to our purpose.—"Whether," says the major, "from the operation of the system established by Hyder, from the principles which Tippoo has adopted for his own conduct, or from his dominions having suffered little by invasion for many years, or from the effect of these several causes united, his country was found every where full of inhabitants, and apparently cultivated to the utmost extent

extent of which the soil was capable; while the discipline and fidelity of his troops in the field, until their last overthrow, were testimonies equally strong of the excellent regulations which existed in his army. His government, though strict and arbitrary, was the despotism of a politic and able sovereign, who nourishes, not oppresses, the subjects who are to be the means of his future aggrandizement; and his cruelties were, in general, inflicted only on those whom he considered as his enemies."

"Tippoo yet remains to be noticed under another character: in his political capacity we have perhaps detained him too long; but as a messenger from God, we have less to do with, and less to say of him. Tippoo, not content with the reputation he must have acquired as a general and a statesman, and not finding in military or political views, objects sufficiently exalted to bound his ambition, has, it is said, assumed the specious character of a prophet.

"This, although apparently superior to worldly concerns, is perhaps only a secondary consideration, and meant to be totally subservient to sublunary projects. His subjects, he may possibly think, will with more reverence listen to his mandates when sanctioned by the authority of religion; and his armies will with more awe, contemplate the power and dignity of their sovereign and general, when the abilities they admire are annexed to the spiritual sanctity of his character.

"Could not some probable reasons be assigned for Tippoo's affecting this singular distinction, we might be induced to look upon it as a childish propensity: the greatest men, however, we sometimes see emulating the trifling acquirements of inferior pursuits. We have an instance of it in the greatest prince and general in the annals of Europe; who, not content with such glorious fame, had the poor ambition to be thought a piper and a rhymer."

ANECDOTES of SCHMITZ, a GERMAN ARTIST.

[From the First Volume of The RHINE, or a JOURNEY from UTRECHT to FRANKFORT, &c. by T. COGAN, M. D.]

"SOME years ago, while professor Krahe was superintendant of the gallery of paintings, he received a visit from a young baker of the town; who, after a very short introduction, took a book out of his pocket, which he presented to Mr. Krahe, expressing a desire that he would purchase it. The superintendant found, upon examination, that it was a prayer book, ornamented, in the ancient style of religious foppery, with a number of coloured figures and engravings. It was the one which the elector Clement Augustus, of Cologne, had ordered to be published, and was become very scarce and valuable. The professor enquired whence he had it; and the young man answered, with a modest blush, that it was a copy from one he had borrowed. "By whom?"—"By myself," rejoins the youth. Upon a close examination, Mr. Krahe could scarcely distinguish the copy from the original. He could not conceal his surprise, and asked, why he did not prac-

tise engraving, rather than continue a baker?

"The youth answered, that it was the wish of his soul; but his father, having a numerous family, could not afford the expence of suitable instructions. "I design to travel," adds he; "but, as my father cannot furnish the means, and as I knew that you was fond of drawings, I was emboldened to make this application to you, in hopes that you would purchase the copy, to furnish immediate help, and I must trust to my industry and good fortune, for future advancement."

"Call here to-morrow, without fail," says Mr. Krahe, with an emphasis that manifested pleasure and astonishment.

"Early the next morning, the professor called upon an intimate friend at Keyserswerth, a few miles distant from Dusseldorff; of which place the young man was a native.

"This friend, with the power, had the disposition to do good. Krahe told him the story, shewed him the workmanship, and begged him to lend the young artist two hundred crowns. "He will, doubtless," adds he, "become, in a few years, a distinguished engraver, and be able to reimburse you. I will be security for the payment."

"I take no security," answered his friend; and he advanced three hundred crowns.

"Krahe returned to the astonished and transported baker with the money. He quitted the oven, learned geometry and perspective, applied to drawing according to the rules of the art, and acquired a competent knowledge of history.

"After assiduous application, for the space of two years, the young man had made such rapid progress, that Mr. Krahe advised him to quit Dusseldorff, where no further improvement was to be expected, and visit Paris, promising him a letter of introduction to Mr. Willes, a celebrated engraver in that metropolis.

"Schmitz (for this was the young man's name) put his advice into execution; and, in order to œconomize his little store, he travelled on foot from Dusseldorff to Paris. But, unfortunately, he fell ill immediately upon his arrival; and, although he applied to a monastery, where he was hospitably received, and carefully attended, yet incidental expences, during an illness of some continuance, had entirely exhausted his little store. Upon his recovery, that delicate kind of pride, which so frequently accompanies true genius, forbade his making application to Mr. Willes, while he must appear as an indigent beggar.

"One day, as he was walking pensively in the streets, his mind occupied with his unfortunate situation, he was met by two soldiers of the Swiss guards; one of whom accosted him with the enquiry, "Young man, are you not a German?"--"Yes"--"From whence?"--"From Keyserswerth, near Dusseldorff."--"You are my countryman.--What do you do here?" Schmitz relates to him the particulars of his history; adding, that a long illness had exhausted a large portion of his time, and all his money; and that he could not support the idea of being troublesome to any one. The soldiers advised him to enlist, assuring him that the service was not severe, and that he would have leisure to follow the bent of his genius. Schmitz accepted the proposition, was introduced to the captain of the regiment, was enlisted for four years, and shortly after, was introduced to Mr. Willes, by the captain

ain himself. As much time was ndulged to him, as the nature of he service could possibly admit, to ursue his favourite object, under he direction of Mr. Willes. He ontinued in this situation the four ears, when he received his dis-nission.

"Finding that he was in the line of improvement, he continued at Paris two years longer, applying himself, with the utmost diligence, o the art of engraving: at the ex-piration of which term, he returned ome, with the best attestations oncerning his talents, industry, nd moral conduct.

"Professor Krahe received him with open arms, was charmed with he progress he had made, and en-gaged him to work in the cabinet. He continued to work under the nspection of the professor, about wo years, conducting himself in uch a manner, as to gain upon the ffections of his patron.

"It was about this period, that he professor invited our artist to n entertainment, where several of his friends were to be present. He met his friends, and was entering nto the joys of convivial inter-ourse, when he was informed that he entertainment was in honour of a stranger. But alas! this stran-ger was the destined husband of the professor's eldest daughter;—beau-iful, in his eyes, as an angel; and vise, in his judgment, as the god-less of wisdom. He made as pre-cipitate a retreat as decency would permit, and left the brisk glass, and ovial song, to circulate among the happy.

"The next morning he returned o the cabinet with the utmost de-ection of mind and countenance. This sudden change was noticed by his benefactor, who enquired into the cause. Schmitz, in confused expressions, and with faultering voice, confessed that he had fall-en deeply in love with that very daughter who was shortly to be in the possession of another.

"Have you intimated to my daughter, the strength of your af-fection?"

"Never," answered the noble youth; "not in the most distant manner. Could I, without title, fortune, or pretensions of any kind, be so base as to speak of love to the daughter of my friend, my patron, my benefactor? I was contented to see her, and was careful to conduct myself in such a manner, that no suspicions might arise, to debar me of that happiness; and now I learn, that I am shortly to be deprived of the only satisfaction to which I dared to aspire."

"The benevolent professor tried his utmost to soothe and comfort him,—assured him of the strength of his affection, that he loved him as his own child,—but warned him to subdue his love for Henrietta; ex-patiating upon the criminality, cir-cumstanced as they were, of indulg-ing the passion.

"The poor young man admitted the force of the argument, and pro-mised to obey. But the struggle was too much for his constitution. He fell ill, and continued in a dangerous state, upwards of four months. Mr. Krahe paid him every attention, and gave him every consolation in his power. But, in all their inter-views, the name of Henrietta was never mentioned. His lamentable situation, however, could not be concealed from her. She sympa-thized, and most sincerely pitied; but, though "pity is so near a-kin to love," duty and honour inter-posed a barrier between them.

"The intended husband return-ed to his parents; and it was not

difficult to perceive, from the tenure of his letters, that certain objections were started by them to the union. Although he dared not to express his own sentiments fully upon this occasion, yet Henrietta divined them, and gave him full power to follow the genuine bent of his own inclinations, renouncing every claim upon his promise. The answer was correspondent to her expectations; and, allowing a short interval for the suppression of that chagrin which the injured pride of every young lady must suffer in such delicate situations, she permitted the sufferings of Schmitz to engage more of her thoughts, generously indulged her compassion, until she found it blended with affection,—and, finally, addressed her father thus: "Sir, I know it has been your wish, to have Schmitz for your son-in-law – Every obstacle is removed – Tell him, that Henrietta will be his if she can promote his felicity."

"The joyful father informed him of this declaration in his favour. But the good news was as like to have proved fatal, as his despair. Recovering from his emotion, and leaning on the arm of his benefactor, he was conducted to the generous object of his passion; and, by passing the evening in her company, he was cheared, comforted, and restored.

"But, how great was the surprise of every one, when they learned, the next morning, that the lover had left the town, in a carriage with four horses, and had carried his plates and drawings with him!—What astonishment to Krahe!—What a thunder stroke to poor Henrietta!

"This was so apparently the act of a disordered brain, that his return was dreaded as much as his flight was lamented! Nor did they receive a single line in the interval, to remove their doubts. On the ninth day, he returned from Munich, with an order for a pension of six hundred florins per annum, to be paid to Schmitz, by the treasurer of the palatinate.

"He had been to throw himself at the feet of the elector palatine. He discovered to him his love,—his situation,—shewed him the certificates of his conduct, and the specimens of his workmanship. The heart of the elector was moved, and he gave him the pension.

"Now, sir," says the generous-hearted Schmitz, "I am more worthy of my Henrietta."

"This event took place in the year 1782. The particulars are extracted from a publication, of high repute, entitled, *Museum für Kunstler, und für Kunstliebhaber*, or, History of German Artists. I am very sorry, that my total ignorance of the anecdote, when at Dusseldorff, prevented me from making those enquiries, which more than curiosity would have dictated, relative to this worthy couple, or the present state of our engraver.

"See there, my friend, in one short history, the eulogium of numbers!—I beseech you to make the comments upon the excellent character of our artist, the hero of the piece,—upon the benevolence of the professor,—his friend, of Kesserswerth,—the monks in the convent,—the two soldiers, with their captain,—the engraver Wilies—the elector palatine, – and the amiable Henrietta; and then revert to my proposition, that the private history of individuals would, in general, give us more favourable ideas of human virtue, and of human happiness, than those are apt to imagine.

who direct their chief attention to the ambition of the great, and the subversion of empires. Numberless are the instances, where individuals emerge from obscurity, and act a conspicuous part on the theatre of life. We behold, and applaud the actor, without adverting to the different stages through which he must have passed, before he was prepared for this honourable exhibition, and how far he must have been assisted, in each stage, by those around him.

"Go to, ye libellers of your species! ye defamers of God's most perfect workmanship below; ye that delight to sketch out figures with charcoal, add horns, a tail, and cloven-feet to your sketch, and call it human! man is naturally a friend to man. Adventitious circumstances may suppress this kindly temper, until the most contracted selfishness is deemed a system of genuine prudence! Tyranny may depress the mind, until it be rendered incapable of one virtuous exertion! False theology, by representing the heart as naturally vicious and depraved, may destroy the choicest springs of action;—may persuade us, that to act the knave or fool, is merely to act in character: whereas a consciousness that we are capable of doing much good,—a conviction that we are naturally disposed to do good,—that the instinct was given us, that we might become the active instruments of the divine benevolence,—an instinct so strong, that it is deemed inhuman to stifle its impulse,—these are admirably calculated to quicken the disposition, improve the habit, and extend the effects."

LITERARY ANECDOTES of GERMAN AUTHORS, and particularly of LESSING.

[From the Second Volume of the same Work.]

"GERMANY has always been renowned for learned and elaborate writers in the different branches of the abstruser sciences. Since their emancipation from the Latin language, and the free enjoyment of their native tongue, the Germans have greatly distinguished themselves in every department of the *belles lettres*. They have many excellent poets, and they are now attempting, with great success, both romance and the drama. It is not a little flattering to England, that your literature is much preferred among them to that of the French. Indeed I have frequently remarked a striking resemblance between the genius of the two nations, through the whole range of genius from metaphysics to song making, and this naturally induces them to prefer models most correspondent with their own taste and talents. In many instances, it is not difficult to trace in their writings the English authors which the Germans have consulted; and in some you may detect rather more than imitation. Confiding in the ignorance of the generality of their readers in the English language, they sometimes borrow more literally and more copiously than they would have ventured, were our language more familiar among the inhabitants. One of their most celebrated poets, Wieland, in his Oberon, has engrafted the January and May of Pope, into one of his cantos, without any de-

sign of its appearing in the light of a translation. In my course along the Rhine, which I shall describe to you hereafter, I happened to take up a young lady's prayer book, which I was happy to find her travelling companion; and I discovered that the first prayer was a prose translation of Pope's Universal Prayer; and the second was chiefly composed from passages taken out of Young's Night Thoughts, but without acknowledgment. The compilation had a yet greater singularity, it was made by one King (Koenig) a player upon the theatre at Mentz, whose life, it is said, corresponds with his professions of piety. I could produce other instances of a similar nature, but I am persuaded that you will be better amused by the following anecdote. While it affords entertainment as a curious fact, it will prove that a spirit of imitation extends itself to the most singular and eccentric departments. With what success the attempt has been made in the instance I shall lay before you, I shall leave you to determine.

"Lessing, the famous poet and miscellaneous writer, was at Hamburg in the year 1769, where he formed an intimacy with the rev. Mr. G***, a very bigotted clergyman. This intimacy displeased his friends and surprised every one; but he vindicated himself by alleging that G*** was a man of literature. Among the friends of Lessing that were scandalized at this union was one Mr. A**, a clergyman of a very opposite description. Mr. G*** was for retaining all customs, which he deemed sanctioned by antiquity: Mr. A** was for making those changes which the change of sentiments, and of manners, seemed to require. Lessing, although most liberal in his private opinions, and in the tenour of his writings, was a declared enemy to innovations. He attempted to disseminate what are termed liberal sentiments; but he was a strenuous advocate for the profession of old established creeds. Another feature in this popular man's character was, that he was much disposed to maintain the weaker side of a question, merely from the love of disputation, that he might exercise his own wit, and to call forth the powers of others.

"While Lessing was at Hamburg, a general fast was appointed by authority. It appears that the manner of keeping a public fast was pretty much the same at Hamburg as in most other places. The people, in the midst of their professed humiliations, were accustomed to encrease their guilt by the rancorous spirit they manifested against their public enemies. They hoped by the mere confession of their crimes to incline the universal parent to exterminate their particular antagonists, and vainly attempted to obtain personal commiseration by covering themselves with sackcloth and ashes, and thus divert the wrath of heaven towards their adversaries. It was customary, upon these occasions, to make use of a commination prayer, taken from the 6th verse of the 79th psalm. Mr. A**, with another clergyman, thought themselves obliged in conscience, to discontinue the use of this prayer; Mr. G***, on the other hand, found it a snug method of releasing malevolent nature, and thought that no swearing was to be compared to a truly pious consecrated curse; and he made no small commotion at this wicked omission of his brethren. Mr. A** was greatly incensed at his being incensed. In short, words rose so high, and became so turbulent, between

tween these ministers of peace, that Mr. G * * *, although he had the populace on his side, yet as he had made the most noise, was enjoined silence by synodical authority. Lessing was not a friend in his disposition or sentiments, either to the cause or bigotted zeal of G * * *; but he was strongly solicited by the partizans of that gentleman to become his champion. Thus influenced, united with the pleasure he enjoyed in supporting the weaker side, he undertook to defend this execrating prayer, and he boldly maintained that a due attention to necessary distinctions, and particular circumstances, not only permitted, but demanded, that we should pray against our enemies. A * * denied the proposition, and asserted that a prayer of so dark a complexion, was inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, which enjoins love to our enemies. Lessing answered, we will love our enemies, and yet imprecate the vengeance of God upon those who deserve his anger. A * * asserted, these were incompatible, and defied Lessing to produce an instance that could reconcile such glaring contrarieties.

In the space of a few days Lessing composed a sermon from the two texts Psalm lxxix. 6, and Mat. xii. 39; but to give a greater force to his argument, he pretended that it was one of Yorick's sermons, translated from the English. This sermon was never published; half a dozen copies of it alone were circulated among his friends, to the alarm and terror of Mr. A * *, who begged that it might be suppressed, dreading the pernicious influence it might have in the debate. Mr. Ebert, who communicated this anecdote to Nicolai, the compiler of the Berlin Literary Gazette, from whence it is extracted, had read the sermon in question; and related to Nicolai the following particulars concerning it. "This sermon was a short but a masterly performance. Yorick's manner was perfectly well imitated. Similar simplicity, penetration, philanthropy, were united with similar wit and vivacity. I do not recollect any passages in the sermon itself so completely as to do them justice; but a part of the introduction made too deep an impression to be effaced from my memory. It represents an incident which is supposed to have given rise to the discourse. The incident was as follows:

"Uncle Toby took a walk with his trusty corporal Trim. They met on the road an emaciated Frenchman, in a tattered uniform, halting upon a crutch, as he had lost a leg. He took off his hat with down-cast eyes, without uttering a syllable; but his dejected countenance was truly eloquent. The major gave him some shillings without attending to their number. Trim took a penny out of his pocket, but called him, as he gave it, a French dog. The major continued silent a few seconds, and then turning to Trim, he said, Trim, he is a man and not a dog. The French invalid was hopping behind them. Upon this speech of the major, Trim gave him another penny, and again added French dog. This man, Trim, is a soldier! Trim looked at him stedfastly, gave him another penny, and repeated French dog. And Trim, he has been a brave soldier, he has fought for his country, and has been desperately wounded. Trim pressed his hand, while he gave him a fourth penny, but repeated French dog. And Trim, this soldier is a worthy though unfortunate husband, who has a wife and four small children to maintain.

Trim, with tears in his eyes, gave all that he had in his pocket, but still called him French dog, though in a softer tone. When the major returned home, he mentioned the affair to Yorick. Yorick answered, it is plain that Trim hates, with all his heart, the whole French nation, as being an enemy to his country, but he loves every individual in it that deserves respect."

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH of GERALD BARRY.

[From the First Volume of the HISTORY of GREAT BRITAIN, by JAMES PETIT ANDREWS, F. A. S.]

"IN 1208 or 3, Gerald Barry (better known as Giraldus Cambrensis) forsook the world and lived in retirement till his death; the æra of which is not known. He was born in 1146 and had studied with honour at the University at Paris. Returning to England in 1172, he was put in possession of several benefices, one of which (that of Brechin) he says he obtained by convicting the old incumbent of keeping a concubine. He was a favourite of church and of court; was a joint preacher of a crusade with the archbishop of Canterbury, and was (as he affirms) inserted by Richard Cœur de Lion in his commission for the guardianship of England.

"Gerald was a most entertaining writer, but very credulous and most intolerably conceited. He expatiates on the exquisite delight which he gave at Oxford, in publicly reading his books, three days successively; first to the poor, secondly to the doctors and men of literature, and on the third day to the scholars, soldiers, &c. 'A most glorious spectacle (says the honest Gerald) 'which revived the ancient days of the poets.' He also speaks of his Latin sermons, which affected and excited to take the cross (for the recovery of Jerusalem) the honest Welshmen, who knew not a word of Latin, the language in which he had preached. He dwels with transport on his own princely lineage which, he avers, made Henry II. jealous of him and stopt his preferment. He went with prince John to Ireland; and refused (as he says) two sees, that he might have time to compose a history of the country.

"At Chester he observed that the countess Constance kept a herd of milch-kine, made cheeses of their milk and presented three of them to his comrade the archbishop of Canterbury. He adds that he remarked an animal between an ox and a stag; a woman born without arms, who could sew with her toes as well as others could with fingers; and that he heard of a litter of whelps, begotten by a monkey. How judicious and important our historian's observations sometimes were, may be judged from these extracts: Yet when we have smiled at his foibles, we must allow that many curious pieces of intelligence are to be found in his work; his stories too are frequently interesting though absurd, as the following specimen perhaps may prove. A prelate, he affirms, kept a domestic who used to entertain him beyond measure, by a wonderful pro-

proficiency in sciences the most abstruse; and particularly, by reciting passages of sacred history perfectly new and not to be found in the Bible. One day he related with great energy the various distresses of the rebellious angels, when driven from the presence of their incensed Creator. 'They fled' (said the story-teller) 'to the extremes of the universe and hid themselves, to avoid his wrath, in the most unfrequented places. Some sought the deepest caverns: some plunged into the ocean; as for me I dived into a well.' Here the incautious narrator, conscious of having betrayed his own diabolical origin, broke off short; and vanished away with every symptom of vexation and shame.

"Giraldus was not destitute of poetical talents, as the following modest, and singular compliment to his patron Henry II. will testify:

'Glorior hoc uno, quod numquam vidimus unum,
'Nec potuisse magis, nec nocuisse minus.'

Imitated.

My boast I make of this alone;
We never yet have fairly known
So little harm achieved by one,
Who might with ease so much have done.
I.P.A.

"To this ingenious Briton is also attributed the following line on the death of Henry and the immediate succession of Cœur de Lion:

'Mira cano, sol occubuit, nox nulla secutæ.'

Imitated.

Vainly the sinking sun alarm'd our fears;
We've lost his orb, and yet no night appears.
I. P. A.'

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

Account of the Turkish Harem at Aleppo, and of the Character, Employments, and Amusements of the Turkish Ladies.

[From the First Volume of the enlarged Edition of Russell's Natural History of Aleppo.]

"HOWEVER desirous a traveller in Turkey may be to learn the character and domestic manners of the Turkish ladies, he must expect to meet with various obstacles to his researches. The regulations of the Harem oppose a strong barrier to curiosity; inveterate custom excludes females from mingling in assemblies of the other sex, and, even with their nearest male relations, they appear to be under restraint, from which perhaps they are never emancipated, except in familiar society among themselves.

"In conversation, the Turks seldom talk of their women, and a stranger has very few opportunities of introducing a subject which they seem studious to avoid. Some information indeed may be obtained from the Christian and Jewish women who occasionally have access to the Harem; but their accounts must be received with caution, and due allowance made for religious prejudices, as well as for the Eastern propensity to fable.

"All travellers who have visited the Levant, have more or less experienced these and other obstacles to inquiry; and hence it is the less remarkable, that the relations concerning Mohammedan women, met with in some of the best books of travels, should often be found contradictory or defective, without impeachment either of the writer's diligence or veracity. Sensible, from experience, that neither a tolerable knowledge of the language, nor familiar intercourse with the natives, in the course of a long residence in the country, can wholly surmount difficulties, which others have encountered with fewer advantages, it may be proper to bespeak indulgence for incidental errors, in the following representation of Mohammedan manners: in which are introduced a few domestic circumstances, that professional privilege afforded opportunities of observing, in the interior of the Harem.

"A description of the quarter in the Turkish palaces appropriated to the women, has been given in the first chapter of the preceding book. It may be added here, that, close to the outer door, there is an aperture in the wall about two feet from the ground, two feet and a half in height, and nearly two feet in breadth;

breadth; to which is fitted a narrow wooden frame, and the middle space filled up by a hollow wooden cylinder, placed vertically on pivots, so as to be easily turned round. This wheel, being divided by one or more horizontal partitions, and open on one side from top to bottom, serves to deliver dishes from the kitchen, or to receive small parcels, without opening the outer door, or the persons on either side being seen. The partitions are moveable, and may be taken out occasionally, for the reception of larger parcels. Females who have business at the Harem, summon the attendants within, by rapping gently on the wheel, but, if not answered readily, they exercise the knocker of the outer door with great violence. It may be remarked, that the doors of the great Harems, from morning to sun set, are seldom locked, on account of the constant succession of people coming and going: but the case is different in inferior Harems, and in ordinary houses, where there is no separate quarter for the women: the master of the house, when he goes abroad, not only shuts the street door, but carries the key along with him.

"To the Harems of the great belongs an officer named Harem Kehiasy who superintends all affairs, without doors, relating to the Harem, and commonly has one or two boys under him, who have access to the apartments, and are employed by the ladies in carrying messages, or in other petty services. These boys generally are black slaves, but not eunuchs. Their master, sometimes, is an eunuch, but, except in the service of bashaws, the office is more commonly bestowed on a trusty white slave, or on a servant of advanced age.

"None of the ordinary menial male servants ever approach the door of the Harem, unless the Harem Kehiasy, or one of his attendants, is present; and all females who have business with the ladies, as well as physicians and other medical attendants, must apply to him for admittance. Even the grandee himself, when there are female visitants in his Harem, does not presume to enter, till he has been announced, in order to give those time to prepare for his reception, who, according to custom, ought not to appear before him unveiled; and on certain occasions, as when the Harem entertains a large company, he, being apprized before hand, does not go near the Harem till the guests have left it.

"When the ladies visit one another in a forenoon, they do not immediately unveil on coming into the Harem, lest some of the men should happen to be still at home, and might see them as they pass; but, as soon as they enter the apartment of the lady to whom the visit is intended, either one of the young ladies, or a slave, assists in taking off the veil, which, being carefully folded up, is laid aside. It is a sign that the visitant intends only a short stay, when instead of resigning the veil, she only uncovers her head, permitting the veil to hang carelessly down on the shoulders. This generally produces a friendly contest between the parties; one insisting upon taking the veil away, the other refusing to surrender it. A like contest takes place at the close of the visit. When entreaty cannot prevail on the visitant to stay longer, the veil is hidden, the slaves, instructed before hand, pretend to search for it every where in vain, and when she urges the absolute necessity of her going, she is assured that the Aga, or master

 of

of the house, is not yet gone abroad, and is then jocosely dared to depart without it.

"In their manner of receiving one another, the ladies are less formal than the men; their complimental speeches, though in a high strain, are more rapidly and familiarly expressed.

"The common salutation is performed by laying the right hand on the left breast, and gently inclining the head. They sometimes salute by kissing the cheek; and the young ladies kiss the hands of their senior relations. They entertain with coffee and tobacco, but the sherbet and perfume are only produced on particular occasions.

"The great men are attended in the Harem, by the female slaves, in the same manner as, in the outer apartments, by the pages. They remain standing in the humble attitude of attendance, their hands crossed before them on their cincture, and their eyes fixed on the ground. The other ladies, as well as the daughters of the family, occasionally bring the pipe and coffee, but do not remain standing; they either are desired to sit down, or they retire. This however is to be understood of the grandees; for in ordinary life, both wives and daughters minister servilely to the men: the two sexes never sitting at table together.

"It is seldom that all the ladies of a Harem are, by the great man, seen assembled, unless they happen, in the summer, to be surprized sitting in the Divan, where they meet to enjoy the cool air. At his approach, they all rise up, but, if desired, resume their places, (some of the slaves excepted) and return to their work. However loquacious they may have been before he entered, a respectful silence ensues the moment he appears: a restraint which they feel the less, from their being accustomed to it almost from infancy. It is surprising how suddenly the clamour of children is hushed on the approach of the father; but the women often lament their want of power, in his absence, of quieting the children either by threats, or soothing.

"Though the presence of the great man may impose silence on the younger ladies, he always finds some of the elderly matrons, ready enough to entertain him, should he be disposed for conversation. In this manner he learns the domestic news of the town, which, though rarely a topic of discourse among the men, being in great request at the public baths, is circulated by the female pedlers, and the Bidoween women attached to the Harem. The former, who are chiefly Jewish or Christian women of a certain age, supply the ladies with gauzes, muslin, embroidery, and trinkets, and moreover have the art of collecting and embellishing all kinds of private history; the latter are not less talkative, nor more secret, but possess also a licensed privilege of speaking freely to the men, which they perfectly know how to exercise. Their licence is derived from being often retained as nurses, by which they gain a permanent establishment in the family; the foster sister remaining attached to the Harem, and in time succeeding her mother. The grandees, in these indolent hours converse also on their domestic affairs, and amuse themselves with their children. When they wish to be more retired, they withdraw to another apartment, into which no person, except the lady to whom it belongs, presumes to enter uncalled.

"The Turks, in presence of their

their women, appear to affect a more haughty, reserved air, than usual, and in their manner of speaking to them, are less courteous, and more abrupt, than they are to one another, or even to men who are much their inferiors. As this was frequently observed in persons remarkable for an affable deportment to men, it may be considered rather as their usual manner, than ascribed to the accidental presence of an European; and is further confirmed by the ordinary behaviour of the boys, who talk to the women in an imperious manner, which they could only have learned from example. The men perhaps judge it politic to assume this demeanour, in a situation where dominion may be supposed to be maintained with more difficulty, than among their male dependants; and therefore venture only in hours of retirement, to avow that gentleness, which, as if derogatory from their dignity, they think prudent, in their general conduct, to conceal, from persons whose obedience they believe can alone be secured, by an air of stern authority.

"The ladies, especially those of rank, appear reserved in regard to their husbands, while they show an engaging, affectionate fondness for their brothers, though it is often returned with little more than frigid complaisance: as if their tender endearments were a tribute due to male superiority. There are times however when natural affection gets the better of this cold indifference of the young men. The sight of a sister in distress, or languishing in a fit of severe illness, often produces emotion, of which, judging from general appearances, they would seem to be unsusceptible. The affectation of apathy is a remarkable trait in the character of the Turks. They are led by it, under misfortunes, to assume an appearance of tranquillity, more than they possess in reality; and, on other occasions, they strive to hide that sensibility which other nations think it honorable to indulge. Their exterior manners are universally marked by this affectation: their real feelings, influenced by the common springs of humanity, are more remote from the eye of observation.

"Persons of distinction, who are in office, leave the Harem early in the morning, and, two hours after noon excepted, pass most of their time in the outer apartments. But others, who have little business, and the luxurious young men of all denominations, lounge many hours in their Harem. Some allowance, in this respect, is made to youth, for some weeks after marriage; but an effeminate character, which is by no means respectable among the men, is far from being acceptable to the women. The presence of the men, at unusual hours in the day time, lays the whole Harem under restraint, and however some particular favorite may be gratified by the particular attention of her lord, the rest of the women are apt to lament the liberty they are deprived of, by his remaining too much at home.

"The grandees, if slightly indisposed, continue to see company in the outer apartments; but when the disorder becomes serious, they retreat into the Harem, to be nursed by their women: and in this situation, besides their medical attendants, and very near relations, no person whatever can have access, except on very urgent business. They make choice of the females they wish to have more immediately about their person, and one

one in particular is appointed to give an account to the physician, of what happens in the intervals of his visits, to receive his directions, and to see them duly obeyed.

"Medical people, whether Europeans or natives, have access to the Harem, at all times when their attendance is requisite. The physician, after being announced, is obliged to wait at the door till the way be cleared; that is, till his patient, when a female, her company, and attendants, and others who might happen to be in the courts through which he must pass, have either veiled, or retired out of sight. He is then conducted to the chamber of the sick lady by a slave, who continues, in a loud voice, to give warning of his approach, by exclaiming Dirb, Dirb, al Hakeem Gia-y. Way! Way! the doctor is coming: a precaution which does not always prevent the unveiled ladies, who have not been apprized, from accidentally crossing the court, in which case, it becomes the well-bred physician to turn his eyes another way.

"Upon entering the chamber, he finds his patient covered with a loose veil, and, it being a vulgar notion that the malady may be discovered from the pulse, he is no sooner seated, than the naked wrist is presented for his examination. She then describes her complaints, and, if it be necessary to look at the tongue, the veil is for that purpose removed, while the assistants keep the rest of the face, and especially the crown of the head, carefully covered. The women do not hesitate to expose the neck, the bosom, or the stomach, when the case requires those parts to be inspected, but, never without extreme reluctance consent to uncover the head. Ladies whom I had known very young, and who, from long acquaintance, were careless in concealing their faces from me, never appeared without a handkerchief or some other slight covering thrown over the head. So far as I could judge, from general practice, it seemed to be considered, in point of decorum, of more consequence to veil the head, than the face.

"The physician is usually entertained with tobacco and coffee, which, being intended as a mark of respect, cannot in civility be declined, though the compliance leads to an intemperate use of both. After he has examined, and given directions concerning his patient, he requests leave to retire, but is seldom allowed to escape without hearing the incurable complaints of as many valetudinary visitants, as happen to be present, who either sit ready veiled, or talk from behind a curtain occasionally suspended in the chamber. These ladies always consider themselves entitled to verbal advice, or at least to an opinion of such remedies, as have been recommended by others; and a principal part of the medical art, among the native practitioners, consists in being able to acquit themselves dexterously in such incidental consultations.

"In families which the European physician has been accustomed to attend, and when his patient is on the recovery, he is sometimes induced to protract the visit, and to gratify the curiosity of the ladies, who ask numberless questions concerning his country. They are particularly inquisitive about the Frank women, their dress, employments, marriages, treatment of children, and amusements. In return they are ingenuously communicative, and display talents, which, being little indebted to artificial cultivation,

tivation, appear, as it were, to expand naturally, under a clear sky, and the influence of a delicious climate. Their questions, are generally pertinent, and the remarks they occasionally make on manners differing so widely from their own, are often sprightly and judicious.

"When the visit is at length concluded, notice being given to clear the way, the physician sets out, preceded as before by the slave. But it rarely happens that he is not more than once stopped, to give advice to some of the domestics, who wait his return; for however slightly they may be indisposed, the temptation of telling their complaints to a doctor is irresistible. These damsels seldom have any other veil, than a handerchief thrown over the head, one corner of which is held in the mouth; but, in order to avoid even that trouble, they frequently place themselves behind a door, or a window shutter, half open, in which situation, thrusting out one arm, they insist on having the pulse examined. It sometimes happens, in the great Harems, that another obstacle must be encountered before regaining the gate. This arises from some of the younger ladies, or slaves, who are at work in the court, refusing peremptorily either to veil, or retire; which is done merely in sport, to vex the conductress, who is obliged of course to make a halt. In vain, she bawls Dirb! and makes use by turns of entreaty, threat, and reproach; till, finding all in vain she gives fair warning, and has recourse to a never failing stratagem. She marches on, and bids the doctor follow. — A complete rout ensues; the damsels scamper different ways, catch hold of whatever offers first by way of veil, or attempt to conceal themselves behind one another. It is only when none of the men are in the Harem, that this scene of romping can take place. When the physician is conducted by the Aga himself, every thing passes in orderly silence, and in the chamber of the sick, none besides the elderly or married relations offer to join in the conversation: but it is seldom that the Aga himself takes the trouble, after the few first visits, except the doctor be a stranger to the family.

"Women of distinction pass much of their time at home. They have a bath for ordinary occasions, within the Harem; the purchase of household necessaries does not lye within their province; and mercery, drapery, and trinkets, are either sent from the shops to be chosen, or are brought in by the female pedlers formerly mentioned. They are not however idle within doors; the superintendence of domestic affairs, the care of their children, with their needle and embroidery, furnish ample employment.

"They are taught, when young, to read, and sometimes, to write, the Arabic, but are very apt when taken from school to neglect both; so that reading ought not to be reckoned a common female amusement, and is never a study. I have known however some exceptions to this. A daughter of the late grand Vizir, Ragib Bashaw, had made (as he assured me) a surprising progress in Arabic literature, and he showed me a manuscript very beautifully written with her own hand. Devotion does not appear to take up much of their time; they never go to Mosque; and, except the elderly ladies, and those who have been at Mecca, they are not so punctual in their prayers at home, as the men.

"This

"This is asserted only as it appeared to me. On the public days, the women may often be seen praying in the gardens, but it is only a small number out of a crowd. In the Harem, there is not the same opportunity of seeing them at prayer, as there is in respect to the men. My opinion was formed from being so seldom obliged, on visiting at noon, or sun set, to wait till prayers were over; and on going into the Harem immediately before the times of prayer, from finding so few prepared by ablution; for when they have once performed the Wodou, they cannot permit a Christian to touch their pulse, without being obliged to wash over again. Indeed allowance should be made for a circumstance peculiar to the sex, which disqualifies them periodically from acts of devotion. Sunset seemed to be the time when the women chiefly prayed.

"It does not seem necessary to enter upon the argument concerning the exclusion of the Mohammedan women from paradise, with other innumerable errors and misrepresentations relating to them, which are to be found in the works of travellers, in other respects, of good credit.

"Their usual games are Mankala, Tabuduk, draughts, and sometimes chess; but, as before remarked of the men, they play merely for amusement. In the winter evenings, while the men are engaged in the outer apartment, the ladies often pass the time in attending to Arabian tales, which are recited, but more commonly read, by a person who has a clear distinct voice, and occasionally sings the stanzas interwoven with the story.—It has been already mentioned, that the Arabian Nights Entertainments, known in England, were hardly to be found at Aleppo. A manuscript containing two hundred and eight nights, was the only one I met with, and, as a particular favour, procured liberty to have a copy taken from it. This copy was circulated successively to more than a score of Harems, and I was assured by some of the Ullama, whom the women had sometimes induced to be of the audience, that till then they were ignorant that such a book existed.

"The toilet consists of a Divan cushion reversed, upon which a small mirror is placed. They do not employ much time at it; for the attire of the head may be taken off, and preserved entire, and the braiding of the hair, which is rather a tedious operation, is always performed in the Hummam. They dress neatly for the day, early in the morning, except on days when they go abroad in ceremony, or to the public bath, and then the alteration made in dress does not require much time.

"They are fond of flowers and odoriferous plants, which are sometimes cultivated under their own care, but for the most part purchased of those who raise them for sale. They preserve them in china or glass flower pots, arranged on wooden pyramids placed in the middle of the Divan; and form them, when required, into elegant nosegays. When the ladies send a congratulatory message, or a ceremonious invitation, it is usually accompanied with a nosegay, wrapt up in an embroidered handkerchief. The message is verbal, and often delivered in the first person. "Thus, says my mistress, I will have no excuse—and do not tell me - did you not promise me, &c." This however is not the constant practice, but it is always deli-

delivered precisely in the words in which it is given. The person receiving the message takes out the flower with her own hand, and, carefully folding up the handkerchief, returns it by the messenger. They preserve deciduous flowers in the summer, by wrapping them in a muslin handkerchief sprinkled with water, which is laid in a metal bason, and placed in a cool cellar. The flowers of the orange, the Arabian jasmine, and the musk rose, are in this manner kept fresh for many hours.

"The young ladies amuse themselves by tying their nosegays with silk threads of certain colours, which, in the same manner as the assortment of particular flowers, are supposed to convey some emblematical allusion. But these are by the women so generally understood, that the artifice seems to be unfit for the purpose of secret correspondence; and a proof that the colours are for the most part regarded as indifferent, is the practice of the men, who, receiving nosegays from their ladies, either of their own making, or such as have been sent to them from other Harems, give them away, or interchange them with their visitors. It may be remarked, however, that, for the most part, the men interchange single flowers, or two or three stalks untied, and that the ladies sometimes make an alteration in the binding of a nosegay, before presenting it, as if the rejected threads were improper.

"Lady Mary Wortley Montague, in her 40th Letter, has given a specimen of this mode of gallantry. "There is no colour, no weed, no flower, no fruit, herb, pebble, or feather, that has not a verse belonging to it; and you may quarrel, reproach, or send letters of passion, friendship, or civility, or even of news, without ever inking your fingers."

"The ladies at Aleppo are not such proficients, as her ladyship describes those at Constantinople; but the verses and allusions are much the same, exprest only in the Arabic instead of the Turkish language. The colour of the silk thread denotes fear, doubt, jealousy, impatience, or despair.

"Amid domestic occupations, serious or amusing, the ladies find themselves fully employed, and seldom complain of time hanging heavy. But various occasions call them abroad. They visit near relations several times in the year, as also when in child-bed, or in sickness; they assist at nuptial and funeral ceremonies; and, at established hours, go to consult their physician at his house, when the case does not require his attendance at the Harem. Thus, women above a certain rank, are, in proportion to the extent of their connections, more or less engaged, while those of the lower class are often obliged to go out to market, and constantly to the bagnio: the last indeed brings all the women abroad; for even those who have baths at home, are in cases of ceremonial invitation, obliged to repair to the public bath.

"Mondays and Thursdays are the women's licensed days for visiting the tombs, and, with their children and slaves, for taking the air in the fields or gardens. The slaves carry carpets, pipes, coffee equipage, and provisions: the garden supplies lettuces, cucumbers, or such fruits as are in season. Some take possession of the garden summer-houses, others place themselves under the shade of trees, and all pass the day in high festivity. In the

the spring season, the gardens in the vicinity of the town, are crowded with women, and, towards evening, the several avenues of the town are filled with them, returning home. Some parties of the better class are preceded by a band of singing women, the ladies themselves walking behind with a slow and stately step; but the lower people are less formal, they advance in groups, singing as they walk along, and with the tympanum and the zilareet make the air resound on all hands. Ladies of distinction, on these occasions, dress in the plainest manner, and wear the ordinary striped veil, instead of the white Furragi; but most of the others dress in their gayest apparel, and, when at a little distance from town, being more careless of their veil, they give accidental opportunity of seeing more of their faces, than at any other time.

"As men, on these public days, are not excluded from the gardens, numbers are of course found strolling in the walks, which obliges the women to be more on their guard, and to remain muffled up. But there are select parties, on other days, exempt from that disagreeable restraint, and in all respects more elegant. These are composed of the ladies belonging to two or three Harems, who hire the garden for the day. The Divans in the summer houses of the gardens are furnished from the city; cooks are sent to prepare the entertainment; the Harem-Kehiasi, with some pages, attend at the gate to prevent the intrusions of strangers, and, the gardeners being obliged to keep out of the way, the ladies are at liberty to walk about more negligently veiled. The company set out from town by dawn of day, and return at sunset. A numerous train of slaves or servants avail themselves of the opportunity to make merry, and the day is considered as one of licensed frolic. Musicians, dancers, and buffoons, are among the female attendants, and their music and zilareet may be heard at the distance of a mile. The gardener, in the mean while, has little reason to wish for parties of this kind, being by no means adequately recompensed for the mischief done his fruit trees, the branches in blossom being broken without mercy, and the fruit gathered before it is half ripe.

"On these occasions, the ladies usually walk to the garden, unless when it happens to be too distant, in which case the principal ladies go in a covered litter, carried by two mules; while such of their retinue as do not choose to walk, ride on asses, or mules.

"The litter is called a Tahtruan, and is sometimes used by old or infirm men. It is the most fashionable vehicle for the ladies, but, in long journies it is carried by two camels instead of mules, especially on the pilgrimage to Mecca. There are always a certain number of Tahtruans in the suite of a Bashaw.

"There is another vehicle for women and children of ordinary rank, two of which are suspended on the opposite sides of a camel, so as to be always in equilibrium. They are wooden cradles half covered with thin hoops of wood, over which an awning is occasionally spread. They are furnished with a mattress and cushions, upon which a person can sit easily enough in the eastern fashion, but cannot stretch out at full length. They are called Muhaffi.

"Besides the two public days in the week, several others are solemnized by the women, in commemoration

mortification of dervishes, or holy men, whose tombs they annually visit, from devotion: the convent of Sheik Abu Bekre is visited by vast crowds of women, two or three times in the year.

"It is a cruel disappointment when the women, by an ordinance of the governor or the cady, are prohibited from going abroad on their ordinary privileged days, which is the case when troops are to march near the city, or at other times of expected tumult. A bashaw rarely acts capriciously in this point, but the ordinance is always regarded as tyrannical, and, though punctually obeyed, occasions great murmuring.

"From what has been said, it would appear that the Turkish ladies are not in fact so rigorously confined as is generally imagined: it may be added, that habit, and the idea of decorum annexed to their restraints, render them less irksome. Their ignorance of the female privileges enjoyed in many parts of Europe, precludes any mortifying comparison, and, when told of those privileges, they do not appear very desirous of a liberty which, in many instances, they regard as inconsistent with their notion of female honour and delicacy. When it was said, in the former edition, "that the Turks of Aleppo being very jealous, keep their wives as much at home as they can, so that it is but seldom they are allowed to visit each other," it was to be understood comparatively with the liberty enjoyed by the European ladies. But the custom of keeping the women close shut up, is of high antiquity in the east, and was by the Turks rather adopted, than introduced into Syria.

"The barbarous nations, (says Plutarch) and amongst them the Persians especially, are naturally jealous, clownish, and morose, toward their women; so that not only their wives, but also their female slaves and concubines, are kept with such strictness, and so constantly confined at home, that they are never seen by any but their own family; and when they take a journey they are put into a carriage shut close on all sides. In such a travelling carriage they put Themistocles, and told those whom they met or discoursed with upon the road, that they were carrying a young Grecian lady out of Ionia to a nobleman at court."

"This circumstance is dated in the first year of Artaxerxes, that is about 462 years before the birth of our Saviour. It may further be remarked that it was a capital offence in Persia to cross the way when a carriage containing women was passing. But the Greeks themselves had their wards for the reception of the women, which seem to have been much the same with the women's quarter in the Syrian seraglios. The women lived immured there under great restraint; they were sometimes attended by eunuchs; and never went abroad without a veil, or without some old female attendants. The Roman maners in this respect were very different; but it is not probable that their conquests in Syria produced much change in the œconomy of the Greek Harem.

"Women of condition in Syria always walk abroad attended by a numerous suite; no modest woman is ever seen in the street without a servant or companion, unless perhaps elderly women of an inferior class. Of the attendants on the great, one is generally a Bidoween woman belonging to the

Harem, who is easily distinguished, notwithstanding her veil. Indeed the veil worn in ordinary by the ladies themselves, is not sufficient to hide them from their acquaintance, and when they wear the black crape over the face, which conceals them more effectually, the slaves in their train, who are often employed to carry messages, or to go to the bazars, being known to the shopkeepers, discover the Harem to which they belong.

"These circumstances, together with the want of proper places of rendezvous, may be considered as material obstacles to criminal intrigue; which various circumstances render so liable to detection. Besides, as intrigues are rarely heard of, it may reasonably be concluded they do not often happen. I hardly remember a public instance of adultery, at Aleppo, in the course of twenty years; and, in the private walks of scandal, those I heard of were among the lower class, and did not in number exceed a dozen. As to the illicit admission of strangers into the great Harems, considering the number that must be trusted with the secret, it would appear to be impossible. Nor does Aleppo, in this respect, probably differ much from other Turkish cities: though there may perhaps, in the capital, be third places more commodious for assignation, than are to be found in the provinces. In respect to the Franks, the undertaking is attended not only with such risk to the individual, but may, in its consequences, so seriously involve the whole settlement, that it is either never attempted, or is concealed with a secrecy unexampled in other matters. I have reason to believe that European travellers have sometimes had a Greek courtezan imposed on them for a sultana, and, after being heartily frightened, have been induced to pay smartly, in order to preserve a secret, which, the day after, was known to half the sisterhood in town.

"But it would be rather harsh to ascribe the chastity of the women solely to these exterior restraints. Innate modesty, cherished from its first dawnings with maternal care, and, in riper years, sheltered from the contagion of insidious gallantry, ought in candour to be allowed some share in the protection of the sex from irregularities, to which the climate, as well as the natural constitution may be reckoned favourable: and skill in the arts of seduction, or a character for illicit amours, being neither deemed requisite nor venial, in the composition of a Turkish fine gentleman, tuition, finding fewer obstacles to encounter, may perhaps on that account be less liable, than in some other countries, to fail of success.

"The wives and concubines, of relations who live familiarly together, are restrained by the ties of consanguinity, from a criminal intercourse, which would be deemed scandalous, if not incestuous; and clandestine intrigues between the boys and maid servants, to whatever cause it may be owing, are in fact less frequent than might be expected. It is indeed hardly possible that an amour should remain long concealed in the Harem; and the mothers usually take care to hasten the marriage of their sons, before the passions become too fierce for the control of parental authority.

"I have been told by Turkish ladies, that a principal view in their preference of slaves to free women, as menial servants, was to prevent domestic intrigues. When a free girl

girl is seduced, her parents make use of the accident to lay the family under contribution, by threatening a public prosecution, which is not only productive of expense, but, what to the women is more vexatious, exposes the honour of the Harem. The girls sometimes slyly give encouragement, not only from the hope of some pecuniary indemnification, but also perhaps, of obtaining a husband. This last is no uncommon mode of compounding the matter, it not being difficult to find some one willing, for money, to take the girl, but who is at the same time careful to retain, as an additional dowry, the power of harassing the family, as often as he becomes necessitous. Families are sometimes plagued with these vexations, at the distance of several years, and that even where the complaint is groundless. I have had occasion accidentally to hear such causes tried at the Mahkamy, but believe they are not common; for the mistress of the Harem generally chooses to prevent public scandal by submitting to private extortion. The slaves on the contrary, having no kindred to support them, can derive few similar advantages from criminal intrigue.

"The youth of distinction, without the precincts of the Harem, have little or no opportunity of indulging in illicit pleasures, for they are not only never permitted to go abroad unattended, but there are no private places of resort where the sexes can meet. The common prostitutes (who are chiefly attached to the soldiery) are of the lowest order, and lodge in such obscure places of the town, that no person of character can have any decent pretence to approach them. These prostitutes are licensed by the Bashaw's Tufinkgi Bashee, whom they pay for his protection. Some are natives of Aleppo, but many come from other places. They parade in the streets, and the outskirts of the town, dressed in a flaunting manner, their veil flying loosely from the face, their cheeks painted, bunches of flowers stuck gaudily on the temples, and their bosom exposed; their gait is masculine, and full of affectation, and they are in the highest degree impudent and profligate. There are perhaps a few courtezans of a somewhat higher class, who entertain visitors in more suitable lodgings; but the risk which people of property run, when detected, of being forced to submit to arbitrary extortion, or to be exposed to public ridicule, confines this mode of gallantry to the inferior class of Osmanli, and the Janizaries.

"The ladies of the Harem are either free born natives of Turkey, or slaves originally christian, who have been brought from Georgia: the number of the latter at Aleppo is comparatively small.

"The Turkish girls of condition are carefully educated; and those of every denomination are taught silence, and a modest reserved demeanour, in the presence of men. From infancy, they are seldom carried abroad without a gauze handkerchief thrown over the head, and from the age of six or seven, they wear the veil. When about seven years old, they are sent to school to learn to sew and embroider: but their work in embroidery is greatly inferior to that of the Constantinople ladies. The handkerchiefs of the men are embroidered with silk of various colours, as well as with gold and silver; and are common presents made by the women, in the same manner as

worked watch cases, purses, and tobacco bags. Some of the girls, as remarked before, are taught to read and write the Arabic; but all are instructed in their prayers, their duty to parents, and in the exterior forms of behaviour. Persons of condition seldom send their children to the public school, after the ninth year, either engaging professed teachers to come into the Harem, or, making an interchange, become tutoresses to each other's children. By this last mode the petulance, so often the consequence of indulgence at home, is in some measure corrected; for the voluntary tutoress maintains strict authority, keeps the young pupil under her eye, makes her sit in the apartment where she herself and her slaves are at work, and, when she goes from home, she leaves the girl under the care of some one who is to make a report of her conduct. A laudable discretion in conversation is preserved in the presence of these girls, and an indirect lesson is occasionally given by reprimanding the slaves in their hearing. Indeed the whole of their education appears not to consist so much in a formal course of precepts, as in artfully supplying the pupil with examples in domestic life, from which she may draw rules for her own conduct: and which being as it were the result of her own reflection, acquire perhaps more lasting influence.

"The early separation of the boys and girls, (for they are sent to different reading schools,) soon leads each sex to the pursuit of its peculiar amusements, preparing them gradually for the disjoined state of their future lives. The boys grow impatient of confinement in the Harem, and love to pass their time among the pages and the horses; they assume a grave, sedate air, and imitate the manners of those whom they observe to be respected among the men. The girl forms different ideas of her own dignity, grows attentive to the punctilios of her sex, is proudly fond of her veil, and strives to imitate the gait, the tone of voice, and the peculiar phrases of those ladies whom she has heard chiefly commended.

"The boys (according to M. D'Arvieux) are not permitted to enter the apartments of the women, after their seventh year: such is the jealousy of the men." Others have said the same: but if the circumstance was true at the time he wrote, it is not at present the case at Aleppo. The boys have free access to the Harem till sixteen or seventeen. They are not indeed carried to the bagnio with the women later than six years old.

"The women in their persons are rather engaging than handsome. It was remarked before, that they were pretty in infancy, but changed for the worse as they grew up: yet they retain for ever the fine piercing eye, and many to the last possess their exquisite features, though not their complexion. They do not wear stays, and are at little pains to preserve their shape. In general they are low in stature, and such as are tall, for the most part stoop. The women of condition affect a stately gait, but walk inelegantly, and the carriage of their body is devoid of that ease, and air, to which an European eye has been accustomed. The dress in which they appear abroad, is not calculated to set off the person; the veil shows their shape to disadvantage, the legs are awkwardly concealed by the boots, and even without

out them, their movement is not so elegantly easy as that of their arms: which may be the reason that they appear to most advantage when sitting on the Divan.

"The transient manner in which the Turkish women can only be seen by a stranger, renders it difficult, if not impossible, to speak decidedly of their beauty, in comparison with that of the women of other countries, who are seen with more familiarity. Their dress and veil which are so disadvantageous to their shape, may perhaps (the latter particularly) be of advantage to their looks. I have had occasion to see great numbers, and thought them in general handsomer than the Christian and Jewish ladies; but I was sometimes inclined to doubt whether that opinion might not in some degree be ascribed to seeing them partially, or when revealed in such a manner, as to give relief to their beauty: it is certain that many whose faces I had at first thought exquisitely fine, from under a loose veil, lost considerably when more exposed.

"When the female slaves are purchased very young, which seldom happens, they are brought up much in the same manner with the daughters of the family; but if they have reached the age of fifteen, or more, being then considered as too far advanced for regular schooling, they owe their future improvement to accidental opportunities, and for that reason are seldom so accomplished as the Turkish girls of condition. This, however, is only to be understood of such as are brought for sale to Aleppo; for many of those who are carried young to Constantinople, are carefully kept by the merchant, till they have acquired such improvements, as serve to enhance their price. They are instructed in music, dancing, dress, and all the arts of allurement; and they generally possess the advantage of personal charms. These high bred ladies very seldom appear at Aleppo; the extravagance of their price is one objection, and they are considered also as capable, by their example, of corrupting the less refined manners of the Syrian Harem. I knew an instance of a bashaw, who procured two of those ladies, at a very considerable expence, from Constantinople; but he dismissed them in less than three months; declaring they had in that time turned the heads of half the women in the Harem, and, besides ruining him in fine clothes, he believed they would, in two months more, have transformed his daughters into dancing girls.

"The slaves of a certain age are either purchased merely as menial domestics, or as future partners of the bed. Of the former, there are many who turn out most excellent and faithful servants; they have no kindred nor connections to allure them abroad, and they become sincerely attached to the family, into which accident has introduced them. Though the menial slaves are in the power of their master, they are protected in a great measure from violation, by established custom, as well as by other considerations. Should they happen to prove pregnant, they do not cease to be slaves, but their master has no longer the right of selling them, and the offspring enjoy nearly the same rights of inheritance with legitimate children. If the slave be the property of one of the ladies of the Harem, whether purchased, or received as a present, her person is regarded, in decency, as almost equally sacred with that of a

daughter of the family, and an injury done her, would be deemed a high affront to her mistress.

"The slaves destined for the bed, are recommended more by their beauty and personal attractions, than their domestic qualifications; and their future fortune depends on various accidents. When brought into the Harem of a young voluptuary, the new favorite, after triumphing in a pleasing dream of envied pre-eminence, soon finds herself reduced to the same state with the neglected females she had supplanted; and, if she brings no child, must sometimes submit to the humiliating employment of attendance on happier rivals; or try her fortune, at the option of her master, in some other family. When the young slave falls at first to the lot of a bachelor, or of a man of suitable age, who, having never had children, obtains his wife's consent to take a concubine, she at once is well received, and not unfrequently forms a happy establishment for life. But it too often is the fate of those orphan beauties, to fall the helpless victims of wealthy age, caprice, and impotency! They are doomed to bloom unseen, and to waste their prime in tasteless luxury. The death of their lord releases them at length from bondage; but their share of his fortune being inadequate to the support of their accustomed state, they find themselves reduced to the necessity of passing the remainder of their days in parsimonious solitude; or, if they seek a connection by marriage in some inferior rank, they become entangled in duties, for which their former idle way of life has but ill qualified them.

"The girls belonging to the women, who are purchased young, are brought up with care, and are sometimes honorably established in the Harem; or, with consent of their mistress, perhaps are married to some domestic without doors: they receive their freedom, and continue useful adherents to the family. But a large proportion of these slaves remain for ever single; they follow the fortunes of their mistress, and though generally emancipated at her death, they retain a grateful attachment to her children.

"When a person dies, his slaves (such as have borne children excepted) become the property of his heirs: there are, however, certain degrees of consanguinity, which exclude them from the bed of the successor. The grandees sometimes bestow slaves, who have had no child, on their favourite dependants, as a mark of regard; but it is usually with consent of the woman, who, together with her freedom, receives a marriage portion. On the other hand, they are sometimes presented with a virgin slave, by the rich merchants, or others who have occasion to cultivate court interest; and when such ladies luckily become favorites, they often give proof of their gratitude, in the services rendered to the family of their first patron.

"The great men also make presents of slaves to each other, but the custom is less common, and considered as more dangerous. It has been made subservient to infamous policy, by carrying murder into the most sacred recesses of domestic security; and the loveliest forms of female beauty have sometimes, though perhaps often unjustly, been suspected of being made the cruel instruments of the blackest treachery.

"A bashaw whom I had occasion to know at Aleppo, in the year

year 1762, and who, within a few months after, died bashaw of Cairo, was strongly suspected of having been poisoned by a beautiful slave, of whom he was extremely fond, and who had been presented to him, after he left Constantinople, by the grand vizir. I had an opportunity afterwards of conversing with several of his domestic officers, and, from circumstances, was inclined to believe, (what they did not) that his death, though sudden, was merely accidental. He had consulted me, before going to Cairo, on account of vertigoes to which he had been subject for several years. He was a young man of a plethoric habit, a short neck, intemperate in his pleasures, and, having lost his mother in an apoplexy, was strongly apprehensive of dying of that distemper. A fit unfortunately seized him when no other person but the slave was present.

"Among people of rank, as well as the rich merchants, there are many who marry a slave in preference to a free woman; choosing to forego the pecuniary, and indeed all advantages of alliance, rather than submit to the conditions on which such females are obtained. A woman of birth, conscious of family consequence, is apt to be haughty and petulant, and her relations sometimes make it one of the marriage articles, that the husband shall not take another to his bed. At any rate, the apprehension of family resentment lays him under a restraint, not experienced with a partner, whose interest it is anxiously to endeavour to conciliate the affections of the man on whom is her sole dependence, and who possesses the power of arbitrarily deserting her. This spirit of liberty, or rather of licentiousness, is said to be more general at present than formerly, while the gratification of it is become more difficult, from the decrease in the number of Georgian slaves brought into the provinces. At the same time it may be remarked, that the restriction to one woman, being only matter of private contract, not a religious precept, the article is often infringed, and, in consequence, is productive of much domestic uneasiness.

"It may be suspected, where courtship can have no place till after possession, or at least till after the object is within the power of the lover, that there can be little room for delicacy of sentiment; and that, while the man, led only by the coarser passion, neglects the arts of refined address, the woman will regard with careless indifference, the infidelities which custom has sanctified, and which she can neither prevent nor resent. The suspicion may perhaps, in general, be just, with respect to the theory of love in Turkey. The men pretend to despise gallantry as frivolous, nor is the imagination of either sex perverted by the fictions of romance. Nevertheless, in the course of a more intimate acquaintance with individuals, I was justified in the belief, that nature herself dictates a nameless refinement of passion, which often renders them restless or discontented, and shows that something more is wanting to the perfection of luxury, than the mere power over passive beauty.

"On the other hand, though desertion on the man's part does not reflect much dishonour on the woman, yet a certain sensibility makes her often feel severely the unprovoked injury; and she laments, in secret, a neglect, which though

fashion may vindicate, it cannot suppress the feelings of the human heart. The unusual attention bestowed on dress, and the improved polish in manners, observable soon after marriage, in many of the Turkish youth, is a tacit indication of a greater respect to the sex, than the professed principle of the men would seem to admit: while the faded cheek of forsaken beauty, with a long train of chronic ailments, consequent to indulged melancholy, are proofs, too frequently met with, of that female sensibility, which slowly consumes the spirits, and exposes the bloom of youth to the canker of hidden grief.

"The instances now alluded to, though not uncommon, are to be considered as exceptions to the regular influence of custom, which renders the sex patiently resigned to the inconstancy of their husbands; or subjects them only to transient fits of resentment. The slaves who have intruded on others, have little pretence to murmur at the man's divided affection, and appear contented in sharing it in common with the rest. The wives find it their interest to be silent, and when not deprived of their legal claim on the husband, trust rather to acquiescence than remonstrance. It is fortunate for both when they happen to have children to engage the mother's attention; she to them transfers her love and anxious tenderness, and, for their sakes, continues officiously to cultivate the good will of the father, though without hope of his returning passion.

"For some time after marriage, the young man of family is confined solely to his wife; it is not till further advanced in life, or till he comes into possession of the father's estate, that he avails himself of the right of polygamy. A prevailing notion that pleasure can only be found in variety, naturally prevents his bestowing much pains on the cultivation of a passion which is likely to attach him to a single object. It, however, sometimes happens, that he is entangled unawares; and it is far from uncommon, in the great Harems, to find the man's affections engrossed by one lady, while the visits he is under an obligation of paying to the others, serve only to convince him of the difference between mere desire and fond affection. I have been told, by the men themselves, instances of what they called extravagant passion, which they had experienced at different times of life, and which they ingenuously confessed, had rendered them so foolishly submissive to the woman, that they were heartily ashamed of their weakness. It is curious also to observe, in a situation where pecuniary or other motives can have no influence, how little beauty seems to be regarded, in determining the man's choice. It is often remarked that ladies who have pretensions but to few personal charms, are preferred to the most graceful and engaging forms; and the examples are numerous of lasting connections, formed with the plainest women in the Harem."

RELIGIOUS

Religious Austerities and Superstitious Notions of the Mahrattas, and other Hindoos.

[From Lieutenant Moor's Narrative of Captain Little's Detachment.]

"Although we do not pretend to give any particular account of the customs or prejudices of any of the people of the peninsula, we have, when any appeared very singular, taken notice of it: and, on this principle, shall give some account of a curious practice in repute among the Mahrattas, and other tribes of Hindoos; we shall call it swinging. It is a ceremony to which one of any age, or either sex, may make appeal, being generally referred to in expiation of an offence, or in consequence of some vow made, let us suppose, in the event of any acquisition in which the appellant is interested. There are particular villages for this ceremony to be performed in: Jejoory is a favourite town, and a correspondent in that quarter informs us, that in the month of March there was a great deal of it thereabout. Another swinging village is near Poonah, which was, we think, pointed out to us by Mr. Uhthoff, from whom most of the particulars here given from recollection, were received.

"A moveable platform is made, on which a pole, twenty or more feet high, is erected, with a beam projecting horizontally from the top, not unlike a gibbet, supposing the upper member moveable: from the extremity of the horizontal limb, a rope depends, reaved through a pulley, with a blunt hook at the end: on this the appellant is hooked through the fleshy part of his back, hoisted up to the beam, and on it turned round as many times as his confidence in his own resolution had pre-determined. Previous to being hooked, the swinger declares the cause of his appeal, and, we believe, the number of revolutions he conceives it necessary for the beam to make, while he is in this strange suspension.

"It is not unusual for a person to swing from a vow if he marries a certain girl within a certain time: this idea, however, generally comprehends the possession of such a sum of money as will enable them to marry with convenience. A person may swing by proxy. We were told of a venerable dame that came in consequence of her daughter's vow, who had, it seems, vowed to swing, if the child, of which she was pregnant, was a boy. The damsel had been delivered but a short time before the arrival of swinging day, which, we believe, is annual, and could not be tucked up without prejudice; and to prevent the bad effects of non-performance, the old lady went through the ceremony for the young gentlewoman in the straw with great resolution and satisfaction. The present head man of the village near Poona, before he arrived at that dignity, vowed to swing every year, if he was fortunate enough to get the post: afterwards, however, he modified his vow, and swings only when there are no other advocates; which is seldom the case, as the ceremony seems to be in high estimation. When the appellant is very zealous, we have heard that the whole machine has, by his desire, been moved

ed to a considerable distance while he hung on it, to the great envy and admiration of the gaping multitude; others who, have not so much resolution, or do not conceive so great an effort requisite, are hoisted up and lowered down again directly. One instance we heard of, where, from the hook not having sufficient hold, or the flesh and skin not being sufficiently strong to support the weight, the party fell, and was killed. From this inauspicious circumstance, it was concluded, he had swung from a bad vow, or had not previously declared the true one. We never saw the ceremony, but have conversed with swingers, who say it is no pain, if the cause of swinging is a good one; but if of bad tendency, it is very excruciating. A servant of Mr. Uhthoff's had swung, and we examined his back, which we found incised a little lower than the middle, over the right vetebræ. From the appearance of the cicatrix, the wound appeared to have originally been nearly two inches long. His vow, he said, was a good one, and he felt no pain.

"The hook is beyond doubt put through the flesh; there can be no deception, as it has frequently been particularly remarked. The flesh is, we have understood, benumbed, by being first beaten or bruised, and is then perforated with a sharp instrument, to make an entrance for the blunt hook. The wound is rubbed with some preparation, and soon heals. Many tribes of Hindoos practise swinging, and a number of them swing annually at Calcutta.

"If any records of these circumstances are kept in the swinging villages, with the causes of swinging, they would, doubtless, make a curious figure in a European dress; for we have heard of a number of causes assigned for the ceremony, that would furnish almost as diverting an essay as the well-known story of the lover's leap, if worked up by so humourous a hand.

"Most authors on the subject of eastern manners, have had occasion to mention the great austerities of Hindoo devotees; austerities, compared to which, the complicated sufferings of monastic dicipline in Europe dwindle into insignificance. Very few instances, and none of any note, have fallen under our observation. In Punderpoor there were, it is likely, many of these misled bigots, but we did not recollect to seek for them. In Poona there is a man, who, for several years past, has stood upon his head a certain number of hours every day: we saw him once in this reversed state. Five or six years back, a man in Bombay hung himself up by the feet, and vowed to continue in that situation, until, we believe two thousand rupees were collected for him. He hung four or five days and nights, and had made considerable progress in his collection, when the deputy of police interfered, and cut him down; and he, it was said, immediately distributed among the poor all the money that had been given him. We did not see this man. Another man, in Bombay, about ten years since, had obtained great veneration for a vow he made of sitting in the same posture for twenty-four years: he had, when we saw him, sat twelve, and was fixed in so strange a manner, that we are afraid we shall not be able to explain it clearly. His legs were turned behind his neck, where they formed a kind of pillow, or support for his shoulders; his back bone was bent in a half circle, and he sat upon the middle of it; his

ſteriors, if *now* properly ſo call- being brought before him der his chin; and in this ſingu- poſition were his limbs and bo- immoveably fixed. His legs and ghs, from ſo long a ſuſpenſion of ir functions, were withered and ivelled. He rode in a neat palan- en, which we ſtopped to examine n, carried by eight bearers, of whom made ſome enquiries. He did not ndeſcend at all to notice it. His uipage was ſupported by the ready tance of the credulous Hindoos, o deem themſelves happy in con- buting to the conveniences of ſo inent a character. He appeared be about forty years old, of low ture originally, and ill favoured his perſon. If now living, his ne is almoſt out; but he had now good continue his plan, for he n never be fit for any thing elſe, e came to Bombay, we believe, om Poona, and made but a ſhort ay, as he was charitably diſpoſed favour as many parts as poſſible ith his preſence.

"Bigotted practices of this kind e more obſervable among Hin- oos than any other people in In- a. The Mahrattas, conſidering eir numbers, are perhaps as free om them as any people; and it ould be unjuſt to fix the imputa- on of ſuperſtition or bigotry upon em, from obſerving two or three rcumſtances of that tendency. In ngland, even, may a ſtranger ob- rve ſeveral trifling prejudices of at nature, yet nothing can be ore incorrect, than ſaying the nglish are a ſuperſtitious people.

"Among the Mahrattas and ramins, we could not but notice ome prevailing opinions ſo ſtrongly nged, that, although we are un- willing to ſay they are a ſuperſti- tious people, we hardly know how to withhold the appellation. The day on which colonel Frederick firſt met the Bhow publicly, an untoward accident happened, which, by the Bramins and Mahrattas, was conſtrued into a moſt inauſpicious omen, and they found no difficulty in believing it a pointed portent of the inefficacy of his reinforcement in reducing the fort of Darwar. The circumſtance was this: the colonel intended going on horſe- back, and had a favourite animal capariſoned for the purpoſe: it was a beautiful gentle Arabian; yet no ſooner was the colonel in his ſaddle, than the beaſt reared, and put him off. Thrice he renewed the at- tempt, and was as often equally unſucceſsful. Now there was no- thing in this that may not be accounted for in the moſt ſatisfac- tory manner: the horſe was tender- mouthed, and had ever been accuſ- tomed to a light gentle bit; that uſed this day, for the firſt time, was a heavy ſevere curb, which, with the ſmalleſt check, galled and made him rear: yet this was look- ed upon as a fatal prognoſtic; and when the unhappy event of the colonel's death was announced, re- collected as prophetic, and the me- lancholy intelligence received with- out ſurpriſe.

"Sneezing but once, is, by the Bramins, reckoned ominous; and when a great man yawns, the pro- miſed ſleep is ſuppoſed ſweetly for- warded, by all the company ſnap- ping their fingers, which they do with great vehemence, and make a ſingular noiſe, that might embar- raſs a ſtranger."

CHARACTER

Character of the Mahrattas as Horsemen and Farriers.

[From the same Work.]

"In this place we will speak of the Mahrattas as horsemen and farriers.—They assuredly deserve the best cattle, from the care they bestow on them: a Mahratta, when dismounted, is continually shampooing his horse: this is performed by rubbing him violently with the elbows and wrists, and bending the animal's joints quickly backward and forward with a considerable exertion of strength; by these means a horse will keep his flesh with half the quantity of provision that he will require when they are neglected. Very few horses belonging to inferior people in the Mahratta camp had more than a seer and a half per day, and if forage was plentiful, a seer, or less, perhaps, would be his allowance; the usual quantity given to our horses was four or five seers a day, and they never looked better than the Mahrattas'; it must, however, be observed, that without good looking after, it is a common practice with the sies, or grooms of European gentleman, to embezzle a part, and not unfrequently a considerable part, of the horse's grain; and not being equally interested with the Mahrattas, are not at equal pains to shampoo their masters' horses.

"As horsemen, the Mahrattas are to a European eye very ungraceful; they ride with their knees as high as the horse's back, and hold on by the heels, nor is it awkward, or at all unhorsemanlike to hold by the mane, or peak of the saddle, or whatever they ride on. With these advantages it will be supposed they seldom fall; sometimes, however, as we have seen, this accident does happen; but it is reckoned a sad disgrace, as they pride themselves greatly on their horsemanship.

"Some, but comparatively not many, use peaked saddles; that is to say, saddles with a peak rising in a crane-neck form in front, which the Mahrattas seem to have adopted from the Moghuls: most horses led in state, of which every considerable person has several, have these saddles, but in general a substitute is used, called by us a charge hammer (although we apprehend the word should be spelled char-jamma) composed of a piece of stuff made of hair, as our hats are of felt, put next the horse, which effectually prevents chafing; it is bound by a girth, on which, with short leathers, the stirrups are suspended; over this the rider's cloaths, bedding, &c. are bound by another girth, and over all a covering is laid, also called a charge hammer, chiefly ornamental, agreeable to the fancy.

"No man, if his beast is not worth five rupees, rides without a crupper and a martingal. Men of property have their cruppers adorned with silver knobs as big as hen's eggs, silk tassels or embroidery; the cruppers admit of two rows of these ornaments, being fastened, not as ours are, in the centre of the saddle behind, but on each side. Common people carry, fastened to the crupper, the tobra, a leathern vessel, into which the horse thrusts his mouth to eat his grain: they carry also the head and heel ropes, called from their situation agaree-peetcharee, for the country custom of

of picketing horses is different from ours: a rope is carried from the head stall on each side to a peg, and the hinder fetlocks have a thong round them, from which ropes are carried twenty, and sometimes thirty feet, and there fastened to a peg, which pulls the horse back, and keeps him, when standing, on the stretch; but does not, as it would appear, and is generally supposed, keep him from lying down. A Mahratta, although he sells his horse, never parts with the heel ropes; it is deemed unlucky. In the field the horses are kept always cloathed, with their eyes covered, to prevent horses and mares seeing each other, or any thing to make them restless; the cloathing, they say, preserves the glossy appearance of the coat. The bridles have but one bit, like our snaffle, but sometimes, if a horse's mouth is callous, so jagged and pointed that it cuts him severely: the rein is fixed on a swivel ring, that projects a little downwards, but has not the power of our curb; one single narrow strap fastens the bridle on, over which a headstall, unconnected with the bridle, is worn: this is usually ornamented with lace or embroidery, and has the martingal fixed to it, and a thong, about a yard in length, depends from the rein to touch the horse with, as neither whip nor switch is ever used.

"The ornaments most common among the Mahratta gentlemen, are a necklace over the horse's chest, sometimes made of silver plates of different kinds, or of coins: Tippoo's rupees and double rupees, made into an ornament of this description, cut a very shining appearance:—The mane plaited in small braids, with coloured silks, and silver knobs depending—a top knot between the horse's ears, and some have tails, perhaps five or six on each side; these tails are very bushy, and, when clean, milk white, and are, we have been told, given to distinguish some military exploit. They are said to be the tail of a wild cow in the northern parts of Hindoostan, and are, among other uses, found serviceable to keep flies off the table during meals: they are then set in a silver handle, and called chowrie. All persons of distinction have people constantly whisking them about to keep the flies off, particularly the Musselmans, who abominate flies.

"All people naturally attached to their own customs, view with surprise the difference in those of strangers. The Mahrattas stared to see us riding with spurs and without martingals; but without cruppers!—it had to them an appearance as preposterous, as in England it would be for a gentleman to walk barefooted. Some others of our customs greatly excited their attention. They have no idea how a man can prefer walking to riding. A Mahratta on a marching day, gets on his horse at his tent door, and does not dismount until he reaches the spot of encampment: to see us frequently walk ten or twelve miles, with our horses led, was to them an unaccountable piece of obstinacy. Another custom, peculiar we believe to Europeans, of walking backward and forward in a tent, or, for want of one, in the open air, they marked with particular admiration: a person who after walking, when he could have rode, ten or twelve miles, continued perambulating to and fro in his tent, under a tree, or in the sun for an hour or two, they concluded must be insane. This idea prevailed some time; but when on acquaintance they had reason to suppose the person compos,

pos, and found it so general a practice, they knew not what to think; until at length it was discovered to be our method of praying, which discovery was confirmed by their never observing any other acts of devotion. A soldier in the field must be content with being devout in private; and as no opportunities offered for our friends to see our pious practices, it was as well to let them indulge the idea, for as to telling them it was for exercise, their language does not furnish them with such a word, nor their understanding such an idea.

"As farriers, the Mahrattas are very deficient, having but little knowledge, either of the diseases incident to horses, or of the method of cure. Their common medicine, on all occasions, is massola, which is a composition chiefly of spices, mixed up with flour and ghee. That called ba-tees, from being compounded of two and thirty ingredients (ba-tees in the Mahratta tongue is thirty-two) is most esteemed: pepper and ginger are the chief ingredients, with a small quantity of cassia, cardamoms, saffron, &c. and is given on all occasions, whether the animal be costive or loose. Massola is also given to horses to make them sleek and spirited, for which purpose it is usual to mix a spoonful or two of whole pepper, and a little salt with their grain. Favourites are sometimes indulged with sheep's head broth, rice and milk, and other dainties.

"The Mahrattas have also purging balls, composed principally of jalep, and are not ignorant of the effects of nitre, which they give in the gripes and other disorders. They have not the art of rowelling, nor of burning or cutting for the lampers: the latter they reduce by rubbing the gums violently with salt, but the horse is subject to a return of the excrescence. The lampers is a disorder very common in India. Cropping and nicking are unknown in India, nor can the natives believe we practise them, and were a horse's ears as long as an ass's they would not think of cutting them down: nor they never clip the tail, but delight in seeing it long and full, and, if white, it is frequently dyed red.

"The bigotry with which all sects of Hindoos adhere to their own customs is well known; still, when these customs are strikingly injudicious, and totally abstracted from religious prejudices, perseverance degenerates into obstinacy, and simplicity into ignorance. So it is with the Mahrattas, in abiding by their present practice of cutting the hoof and shoeing horses: they cut away the hinder part of the hoof, in such a manner that the pastern almost touches the ground, and the frog is suffered to grow so that the hoof is nearly a circle, in which form the shoes are made, the hinder parts almost touching; and so thin, that a person of ordinary strength can easily twist them. Instead of making the back part of the shoe the thickest, they hammer it quite thin, making the forepart thickest, and the shoe, gradually becoming thinner, ends in an edge.

"The farriers travel about camp, and, wherever they are wanted, do the business on the spot; as they carry a dozen ready made shoes, with nails, and all their implements in a bag. The anvil weighs five or six pounds, and is driven into the ground, a hammer or two, a pair of pincers, and a clumsy knife to pare the hoof are all their tools. They use no rasp, but pare the hoof to fit the shoe. During the job, the horsekeeper, or groom, holds

holds the horse's foot up with a thong, that the operator brings in his bag: The nails are clumsy, with round heads, and are not let into a groove in the shoe: its thinness would not admit of it. With difficulty two or three were prevailed upon to learn our method of making and fixing shoes, and were employed by almost our whole line, but will, doubtless, when we left them, have taken again to their former manner.

"It is but justice, however, to give them credit for their skill in that part of farriery that relates to cutting, in which we think Europeans might take a lesson. The part is not extracted whole, but a ligature is tied tight round the scrotum, so as to prevent any nourishment being received, and in a few days the part to be removed is dissolved, the scrotum punctured, and its contents let out in a kind of pus. Emollients are put into the scrotum, and in a short time the horse is well. This method is certainly, upon the whole, more expeditious, less painful, and said to be safer than cutting; indeed the operator will insure the horse for a trifle. The animal is commonly purged and brought to a proper temperament before the operation. It is not, however, common, among the Mahrattas, to make geldings; never, indeed, but when, from vice, a horse is unmanageable. Bullocks are made in the same manner, and in another very cruel one.

"With the Mahrattas long fetlock joints are esteemed, although they are not ignorant of its being a sign of weakness: they say it makes the animal easier in his paces, which may be true, as it would appear a horse's fetlocks act like springs to a carriage.

"Piebald horses are deemed strong, second only to black, of which colour very few are to be seen. White is a bad colour, unless with a black mane and tail, and then it is passable. The method, in Europe, of crossing the breed, the Mahrattas do not practise, but endeavour to preserve the breed by coupling animals of the same nation, which they have not yet learned, causes them to degenerate. An Arab and a Toorkee (a heavy species) would make a good breed, but they put Arab to Arab, and conceive by not mixing the blood, that the foal will have all the virtues of its parents.

"Mr. Orme has some earnest inquiries respecting the manner in which the Mahrattas procure and feed their horses: they certainly breed a great many, and procure others from Arabia, Persia, Candahar, and the northern parts of Hindoostan. We know of no place in the Mahratta country peculiarly adapted for feeding horses, but conjecture the different chiefs feed their own cattle, in their own territories: in few parts of which, we apprehend, will be found a want of pasturage.

"Mr. Orme speaks of a breed, of which he says, "a few are seen straggling in every part of these countries, but so diminutive and naught, that no one owns them, and they may be taken up for the fee of a few pence to the Zemindar." A species, called tattoo, are here alluded to, and although not quite so despicable, as Mr. Orme mentions, are certainly, as horses, a most contemptible breed: they are, however, serviceable and hardy, and frequently used, instead of bullocks, for carrying baggage. Their value is from five to fifteen rupees. Horses bred in this country, of the ordinary size, sell from two to six hundred

hundred rupees; northern horses up to a thousand rupees, which is reckoned a high price. Mr. Fryer does not, as Mr. Orme supposes, in the note just quoted, mean rice, when he speaks of corn for horses: that grain is never given to horses as their ordinary food. Gram and coolty are the grain on which horses are fed throughout the Mahratta country."

Account of the Parsees of Bombay.

[From the same Work.]

"THE Parsees, mentioned in this note, are the principal native inabitants of the Island of Bombay, in regard to wealth and numbers: not only the most valuable estates, but a very considerable part of the shipping of the port belong to them, and no merchants transport their goods in finer ships than the Bombay merchants, not excepting even the honourable East India company. The reader will have an idea of the commercial opulence of this little island, when he learns, that besides the great number of ships from Europe and America that yearly clear from the custom-house, there are, in carpenter's measurement, belonging to the port and island, 27,500 tons of shipping, constantly employed trading to every part of Asia, navigated by English officers. Besides this, there are country ships, vessels, and boats, to an immense amount in tonnage, going to and fro between Bombay and the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, &c. &c.

"In one article of merchandize, and to one port, there was in the year 1788-9, cleared from the Bombay custom, what at that port sold for an almost incredible sum. We allude to cotton, of which there were in that year exported from Bombay to Canton 55,000 candy: the freight only of which to Canton, at ninety rupees, the medium of the season, amounts, if the rupee is estimated at 2s. 6d. to 680,750l. sterling; or if taken at the lowest value in exchange, to half a million!

"The finest ships in India are built by the Parsees of Bombay, solely by themselves, without the least assistance from Europeans from the time the keel is laid, until the ship is launched. Some of these ships are of a thousand tons burthen: but from the heaviness of the wood, and the difficulty of making the iron work sufficiently strong to confine it, some skilful naval architects are of opinion, that building such large ships will not be found to answer so well as smaller. Ships of five hundred tons, built in Bombay, will last many years longer, perhaps double the time, than a ship, from any yard in England. This is owing to the superiority of the timber; for notwithstanding the celebrity of English oak, the Indian teek far exceeds it in durability."

"To return to the Parsees.—We have observed them as the favourites of fortune; let us add, they are deservedly so, for we find them doing very extensive acts of charity and benevolence. In the Bombay Herald of the 4th October, 1790, we read the following paragraph. "We are happy in the opportuni-

by of pointing out the liberality of Soorabjee Muncherjee, whose conduct does honour to humanity: during the present scarcity of provisions, he daily feeds upwards of two thousand people, of different casts, at his own expence." Other public instances might be given.

"Some of them also have poor Europeans on their pension list, to whom are given a weekly allowance, and food and cloathing. To their private charity and benevolence, they add all the public show and expence necessary to give dignity to their riches. Some of them have two or three country houses, furnished in all the extravagance of European taste; with elegant and extensive gardens, where European gentlemen are frequently invited, and where they are always welcome to entertain their own private parties, and retire to enjoy the rural pleasures of the country, free from the noise and bustle of a busy, dirty town. We have seen Parsee merchants give balls, suppers, and entertainments to the whole settlement; and some of them ride in English chariots, such as a nobleman in England need not be ashamed to own, drawn by beautiful animals that every nobleman cannot equal in his stud. The Parsees have been often known to behave to English gentlemen, respecting pecuniary concerns, in a manner highly liberal; and although instances might be given to the contrary, and instances might also be given, where individuals, elated by their riches, have forgotten the respect due to English gentlemen, still they are but instances, and are not more reprobated by any than themselves.

"A Parsee beggar was never known; and their women, who are as fair as Europeans, are proverbially chaste; so that a harlot is as rare as a beggar. Upon the whole, they are a very handsome race of people.

"An enquiry into the history and customs of the Parsees would, we think, be curious. Their history commences at the period of the troubles caused by the Saracen conquerors of Persia: when, persecuted for their religious opinions, a few Persians took refuge in the Isle of Ormus, whence, some time after, they sailed for India, and landed in Gudjraat, where they found an asylum, on condition that they should reveal the mysteries of their creed, should renounce their own language and dress, that their women should go abroad unveiled, and their nuptials be celebrated in the evening. These restrictions were all complied with, and the Parsees' dress is nearly the same with the Hindoos, and they use the nagri character. So far is their own language forgotten, that perhaps there are not ten Parsees, we know not of one, on the Island of Bombay that can speak it.

"Tavernier, in his Persian Travels, page 163, gives a long account of the Guars, by whom he evidently means this people; but he is so unfortunate as to err notoriously in a number of particulars.

"They never intermarry, nor have they any public places of prayer; like their progenitors, the puritans of the east, they do not think temples, as places of worship, at all necessary, merely as such: they pray in the open air, and make their prostrations to the sun, as the grandest emblem in nature of the Deity, whose temple is the universe, and the all-pervading element of fire his only symbol.

Most of their original customs are, however, somewhat altered. No one, perhaps, is so singularly

curious as their method of sepulture, with which, in a brief description, we shall conclude this note.

"The defunct, after lying a proper time in his own house, for the purposes of mourning, is carried, followed by his relations and friends, the females chaunting a requiem, and deposited in a tomb of the following construction. It is a circular building, open at top, about fifty-five feet diameter, and twenty-five in height, filled to within five feet of the top, excepting a well of fifteen feet diameter in the centre. The part so filled is terraced, with a slight declivity toward the well. Two circular grooves, three inches deep, are raised round the well, the first at the distance of four, the second at ten feet from the well. Grooves of the like depth or height, and four feet distant from each other at the outer part of the outer circle, are carried straight from the wall to the well, communicating with the circular ones, for the purpose of carrying off the water, &c. The tomb, by this means, is divided into three circles of partitions: the outer, about seven feet by four; the middle, six by three; the inner, four by two: the outer for the men, the middle for the women, the inner for the children; in which the bodies are respectively placed, wrapped loosely in a piece of cloth, and left to be devoured by the vultures; which is very soon done, as numbers of those animals are always seen hovering and watching about these charnel houses, in expectation of their prey. The friends of the deceased, or the persons who have charge of the tomb, come at the proper time, and throw the bones into their receptacle, the well in the centre; for which purpose, iron rakes and tongs are deposited in the tomb. The entrance is closed by an iron door, four feet square, on the eastern side, as high up as the terrace, to which a road is raised. Upon the wall, above the door, an additional wall is raised, to prevent people from looking into the tomb, which the Parsees are particularly careful to prevent. A Persian inscription is on a stone inserted over the door, which we once copied, but have forgotten its tenor. From the bottom of the wall subterranean passages lead to receive the bones, &c. and to prevent the well from filling.

"Men of great property sometimes do not chuse to be deposited in these indiscriminate receptacles, and cause a small one to be built for their own families. Soorabjee, a rich merchant formerly of Bombay, is laid in a private one in the garden to his house on Malabar Hill; and we understand his tomb is grated over; if so it is the only one on the island so covered. The public tombs are, we think, five in number, but not now all in use, situated about three miles northwesterly from Bombay fort: the largest, for they are of different sizes, is that here described. We have seen accounts of this custom of the Parsees, and descriptions of their tombs, but never any correct.

"Led by idle curiosity, when very young, we went into every tomb on the island, the private one in Soorabjee's garden excepted: not only into the tombs but into the wells. We were not then aware of the impropriety, or should not so indecently have obtruded on the sacred repositories of the dead."

5 MORAL

Moral Character and Religion of the North American Indians.

[From the History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians, &c. by George Henry Loskiel, translated from the German by Christian Ignatius La Trobe.]

"THOUGH the Indians are uncultivated, yet perhaps no heathen nation, in its moral conduct, exhibits a greater show of goodness and virtue. This pre-eminence will appear upon the slightest comparison between them and other heathen, and the following short remarks made by our missionaries, after many years experience and an intimate acquaintance with them, will confirm it.

"In common life and conversation the Indians observe great decency. They usually treat one another and strangers with kindness and civility, and without empty compliments. Their whole behaviour appears solid and prudent. In matters of consequence they seem to speak and act with the most cool and serious deliberation, avoiding all appearance of precipitancy. But upon closer examination, their caution appears to rise chiefly from suspicion, and their coolness is affected. They are perfect masters of the art of dissembling. If an Indian has lost his whole property by fire or any other calamity, he speaks of it as he would of the most trivial occurrence: yet his pride cannot always conceal his sorrow.

"In the converse of both sexes, the greatest decency and propriety is observed. At least nothing lascivious or indecent is openly allowed, so that in this respect it cannot be denied, but that they excel most nations. But in secret, they are nevertheless guilty of fornication, and even of unnatural crimes.

"They are sociable and friendly, and a mutual intercourse subsists between the families. Quarrels, sarcastical and offensive behaviour, are carefully avoided. They never put any one publicly to the blush, nor reproach even a noted murderer. Their common conversation turns upon hunting, fishing, and affairs of state. No one interrupts his neighbour in speaking, and they listen very attentively to news, whether true or false. This is one reason why they are so fond of receiving strangers: but no inquiry is made about news, till they have smoaked one pipe of tobacco. They never curse and swear in their conversation, nor have they any such expressions for it in their language, as are common in other nations.

"By their behaviour it appears as if the greatest confidence subsisted among them. They frequently leave their implements and game in the open air, for many days; not altogether because they place much dependance upon the honesty and faithfulness of their neighbours, for stealing is not an uncommon practice among them, but because they highly resent the least idea of suspicion. They therefore pretend to guard the game merely from the attack of wild beasts.

"Difference of rank, with all its consequences, is not to be found among the Indians. They are all

equally noble and free. The only difference consists in wealth, age, dexterity, courage, and office. Whoever furnishes much wampom for the chiefs, is considered as a person of quality and riches. Age is every where much respected, for, according to their ideas, long life and wisdom are always connected together. Young Indians endeavour by presents to gain instruction from the aged, and to learn from them how to attain to old age. However, the Indian youth is much degenerated in this respect. A clever hunter, a valiant warrior, and an intelligent chief, are also much honoured; and no Indian, with all his notions of liberty, ever refuses to follow and obey his captain or his chief.

"Presents are very acceptable to an Indian, but he is not willing to acknowledge himself under any obligations to the donor, and even takes it amiss, if they are discontinued. Some old men and women pretend to the art of procuring presents of cloaths and provisions, by a certain charm, or magic spell, called beson. At least they find the superstition of believing in the efficacy of the besons a profitable one.

"The hospitality of the Indians is well known. It extends even to strangers, who take refuge amongst them. They count it a most sacred duty, from which no one is exempted. Whoever refuses relief to any one, commits a grievous offence, and not only makes himself detested and abhorred by all, but liable to revenge from the offended person.

"In their conduct towards their enemies they are cruel and inexorable, and when enraged, bent upon nothing but murder and bloodshed. They are however remarkable for concealing their passions, and waiting for a convenient opportunity of gratifying them. But then their fury knows no bounds. If they cannot satisfy their resentment, they even call upon their friends and posterity to do it. The longest space of time cannot cool their wrath, nor the most distant place of refuge afford security to their enemy.

"Fornication, adultery, stealth, lying, and cheating, they consider as heinous and scandalous offences, and punish them in various ways.

"An adulterer must expect, that the party offended will requite him, either in the same manner, or put him to death. An adulteress is in general merely put away; but sometimes destroyed.

"A thief must restore whatever he has stolen; but if he is too poor, or cannot be brought to justice, his relations must pay for him. In case of violent robberies, the sorcerers are consulted, and these pretend to send the offender out of the world by an inexplicable process.

"Since the Indians have taken so much to drinking rum, murders are more frequent. An Indian feast is seldom concluded without bloodshed. Though they lay all the blame to the rum, yet murder committed in drunkenness is severely punished. For the murder of a man one hundred yards of wampom, and for that of a woman, two hundred yards must be paid by the murderer. If he is too poor, which is commonly the case, and his friends can or will not assist him, he must fly from the resentment of the relations. But if any one has murdered his own relation, he escapes without much difficulty; for the family, who alone have a right to take revenge, do not choose, by too severe a punishment inflicted on the murderer, to deprive their race of

of two members at once, and thus to weaken their influence. They rather endeavour to bring about a reconciliation, and even often justify the deed.

"The Indian women are more given to stealing, lying, quarrelling, backbiting, and slandering, than the men.

"The Indians are very capable of learning every kind of work. Some, who have long resided among the white people, have learnt to work in iron, and make hatchets, axes, and other tools, without any regular instruction. Yet few will submit to hard labour, neither their education nor their wants inclining them to industry and application. The Indians in general, but especially the men, love ease; and even hunting, though their chief employ, is attended to, with perseverance, but for a few months of the year; the rest are chiefly spent in idleness. The women are more employed; for the whole burthen of house-keeping lies upon them, and nothing but hunger and want can rouse the men from their drowsiness, and give them activity.

"The honour and welfare of the nation is considered by the Indians as a most important concern. For though they are joined together neither by force nor compact, yet they consider themselves as one nation, of which they have an exalted idea, and profess great attachment to their particular tribe. Independence appears to them to be the grand prerogative of Indians, considered either collectively or as individuals. They frankly own the superiority of the Europeans in several arts, but despise them, as submitting to laborious employments. The advantages they possess in hunting, fishing, and even in their moral conduct, appear to them superior to any European refinements. This public spirit of the Indians produces the most noble exertions in favour of their own people. They dread no danger; suffer any hardships, and meet torments and death itself with composure, in the defence of their country. Even in their last moments they preserve the greatest appearance of insensibility, in honour of their nation, boast of their intrepidity, and with savage pride defy the greatest sufferings and tortures which their enemies can inflict upon them.

"Sacrifices, made with a view to pacify God and the subordinate deities, are also among the religious ceremonies of the Indians. These sacrifices are of very antient date, and considered in so sacred a light, that unless they are performed in proper time and in a manner acceptable to the deity, they suppose illness, misfortunes, and death itself, would certainly befal them and their families. But they have neither priests regularly appointed, nor temples. At general and solemn sacrifices, the oldest men perform the offices of priests, but in private parties, each man bringing a sacrifice is priest himself. Instead of a temple, a large dwelling house is fitted up for the purpose.

"Our missionaries have not found rank polytheism, or gross idolatry, to exist among the Indians. They have, however, something which may be called an idol. This is the manitto, representing in wood the head of a man in miniature, which they always carry about them, either on a string round their neck or in a bag. They hang it also about their children, to preserve them from illness and ensure to them success. When they perform a solemn sacrifice, a manitto, or a head

as large as life, is put upon a pole in the middle of the house.

"But they understand by the word manitto, every being, to which an offering is made, especially all good spirits. They also look upon the elements, almost all animals, and even some plants, as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power.

"They sacrifice to an hare, because, according to report, the first ancestor of the Indian tribes had that name. To Indian corn they sacrifice bear's flesh, but to deer and bears, Indian corn; to the fishes, small pieces of bread in the shape of fishes: but they positively deny, that they pay any adoration to these subordinate good spirits, and affirm, that they only worship the true God, through them: for God, say they, does not require men to pay offerings or adoration immediately to him. He has therefore made known his will in dreams, notifying to them, what beings they have to consider as manittos, and what offerings to make to them.

"The manittos are also considered as tutelar spirits. Every Indian has one or more, which he conceives to be peculiarly given to assist him and make him prosper. One has in a dream received the sun as his tutelar spirit; another the moon; a third, an owl; a fourth, a buffaloe; and so forth. An Indian is dispirited, and considers himself as forsaken by God, till he has received a tutelar spirit in a dream; but those who have been thus favoured, are full of courage, and proud of their powerful ally.

"Among the feasts and sacrifices of the Indians, five are the most remarkable, and each has its peculiar ceremonies. I will describe them as held among the Delawares.

"The first sacrificial feast is held by a whole family or their friends once in two years, commonly in autumn, seldom in winter. Beside the members of the family, they sometimes invite their neighbours from the adjacent towns; and, as their connexions are large, each Indian has an opportunity of attending more than one family feast in a year. The head of the family must provide every thing. He calculates the requisite number of deer and bears, and sends the young people into the woods to procure them. When they have completed their numbers, they carry the booty home, in solemn procession, depositing it in the house of sacrifice. The women are meanwhile engaged in preparing fire-wood for roasting or boiling, and long dry reed grass for seats. As soon as the guests are all assembled and seated, the boiled meat is served up in large kettles, with bread made of Indian corn, and distributed by the servants. The rule is, that whatever is thus brought as a sacrifice, must be eaten altogether and nothing left. A small quantity of melted fat only is poured by the oldest men into the fire, and in this the main part of the offering consists. The bones are burnt, lest the dogs should get any of them. After dinner the men and women dance with much decency. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise-shell filled with pebbles. The burthen of his song consists of dreams, and a recital of all the names of the manittos, and those things which are most useful to the Indians. When the first singer is weary, he sits down, and is relieved by another. Thus this feasting is sometimes continued for three or four nights together, beginning in the after-

afternoon and lasting till the next morning.

"The second feast differs from the former only in this, that the men dance almost naked, their bodies being daubed all over with white clay.

"At the third feast, ten or more tanned deer-skins are given to as many old men or women, who wrap themselves in them, and stand before the house, with their faces turned to the east, praying God with a loud voice to reward their benefactors.

"The fourth sacrifice is made to a certain voracious spirit, who, according to their opinion, is never satisfied. The guests are therefore obliged to eat all the bear's flesh, and drink the melted fat, without leaving any thing, which is frequently followed by indigestions and vomiting.

"The fifth festival is celebrated in honour of fire, which they consider as the first parent of all Indian nations. Twelve manittos attend him as subordinate deities, being partly animals and partly vegetables. The chief ceremony in celebrating this festival is, that a large oven is built in the midst of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles, each of a different species of wood. These they run into the ground, tie them together at the top, and cover them entirely with blankets, joined close together, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven, high enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After dinner the oven is heated with twelve large stones made red hot. Then twelve men creep into it, and remain there as long as they can bear the heat. Meanwhile an old man throws twelve pipes full of tobacco upon the hot stones, which occasions a smoke almost powerful enough to suffocate the persons thus confined, so that, upon their being taken out, they generally fall down in a swoon. During this feast a whole deer-skin, with the head and antlers remaining, is raised upon a pole, to which they seem to sing and pray. But they deny that they pay any adoration to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through this medium."

Customs and Diversions of the English in the Anglo-Norman Period.

[From the First Volume of Andrews's History of Great Britain.]

"THE customs introduced by the Normans to England were in general praise-worthy and gentleman-like, when compared to those of the Anglo-Saxons. Knighthood, which necessarily comprehended a brave and liberal heart, a firm demeanor and a graceful performance of manlike exercises, flourished under their protection. The knight, after having served a kind of apprenticeship during seven or eight years as an esquire, bound himself by a solemn oath to be loyal to his king, to protect the virtuous part of the fair sex, and to rescue widows and orphans from oppression, at the hazard of his life. The tilts and tournaments (which were pompous festivals where the skill and agility of the knight were severely tried) afforded perpetual incentives to excellence in military science; and the pictu-

resque duty annexed to chivalry, of chusing a supreme lady, in defence of whose beauty and virtue her knight was always ready to combat, hid its own absurdity under a veil of elegance. [ST. PALAYE sur la CHEVALERIE.]

"Besides the tournament, a diversion allotted only to persons of rank, the favourite sports of the principal Normans were hunting and hawking; these the kings, prelates and noblemen, pursued with an incredible eagerness, and without the smallest regard to the labours of the husbandman. 'By these pursuits' (says John of Salisbury) 'they lose their humanity, and become monsters like the savage animals they chase; shepherds and their flocks are driven from their pastures, that wild beasts may range in them at large; should one of these potent sportsmen approach your dwelling, hasten to bring out every refreshment which you have in your house or which you can beg or borrow of your neighbours, lest you should find the fatal consequence of your neglect; and perhaps be accused of treason.

"The game of chess, and still more the various chances of the dice, constituted domestic amusements for the great. That they carried these to excess we may judge from many circumstances. Even the horrors of civil war could not damp their spirit of gaming; for M. Paris complains of the barons, associated to resist the tyranny of John, for spending their time in luxury and playing with dice, when their appearance was wanted in the field. Excessive gaming at sea was restrained by the second of those laws which the united kings of England and France drew up in 1190 for the government of the force fitted out against the Saracens. There it is enacted that knights and clerks shall be restrained to the loss of twenty shillings (nearly what fifteen pounds would be in the 18th century) in a day; but that soldiers or sailors, if detected in playing for money, shall be fined at will, or whipped or ducked.' [BROMPTON. BENEDIC. ABBAS.]

"Theatrical entertainments were not wholly unknown. The miracles of saints and the sufferings of martyrs were the subjects of dramatic representations in London as Fitz Stephens writes; and we find by M. Paris that Geoffrey, an abbot of St. Albans, was the author of a play of St. Katharine; and that he borrowed from the sacristan, the holy vestments of the abbey to adorn the actors.

"The more gross amusements of the Norman nobility in the pantomime style have been mentioned in a former note from John of Salisbury, who, though a severe, was a tolerably candid critic on the times he lived in.

"The common people were not without their diversions. Bull-baiting, cock-fighting and horse-racing were known to the men of London: the sports on the Thames, the skaiting, and the various exercises and entertainments of the twelfth century are accurately and even elegantly painted by Fitz Stephens in his description of London.

"The Normans were sober and rather delicate at their meals when they first invaded England. It was not long however before they equalled their predecessors in feasting and even added costly epicurism to brutal gluttony.—Yet two meals each day supplied the place of the Anglo-Saxons' four, and Robert de Mellent, prime minister and fa-

favourite of Henry Beauclerc, strove hard to reduce these two to one. [W. MALMES.]

"The dinner was held at nine in the morning, the supper at five in the afternoon. Besides the common meats, many dishes were used, with the composition of which we are not now acquainted. As to liquors they had several kinds compounded of honey, of spices, and of mulberry juice; such as hypocras, pigment, claret, and morat, besides wine, cyder, perry and ale.

"Various kinds of bread were in use. The 'panis piperatus' was a sort of gingerbread. Wastel cakes and simnel cakes, as they were part of the royal allowance of the King of Scots when in England, were probably made of the finest meal.

[RYM. FŒD.]

"There was great inconsistency in the general and national character of the Anglo-Normans. They were at the same time acutely discerning and grossly credulous; honourably brave and atrociously cruel; respectful to the fair sex even to adoration, yet brutally licentious in their conduct to individuals; effeminate in their dress and manners, yet patient of almost intolerable fatigues.

"During more than an hundred years, the Normans in England shaved their faces. W. de Percy (who accompanied duke Robert in 1096 to Palestine) was styled, on account of singularity as to this point, 'William Alsgernons,' or 'William with the whiskers.'

"The dress of the Anglo-Normans was, in the eleventh century, simple if not elegant. The great wore a long and close gown, which reached down to their heels and had its bottom frequently embroidered with gold. Over this hung an equally long cloak which was generally buckled over the breast. When riding or walking abroad, a hood always hung behind the cloak. The close gown was put over the head like a shirt, and fastened round the waist by a girdle, which was often embroidered and set with precious stones. [STRUTT from ANT. PAINTINGS.]

"They wore breeches and stockings made of fine cloth and sometimes very costly. The absurd long-toed shoes came in with William Rufus. The queen and the women of fashion wore loose gowns trailing on the ground and girt round the waist. The married women had an additional robe over the gown, hanging down before not unlike a sacerdotal garment. To the girdle a large purse or pouch was suspended. The men wore their hair long, except sometimes when suddenly wrought on by fanaticism.

"In the approaching centuries we shall find strange variations from this simplicity of habit. The crusades indeed seem to have introduced to Northern Europe, among other vices, luxury and effeminacy in dress to a degree which a modern man of fashion would blush to imitate.

"The umbrella was in use as early as the reign of king Stephen."

[STRUTT.]

CHARACTER

Character of the Peasants of the Betuwe.

[From the first Volume of Dr. Cogan's Rhine.]

"THE peasants in this part of the world retain much of what you would term the ancient simplicity of manners. They afford, in many respects, a specimen of what we may suppose to have been the character of the English, about two hundred and fifty years ago. It is a respectable mark of learning, to be able to read and write. However, the rising generation will possess an advantage over their parents in this respect, as schools are now established in almost every village. When I resided at Zuylestein, most of their bills upon me were drawn out by the school-master, and acquitted by the sign of the cross; which I suppose had originally the solemnity of an oath, that the demand was duly paid. In consequence of not being able to minute down every article, their memories become extremely accurate and tenacious. They continue, to this day, to create and change names *ad libitum*. One countryman is distinguished by the appellation of Jan Boer, John (the) Farmer, whose father was Dirk (the) Miller. A farmer contiguous to my mansion was born at Bois le Duc; in Dutch, Hertogs Bosch; Anglice, Duke's Wood. He planted himself, upon his first emigration, on the north side of a range of hills, near to Leersum, and was there known by the name of Van den Bosch, from the wood. Upon his coming over these hills, and taking a farm near to my residence, he was known by the name of Friz Overburg, Frederick Over-hill. My respectable personage was only known among the common people by Mynheer op Zuylestein; and had I transplanted myself to any spot in their neighbourhood, my family would have been termed the Van Zuylestein family.

"It is common for those who reside in cities, amidst profligate manners, to extol the simplicity and purity of rural characters. But they do not sufficiently distinguish between manners and morals, or between open extravagance and secret depravity. When I resided among these peasants, I was not only several removes from either the polish or the immoralities which characterize cities, but, as already hinted, I felt myself thrown more than a couple of centuries backwards in the world. I have been at some pains to acquaint myself with the originals, from whom such pleasing copies are taken, and am convinced that these pretended copies are, in general, strong exaggerations. I have often found external simplicity connected with much slyness of disposition. To cheat and out-wit a person who is in a more elevated station, if they be not his immediate dependents, is the professed trial of skill, and the perpetual boast of almost every farmer. They are externally submissive to superiors; in general, civil to strangers; and, if not in a state of enmity, very cordial, generous, sympathising, among one another. Their enmity is implacable. It is enkindled and burns with ardour on each side, according to family connections; no respect being had to the cause, or the justice of the quarrel. They seem to think that the injunction to forgive

give an injury, is one of the severest; and it would be impossible to make them comprehend the dignity of seeking reconciliation. They are pretty regular in their attendance upon public worship on the Sunday, and as regularly return home intoxicated on the market-day. The crime of adultery is scarcely known among them; of fornication, not very frequent; and the triumphs of seduction, never. Their conduct towards each other, though coarse, is sincere. They are strangers to that duplicity which the polite world is obliged to practise, merely to avoid giving offence, or to conciliate esteem. But then, if they be sincere, they are often very coarse.

"From the above sketch, you will think with me, good sir, that painters and moralists either make a selection of the most pleasing objects with design and in order to embellish a picture; or, by contemplating rural scenes at a distance, they do not discover that roughness which would deform their landscape. The character of the peasant, his habitation, his employments, are all softened, flattered, and embellished by their pencil. They are all made to exhibit ideas of rural felicity in description, which will not stand the test of close inspection. Their very hog-sties and dung-hills, although the terms themselves are almost too indelicate to be committed to paper, are supposed to be without filth, and to emit no offensive odour: Their habitations are supposed to be proof against the rudest blasts, and most penetrating cold;—their labours are supposed to be without anxiety or fatigue: disease is thought never to enter their happy dwellings, and the possessor is contemplated without vice or guile; a complete model of innocence, simplicity, and hospitality!"

PICTURE of a WESTPHALIA INN; and INFORMATION for EPICURES.

[From the same Work.]

"AS soon as we entered the village where we were to remain, the joyful tidings were announced by a crack of the whip, and an exclamation "Dass ist das Dorff!"—This is the village.—But we were still to experience rockings and joltings, in a rough and stony road, through rain and wind, for the space of a tedious half hour, before our driver could exclaim, "Da ist das Wirthshaus!"—There is the inn!

"Although we were so desirous of shelter from the storm, yet our countenances were by no means brightened up when we beheld the mean appearance of our inn. We enquired if it were the best in the village, and were answered, "It is the only one, where you can receive any accommodations." Our ideas had given it a much better form; and these were, in some measure, authorized by the specimen we had had of a post-house between Xanton and Dusseldorff.

"Our host, his fair spouse, and bare-footed maiden, seemed equally strangers to the wholesome duties of ablution; nor did a peep into the sombre and dirty kitchen give us any great appetite for our future supper.

"After we had settled accounts with the driver,—who was the represent-

presentative of the stable-keeper of Dusseldorff, while he supported claims and privileges of his own (in which double capacity he employed all the intrigues of a minister of state, to deceive; and we, all the firmness of sound policy, to maintain our known and acknowledged rights), we were conducted to our apartment, or stube, opposite to the kitchen. Its clean and neat appearance, notwithstanding its simplicity, was somewhat encouraging. Its whitened walls, adorned with small pictures of saints,—an image of the Virgin, that was placed upon a large family chest, as the protectress of some old china, ranged in the front,—a crucifix, under an antique-framed mirror, manifested the owner's dispositions both for devotion and ornament, while they gave us hopes that matters would not go very bad in such good company.

"Our repast was simple, but in abundance; and it was served up with attention and civility: a clean table-cloth, napkins, and plates, with burnished knives, sharpened the appetite, which had lost its edge from a perspective of the kitchen. Our bed-chamber (the arrival of other company had deprived us of separate rooms) partook of the same neatness and simplicity; and we awoke in the morning, much more refreshed, and better satisfied, than the first appearances had promised, the preceding evening.

"No horse,—or, to elevate the simile as much as possible, when I compare myself to a beast of burden,—no mettlesome courser, could feel more indignant terror on his spirits, upon being forced into the shop of a rude-handed farrier, than was felt by your humble servant, upon his being urged by necessity into this Wirthshaus; and for a similar reason,—from the apprehensions of rough treatment within. I recollected those miserable inns in Westphalia,

If inns they could be called that inns were not—

into which my waggon-shaken bones entered in hopes of rest and refreshment, but returned without either.

These are termed Scheueren, or barns, where rationals and irrationals, men, women, and children, with all their live stock, dwell under one roof, and in the same apartment. The family occupy the extreme part of the building, at the greatest distance from the door, which is mostly at the gable-end; horses, milch cows, and oxen, are ranged on the right and left, towards the entrance; hogs and poultry take possession of the middle space. In consequence of this disposition, the hearth, or fire-place is very remote from the door; and the smoke, which is mostly of oak-wood, finding no chimney, or immediate vent, collecting in ample ringlets in the upper regions, is diffused in copious streams over the whole building, and its superabundance escapes at the barn-door. At once to form a beneficial stream, and to facilitate its passage, a large reflecting-board is placed perpendicularly above the fire place, at such a due height, that it prevents the smoke from collecting among the beams and rafters, by diffusing each column, as it rises, over the middle regions. By condescending to compare myself to a quadruped, surely I have purchased a right to compare this machine to the sounding-board of a pulpit, which it resembles in shape and size, and also in its manner of reverberating.

"Some of these Scheueren, or barns, have a secondary apartment, called

called a ſtube, or ſtoveroom, which is warmed by a ſtove, or furnace, placed contiguous to the wall, and generally heated from without, by an opening in the partition wall; ſo that the air in the apartment has no acceſs to the fuel, but receives a cloſe, ſultry, and unwholeſome heat, from the accumulation of ignited particles, which have no proper vent. Theſe machines are called ovens; a generic term that we have appropriated to a particular ſpecies of furnace, to which the moſt common ones in Germany bear a cloſe reſemblance. The ovens of the rich and great are very elegant, conſiſting of caſt-iron, highly ornamented with figures in relief, or caſed with valuable Saxon china. In large and ſpacious apartments, theſe ovens may be uſeful and neceſſary; but, in theſe ſmall ſtubes, they yield an impure and ſuffocating heat. They appear to me the chief cauſes of thoſe pulmonary complaints that are ſo frequent in Germany, as well as in England, where you ſtudy ſo much the luxury of warm apartments; while they are ſcarcely known in Holland, where the rooms are much more lofty, fires are leſs violent, and the inhabitants warmer clad; ſo that they are happily exempt from the ill effects attending the ſudden change of atmoſphere.

"The filth, which muſt accumulate in great abundance in ſo large a family, is formed into a dung-hill planted immediately before the door. All the villages, therefore, as they abound with farmers, abound with theſe mountains; the infuſion of which, in a rainy ſeaſon, flows, in copious ſtreams, along the ſtreets, and neceſſitates thoſe inhabitants that are above abject poverty to uſe boots. May we not trace the modern faſhion, in your men of faſhion, of wearing morning boots in clean ſtreets, up to this ſource? As thus,—Engliſh officers, in their frequent German campaigns, were under a neceſſity of imitating the German officers, and perpetually encaſing their legs *ſe defendendo*, until they acquired the habit; and, upon their return to their native ſoil, they gave the ton to thoſe gentry who are ſo fond of following the example of the military, in every thing but in expoſing their lives for the good of their country. I propoſe this, merely as a conjecture *en paſſant*.—What I am about to advance, is much more important, and is founded on a minute attention to cauſe and effect, for which I claim a double portion of honour.

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas.

"Although it is my phyſical and metaphyſical creed, that every diſcovery, and every ſpeculation, has been or will be uſeful, yet I will maintain, that the above axiom is, in itſelf, as applicable to inveſtigating the ſuperior flavour of a Weſtphalia ham, as the creation of worlds; nay, in my own opinion, I have made the better choice, if utility be the prime object of our ſtudy. Beſides, it will certainly be much more in our power to be ſmokers of the one, than builders of the other; for, did we know the principles of world-making ever ſo well, it would be extremely difficult for us to gather together a ſufficient quantity of materials, or to find a ſingle ſpot of terra firma, on which to commence our operations; whereas, ſmoking of hams is a proceſs equal to the capacity of every one who is capable of eating them, and who will have reaſon to lament

ment his ignorance, as often as his best endeavours are not rewarded with the requisite flavour.

"The superior excellence of a Westphalia ham to every other,—that Epicurean *gout* which gives them a decided preference,—is, in a great measure, to be ascribed to the construction of these Scheueren, and to their being without chimneys. The hams are suspended in the thickest part of this stream, or current of smoke, a few yards from the board by which it has been repelled:—Thus they are constantly exposed to a suffusion of an acrid anti-putrescent principle; for, it is well known, that the smoke of oak-wood is more penetrating and anti-putrescent than that of any other fuel; and this principle is constantly operating, without being applied in that degree of heat which produces rancidity, as is the case with all your chimney-smoked hams.

This I take be the immediate, or the proximate cause of more excellent fumigation. But I imagine also, that there are pre-disposing causes, respecting the subject smoked, which operate more frequently in this country, than in any other ham-creating region.

"The swine are permitted to wander at large, and to frequent woods that abound with acorns; and they fatten, while they are enjoying all the benefits of air and motion, which render their flesh firm, healthy, and nutritive; nor is the covering of fat so excessive and oleaginous as when the animals are supported upon very scanty fare, the greater part of their lives, and gorged with a superabundance, the small remainder. This cause operates *durante vita*: another takes place *post obitum*. The hams are not exposed to this suffusion of smoke, until, by being placed in a warm and moist situation, they have acquired that degree of softness which precedes putrefaction. Then they are duly salted, and exposed to the current. Put these rules into practice, my good sir,—and I hope, some time or other, to enjoy the benefit of my lecture.

"In every one of these Westphalia barns, you may see an incredible quantity of bacon, hams, breasts and hind-quarters of ducks and geese, exposed to the beneficial current, partly for domestic consumption, and partly for sale.

"I was surprised, in almost every village through which I passed, at the number and size of the flocks of geese and ducks, as well as the quantity of other poultry, that crouded the streets, so as frequently to obstruct the wheels of my carriage. Such an enviable abundance of provisions, and the consequent abundance of down, and other feathers, is the natural result of a number of small farms, which support large families, and render not merely the necessaries, but the delicacies of life, plentiful and cheap. There is scarcely an infant in a cottage, notwithstanding their apparent poverty, that does not sleep, in the winter season, between two feather beds; nor is there the least danger that any individual being should starve with hunger. It is true, "evil communication corrupts good manners:" the owners of these Scheueren are nearly as dirty as their chief stock in trade. Their style of cookery is also disgusting, and their bread is wretched.

"The abundance of feathers proceeds, in part, from the universal custom of plucking the down from the breast, and from under the wings,

wings, twice a year. This is a painful operation to the patient, and apparently cruel in the agent: nor can it be justified upon any other principle, than as being the *conditio sine qua non*, of their existence, and the care taken of them. There seems to be a tacit convention between the two species of bipeds, rational and irrational, by virtue of which, geese and ducks consent to be thus painfully twitched twice a year, and to be eaten at the close of life, upon condition of being well fed during the whole circle of their existence, with the most fattening dainties."

CLASSICAL

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

OBSERVATIONS on the UTILITY of defining SYNONYMOUS TERMS; with some ILLUSTRATIONS from the LATIN.

[From an ESSAY in the Third Volume of the TRANSACTIONS of the ROYAL SOCIETY of EDINBURGH, by JOHN HILL, L. L. D. F. R. S. ED.]

"WORDS that are precisely equivalent, are rarely, if at all, to be met with in any language. Those properly called synonymous exhibit one leading circumstance in which they all agree, and one or more accessory circumstances, in which they differ. When the point of their general coincidence, and the grounds of their particular diversities, are clearly ascertained, it is then in the power of the writer to use them with propriety. By the assistance of the grammarian, he knows which to adopt and which to reject, and can reconcile embellishment with accuracy and precision.

"The excellence of any language may in a great measure be judged of, by the number of synonymous terms that belong to it. A multiplicity of them, under skilful management, creates no hurtful redundancy. On the contrary, it enables every author of taste to exhibit his thoughts with energy and lustre. For the most delicate variety of shades in thought, he is furnished with a corresponding variety in expression; and the language in which he conveys his idea, becomes a complete picture of the idea itself.

"The author of this essay is abundantly sensible, that though the Latin tongue presents many classes of synonymous terms, yet to catch the circumstance on which their differences rest, is no easy matter, and may often leave room for diversity of opinion. After a careful examination of the classical writers, he suspects it will be found, that in the glow of composition, the strict distinctions between such words have not been always attended to, and that the purest writers have occasionally deviated from the standard which their general practice had established. Still, however, he apprehends, that there is room for a critical and scientific discussion of the Latin synonymous terms. As this is a subject to which, in the line of his profession, he was led to give particular attention, and as he considers it to be of no small importance to those who wish to discriminate the slightest violation of purity in the Roman language, he has made a very large collection of

of its synonymous words, with remarks upon them. The following specimen of the instances he has collected, he submits, with much diffidence, to this learned society.

"*Rogare*, *petere*, *postulare*, *poscere*, *flagitare*, agree in denoting the expression of a desire to obtain something not possessed, but differ in respect to the urgency with which this desire is announced. They are all distinguished from the verbs *cupere*, and *optare*, which, though not equivalent, suppose, like them, the existence of desire, but not the expression of it, with a view to its being fulfilled.

"The power of the verb *rogare* extends no farther than to the simple intimation of desire. By means of it, a want is suggested to the person addressed, of which he was before ignorant, and both he and his petitioner are supposed conscious, that compliance with the request must be voluntary and the effect of good-will. "Molestum verbum est, et onerosum, et demisso vultu dicendum, *rogo*."—"Malo emere quam *rogare*."

"He who proposed a law in the Roman comitia, and was then said *rogare legem*, presented his request respectfully, and left it to the assembly to judge as to the expediency of granting it.

"*Petere* differs from *rogare*, in supposing a certain difficulty in coming at the object desired, and a greater degree of keenness upon the part of the petitioner. "Ad te confugimus, a te opem *petimus*." "Cum a me *peteret* et summe contenderet, ut propinquum suum defenderem."—"Id sibi ut donaret, *rogare* et vehementer *petere* cœpit." In the last example, the verbs *rogare* and *petere* are evidently contrasted. The latter denotes a degree of zeal upon the part of the person who asks, which the former does not.

"The definition now given of *petere* does not correspond with that given by Servius. "*Petere*, says he, "est cum aliquid humiliter, et cum precibus, postulamus." With all the respect due to so great a critic, it may be urged, that this power of *petere* is not to be discerned in the verb when taken by itself, though it may be expressed by words with which it is occasionally accompanied. Thus Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, says, "Suppliciterque locuti, flentes pacem *petissent*." "Pueri mulieresque, passis manibus, pacem ab Romanis *petierunt*." Nothing in either of those instances serves to prove, that the keenness of the petitioner, which marks the verb, may not exist, independently of the manner in which the request is presented. The manner is in fact expressed by those terms that happen to be adjuncts to the verb.

"*Petere*, from the Greek verb πετω, *ferri*, *volare*, shews its native force in such derivatives as *impetus* and *præpes*. It seems to have originally expressed an effort to come at objects not within reach, and to have been transferred from material objects to intellectual conceptions. Its primitive power appears in such instances as the two following: "Sciebam Catilinam non latus aut ventrem, sed caput et collum *petere* solere."—"Malo me Galatea *petit*, lasciva puella."

"The power of *petere*, thus limited, appears to have been afterwards extended, so as to express a desire, accompanied with an effort to obtain any object whatever; and thus the original idea of bodily exertion was lost in that of the eagerness of any pursuit. Candidates for offices at Rome were said *petere* magis-

magistratus; and from a sense of the value, as well as of the difficulty of obtaining the object, they were keen in the pursuit of it.

"From a passage in Horace, it should seem, that any means for the acquisition of an object that are less than coercive, may be expressed by the verb *petere*.

——Cæsar, qui cogere posset,
Si *peteret* per amicitiam patris atque suam, non
Quidquam proficeret.

"Nothing more is suggested here by *petere*, than Cæsar's keenness to hear this musician perform. It were absurd to suppose, that the emperor, who possessed the power of compulsion, would ever stoop to beg the favour, according to Servius, "humiliter et cum precibus."

"*Postulare* differs from *petere*, in as far as it suggests neither keenness nor difficulty in the acquisition of the object. Besides the sentiment of desire which is common to all the five verbs compared, the idea of claim, which is manifestly not inherent in either of the two former, is essential to *postulare*. Upon a proper limitation of this claim, however, a due apprehension of the power of the verb depends.

"The distinctive character of *postulare* seems to rest on the acknowledged reasonableness of that which is demanded. "Geometræ solent non omnia docere, sed *postulare* ut quædam sibi concedantur, quo facilius quæ velint explicent." When geometers require any concession of those they are about to instruct, they appeal to their reason, and tacitly bind themselves to allow the validity of that which they require. The axiom again, which is an undeniable principle, carrying with itself its own proof, is not to be confounded with the postulate or entreated maxim. Other philosophers, as well as mathematicians, establish postulates, though often in terms less definite, and of course more readily mistaken. "M. Dasne igitur hoc, Pomponi, deorum immortalium vi, natura, ratione, naturam eam regi? A. Do sane si *postulas*."

"Cicero uses the expression, "Impudenter *rogare*, impudentissime *postulare*;" and thus intimates, that the indecency which was culpable in the bare suggestion of a desire, as implied in the former verb, rose in a superlative degree, when to this was superadded the idea of a claim, as implied in the latter.

"It appears from Quintus Curtius, that the insolence of Darius, after a severe defeat, provoked Alexander. He not only took to himself the appellation of king, without giving it to his conqueror, but presented his requests in terms that became not his situation. The historian of Alexander accordingly says, "*Postulabat* autem magis quam *petebat*."

"Poscere agrees with *postulare*, in supposing, that the petitioner has a claim to have his request granted; but it besides denotes, that he himself is entitled to judge as to the validity of that claim, without regard to the opinion of the person requested, or to the acknowledged equity of the demand. Thus Cicero, says, "Nemo tam audax qui *posceret*, nemo tam impudens qui *postularet*." The pointed opposition made here by the orator between the two verbs, shews clearly the meaning affixed by him to each. Impudence, he tells us in the last clause, or a contempt for the opinion of the world, who would

would judge as to the propriety of the demand, is all that would be needful for enabling the petitioner to present it in the form denoted by *postulare*. With regard to *poscere*, however, the case is different. A sentiment of courage is supposed needful, when a petition, implying the violation of some private right, was to be presented. A matter of favour would, with an unbecoming boldness, have been held forth as a matter of right, so that the person requested might reject the petition, as being an insult to himself.

"The definition given by Varro of *poscere* seems perfectly just, except only in as far as a compound is preposterously taken to state the power of the verb itself. "*Poscere*," says he, "est quoties aliquid pro merito nostro deposcimus." Had the critic taken the trouble previously to define "deposcere," we should have been at no loss to understand his account of the simple verb. His definition appears to be, in other respects, complete, as he supposes the petitioner possessed of the power of measuring the extent of what he styles "meritum."

"The different uses of the verb *poscere* may be all reconciled with the definition now given, when it is applied to the intercourse that takes place between man and man. In its application, however, to those petitions that were presented by the ancients to their gods, its power becomes more mysterious. The idea of right is not easily reconciled with that of supplication; so that, according to the definition given of the verb, those who were said *poscere deos veniam*, might well be accused of profaneness.

"In order to obviate this seeming objection, it must be remembered, that a difference of opinion respecting the same act in any two countries, may very naturally produce a difference in the interpretation of those words that are expressive of this act in each. Undefined terms have in this way become a fruitful source of controversy in matters both civil and religious; and even the science of grammar has suffered by those inaccuracies of expression, which it professes to remedy in all other subjects. The religious sentiments of the Romans were by no means refined. Vows were presented as bribes to their deities, into whose ear they whispered petitions, which they were ashamed to acknowledge in the face of the world. "Turpissima vota diis insusurrant; si quis admoverit aurem, conticescent, et quod scire hominem nolunt deo narrant." The prayer of such worshippers, then, was a matter of traffic, not an act of devotion. That disinterested benevolence, in reliance upon which more pious supplicants present their requests, was none of the attributes of the Roman deity. The humiliation of the devotee was in his own eyes an article of merit; and he left the altar on which he had laid his offering, feeling the obligation imposed on that being to whom it was presented.

"Many passages in the Latin classics confirm the truth of the observations now made.

——non tu prece *posita* emaci,
Quæ nisi seductis nequeas committere divis.

"Antequam limen Capitolii tangant, alius donum promittit, si propinquum divitem extulerit, alius, si thesaurum effoderit. Ipse senatus, recti bonique præceptor, mille pondo auri Capitolio promittit. Omnibus diis hominibusque formosior

videtur massa auri, quam quicquid Apelles Phidiasve, Græculi delirantes, fecerunt."—"Prisco instituto rebus divinis opera datur. Cum aliquid commendandum est, prece; cum solvendum, gratulatione; cum *exposcendum*, voto." The vow then among the Romans was a bribe, the acceptance of which was deemed obligatory upon the party who took it. As means leading to an end, it necessarily preceded the claim, and was the foundation on which it was built.

"The same notions respecting vows prevailed among the Greeks, as well as the Romans. In the prayer of the priest who had been affronted by Agamemnon, the Grecian bard makes him state his claim to be heard in the most express terms.

——— εἰ ποτε τοι χαριεντ' ἐπι νηυσι θεειλα,
Η εἰ δη ποτε τοι κατα κιονα μηριε' εκηα
Ταυρων ηδ' αιγων, τοδε μοι κρηηνον ελδωρ.

"*Flagitare* differs from *postulare*, and agrees with *poscere*, in supposing the justness of the privilege assumed by the petitioner, of judging as to his own claim. Its power, however, is more extensive than that of *poscere*, because to the idea of being the judge of the validity of his right, it superadds that of effecting his purpose by such means as he reckons fit for doing so. In those means, at the same time, there may be a considerable variety. The petitioner may either distress the person requested with incessant importunity, or he may threaten vengeance, if the claim which he feels himself entitled to enforce is not fulfilled. That *flagitare* has more power than *rogare* and *postulare*, appears from the two following sentences: "Metuo ne te forte *flagitent*; ego autem mandavi ut *rogarent*."—"Tametsi causa *postulat*, tamen quia *postulat*, non *flagitat*, ego præteribo."

"In the oration of Cicero for Plancius, he calls upon Laterensis to specify his charge, and to mention any one tribe that his friend had corrupted in his competition for the ædileship. "Etiam atque etiam insto atque urgeo, insector, *posco* atque adeo *flagito* crimen." There is evidently a climax in the five verbs that compose this sentence, and the gradation is very happily supported. By means of *poscere*, the orator makes a requisition in behalf of his client, of the justice of which he had a right to judge: and by the public manner in which this requisition was made, he virtually threatens him with the penalties of law, if it was not complied with; which last conception is involved in the verb *flagitare*.

"Ausonius Popma defines this verb very properly, "Vehementer et plerumque cum strepitu et convicio *poscere*."

"The gentlest power of *flagitare*, which is that in which the petitioner proposes to effect his purpose only by teazing, appears in such examples as the two following: "Implorare et *flagitare* auxilium consulis."

——nec potentem amicum
Largiora *flagito*,
Satis contentus unicis Sabinis.

"There are other instances again, in which *flagitare* implies, that the petitioner threatens the person requested, and excites fear, in order to effect his purpose.

Ejicite ex animo curam atque alienum æs,
Ne quis formidet *flagitatorem* suum.

"Petreius atque Afranius quum stipendium ab legionibus pene seditione

ditione facta *flagitarentur*; cujus illi diem nondum venisse dicerent, Cæsar ut cognosceret *postulatum est*." The request made by the soldiers, in order to obtain their pay before it was due, was very different from that made to Cæsar in order to have the matter settled.

"There is a passage in Tacitus, in which the three last of the five verbs considered are so placed, that the meaning of each is very elegantly and decisively brought forth. The historian is describing the sentiments both of Otho and of the army at Bedriacum, which he had left just before the engagement that was to decide the contest between him and Vitellius. "Ibi de prælio dubitatum; Othone per literas *flagitante* ut maturarent; militibus ut imperator pugnæ adesset *poscentibus*; plerique copias trans Padum agentes acciri *postulabant*." By forming this anticlimax, Tacitus gives information to the grammarian which is worthy of his attention. The terms of the emperor's message, in which *flagitare* is used, are expressive of his authority, and intimate the danger of not complying with his request. Those which announce the sentiments of the soldiers, by means of *poscere*, are expressive of no unbecoming menace towards their commander, but make the fulfilment of their right to be led on to battle by him, the condition of their obedience. Many, again, whose request is announced by *postulare*, suggest a reasonable claim, in which there is not even the shadow of contumacy. They are willing to obey the orders of their commander with all prudent dispatch, and even in his absence, and they require a reinforcement, not as a right, but as the means of doing justice to their own courage, and to the cause which they had espoused. The delicacy, exhibited by the historian in this description, will please the more, the longer it is contemplated. He not only delights his reader by an elegant and masterly discrimination of the various sentiments then prevalent in the minds of Otho and his followers, but furnishes him also with some curious grammatical facts, which few other writers had ingenuity to perceive.

"*Docere*, *erudire*, *instituere*, *imbuere*, agree in denoting a change produced upon the mind by communication from others, but differ in respect, either to the state of that mind to which the communication is made, or to the means employed in making it. *Docere*, which, according to Varro, comes from *do*, signifies to give information to those who need it, without reference to their previous knowledge, and is a correlative term in respect to *discere*. Thus, Seneca says, "Homines dum *docent*, *discunt*."—"Itaque non facile est invenire qui, quod sciat ipse, alteri non tradat. Ita non solum ad *discendum* propensi sumus, verum etiam ad *docendum*." That *docere* is applicable to all who receive instruction, whether ignorant, or in a certain degree previously instructed, appears from the following passages: "Quid nunc te Asine literas *doceam*? non opus est verbis sed fustibus."

Hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa *docentem*
Occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.

"In the passages now quoted, *docere* supposes the minds receiving the information to be completely ignorant; but in the three that follow, they appear to be in a state directly contrary. "Et *docebo* sus (ut aiunt) oratorem eum, quem quum Catulus nuper audisset, fœnum alios aiebat esse oportere."

Plura recognescet, pauca *docendus* eris.

"Quid est enim aut tam arrogans, quam, de religione, de rebus divinis, ceremoniis sacris, pontificum collegium *docere* conari?"

"*Docere* is almost the only one of the verbs mentioned, that is employed to denote information given as to an event, as well as the acquisition of a new conception. "Cum interea ne literas quidem ullas accepi, quæ me *docerent* quid ageres."

"*Erudire*, from *e* and *rudis*, differs from *docere*, in referring always to the rude state of the person instructed, and to the gradual progress by which he becomes learned. No such expression as "sus *erudio* oratorem," can exist, because, when *docere* is thus used, it vilifies the ability of the teacher, and heightens the information of the scholar. When the Romans used the phrase *sus Minervam*, the construction was to be completed by *docere*, not by *erudire*. They only admitted in idea the possibility of adding one or a few facts to the stock of knowledge, possessed by the goddess of learning.

"The instances that follow shew clearly, that *erudire* constantly implies the absence of information upon the part of the person to be instructed.

——qui mollibus annis
In patrias artes *erudiendus* erat.

"Inde puerum liberum loco cœptum haberi, *erudirique* artibus quibus ingenia ad magnæ fortunæ cultum excitantur."—"Philosophia omnium mater artium nihil aliud est quam donum inventum deorum. Hæc nos primum ad illorum cultum, deinde ad jus hominum, quod situm est in generis humani societate, tum ad modestiam magnitudinemque animi *erudivit*." In this last example, the progress of man, as the pupil of philosophy, is beautifully painted by *erudire* in its purest sense.

"There is no inconsistency in *docere* and *erudire* appearing in one sentence, and being applied to the different degrees of proficiency made by those acquiring knowledge. "Neque solum vivi atque præsentes studiosos discendi *erudiant* atque *doceant*, sed hoc idem etiam post mortem monumentis literarum assequuntur." Sallust says of Sylla, that he was "literis Græcis atque Latinis juxta atque *doctissime eruditus*." Upon the principles laid down, this compounded expression will bear to be analysed. The participle, it should seem, denotes, that he had been regularly instructed in Greek and Roman literature, and the adverb, that the stock of his knowledge was such, that few, if any, were able to add to it.

"One instance occurs in Cicero, in which *erudire* signifies to inform as to an event, which *docere* does often. "Obviæ mihi velim sint literæ tuæ, quæ me *erudiant* de omni republica, ne hospes plane veniam." This uncommon use of *erudire* seems to justify the definition given of it. Cicero modestly confesses that ignorance of the affairs of the state, in consequence of his absence, which is perfectly consistent with the pure use of *erudire*, and which, when duly represented, his correspondent was able to remove.

"*Instituere* differs from the preceding verbs in denoting the first step of a progress in teaching, and the communication of the elements of whatever is the ground of instruction. The simple verb *statuere*, in a figurative sense, denotes the determination to act, while the com-

compound denotes the commencement of the action that had been resolved upon. It is only, however, as applied to teaching, that this verb can be held synonymous with the rest of the set. "Socrates jam senex *instituit* lyra non erubescebat." The verb here evidently refers to the first lesson in an art, of which the philosopher was before utterly ignorant. "Susceperas enim liberos non solum tibi, sed etiam patriæ. Eos *instituere* atque *erudire* ad majorum instituta atque civitatis disciplinam, non ad tuas turpitudines, debuisti." *Instituere* here refers to the first step in a process, which *erudire* supposes to be carried on in the education of children. The arrangement of the verbs, however, may be reversed, and each respectively applied to that particular state of certain pupils with which it best accords. "Senectus adolescentes *docet*; *instituit*, ad omne officii munus instruit."

"*Imbuere* differs from *instituere*, in denoting the instilment of sentiments that fit the pupil for making progress in a particular line. It implies intention upon the part of the agent, like the former verbs, and supposes the means of instruction to operate without the consciousness of him who receives it. In its original application to material objects, it had denoted an affection of them in respect to colour, taste, or smell, communicated by means of a fluid, and has been afterwards applied to the production of a mental disposition or aptitude not easily to be destroyed. "Appium Claudium præfectum urbis relinquunt, jam inde ab incunabulis *imbutum* odio tribunorum plebisque."—"Ad hanc legem non *docti* sed *facti*, non *instituti* sed *imbuti* sumus." *Facti* here suggests the purpose of the creator in opposition to that of a teacher, at whatever time he might communicate his instructions; and *imbuti*, the instilment of preparatory sentiments before any lesson was given, as involved in the verb *instituere*.

"*Imbuere* does not always imply the complete absence of information on any subject, but it uniformly implies an effect produced as the means tending to future improvement. "Sin sit is qui et doctrina mihi liberaliter *institutus*, et aliquo jam *imbutus* usu." *Institutus* here denotes, that a good foundation had been laid upon which the scholar's progress rests; and *imbutus*, that by habit he had acquired such predispositions, as fit him to advance in that line of study which the orator chalks out.

"When Horace states the good qualities of a slave exposed to sale, he says he was

Literulis Græcis *imbutus*, idoneus arti
Cuilibet: argilla quidvis imitaberis uda.

Though the power of the diminutive in the noun falls properly on the participle, yet no ambiguity is thereby produced in respect to the meaning of *imbutus*. From the words that follow, it evidently implies, that the smattering of Greek literature, acquired by the slave, fitted him for making further proficiency."

Illustrations of English Synonymous Terms.

[From Mrs. Piozzi's British Synonymy, in Two Volumes.]

Droll, Comical, Grotesque.

"THE first of these words was long used in our language as a substantive, but grows obsolete as such in conversation, where it takes the French sense now exactly, and is synonymous to every epithet that expresses coarse mirth divested of all dignity, and fittest for buffoons. Some time ago it was in constant service as a verb; but in these days we do not say a man *drolls* upon his neighbour's foible, but how *droll* he is when he so entertains the company. I would observe, that people met together on purpose to laugh, and to be wantonly or idly merry, should at least be attentive in the choice of subjects to exert their fancy upon; as nothing is more easy than to be *comical*, if the imagination is permitted to excite *grotesque* images upon topics particularly grave, and rationally serious:—and I trust it is for that very reason these *droll* gentlemen commonly choose those subjects for ridicule—because the very opposition suffices to create the merriment, at slight expence of humour, wit, or learning, in such talkers; who by mere knowledge of the clear obscure in conversation, force out strong and immediate effect, with little or no merit.—Less innocent and not more valuable to those that excel in letters, life and languages, are such pretenders, than is the Panorama viewed by painters—a mere deception, *ad captandum vulgus*. We must confess, however, that neither vulgar nor elegant minds are diverted with the same kind of *drollery* in different countries, where whatever is merely *comical* depends much upon the habits of life; and the famous story of Italian humour will scarce make an English reader laugh perhaps, although it is a sort of standing joke with them. I will insert it, because to many of my country people it may possibly be new, and is certainly the fairest specimen of *grotesque* manners in a nation that admits of infinite familiarity from servants and low dependants, such as obtained in England a century ago, when the consequences of such kind of behaviour were not, as they would now be, destructive to decorum, and even dangerous to society. "A noble Florentine, then, had ordered a crane for dinner; but his cook's sweetheart coming in hungry, he cut off a leg for her, and sent the bird to table with but one: his master in a passion called him up, and asked if cranes had but one leg? No, sir, replied the fellow with great presence of mind, and your excellency never saw those animals with too. Did I never indeed? said my lord, still more provoked—order the carriage to the door directly.—The open chaise was brought, and the cook put into it by his master's direction; who seizing the reins, drove him to the neighbouring lake three miles from the palace, where stood numbers of cranes by the waterside, as is their custom, upon one leg, with the other drawn up under their wing. Now look, sir, said the cunning fellow—they are all so, you may perceive; not one of them has more than one leg. You are impudent

pudent enough, replies the nobleman, we will see presently if they are all lame: and suddenly crying Hoo, hoo, away scampered the birds on as many limbs as they could muster:—Oh! but, my lord, returns the *droll* cook *comically*, this is not fair:—you never cried Hoo, hoo, to the crane upon your dish, or who knows but he might have produced two legs as well as these?"

Ludicrous, Comical, Laughable, Humorous, Droll,

"If critically applied to essays, dramas, &c. are nearly but not exactly synonymous; for a thing *comical* in its own nature, and seemingly well adapted to the stage, will not always be *laughable*, and vice versa. There are *humorous* stories told every day in company, that, as Shakspeare says, set the table in a roar, which would excite no sympathy of mirth in an audience met on set purpose to be entertained: nor would any thing appear half so *ludicrous* as the insensibility of pit, box, and gallery to a tale which, told to any ten people there at supper, would divert them. Laughing depends upon a thousand minute circumstances; and the man of *humorous* faculties is never half as sure of making those who surround him laugh, as the man of wit is sure to make them all admire. Wit is a brilliant quality, and of a positive nature; it may be translated in twenty languages, and lose but little; but foreigners can with difficulty learn to laugh with us, or we with them.

"Doctor Beattie seems to have confounded these qualities strangely, and selects passages as *humorous*, which I think purely and perfectly witty; and selects from Hudibras too, of all books perhaps the most dazzling with scintillant brightness. I should as soon be tempted to laugh over Young's poems as Butler's; for though ridicule and satire provoke admiration, and we all agree to express that admiration by laughing, it is but a company laugh at last, called up to shew that we understand the joke, but is expressive of no mirth; while in Goldsmith's five act farces you are momentarily presented with some *droll* mistake, some burlesque image, or some *ludicrous* situation, which assisted by the actor forces out sudden and involuntary laughter from the most seriously disposed. Whatever appears studied cannot be *humorous*, though *comical* it may be made by study certainly; as Swift, and Congreve knew. They were facetious writers in the truest sense of that classical word; but I see more *humour* in Johnny Gilpin than in all Gulliver's Travels, replete as they are with wit, and satire, and raillery, and malice. Shakspeare meantime possesses the true power over his countrymen's hearts, who never at the thousandth representation forbear to give their unequivocal testimony to his various powers, while Lancelot Gobbo and his whimsical father instruct Bassanio on his way to master Jew's; or when Elbow's examination before the magistrates is likely (as one of them observes) to outlast a night in Russia, when nights are longest there. The difference between wit and *humour* is best exemplified however in the historical plays: where we find Falstaff always witty, nor can distress at last in any degree blunt his powers of calling up *comic* images, and combining them with facetious pleasantry; but mine hostess displays pure, naïve and native *humour*, nor can any thing exceed

ceed her *droll* simplicity in the account she gives of the poor knight's death, when he is gone, whose support in every scene often took our attention away from her character —admirably, incomparably, as it is drawn. Ben Johnson has not, I somehow think, received his due praise for *humour*. Learning is an enemy to merriment, we fancy; yet surely the last scene of the Alchymist, which to every other perfection that a comic drama can possess, adds the *ludicrous* appearance of the gaping neighbours, apparently all wonderstruck at sight of what they knew perfectly well before, but had been persuaded to disbelieve against the evidence of their own senses, chained down by the superior genius of Jeremy Butler —is an astonishing performance —ingenious and subtle in the contrivance and grouping—yet so truly natural, pleasant, and honestly laughable, no powers of face can stand it: and when I sit alone and refresh my memory with the effect that play had upon the stage in Garrick's time, I can laugh from recollection of its force. Garrick indeed knew all the avenues to laughter; and had such extraordinary capacity for playful images, and light gaiety, that the words *ludicrous*, *droll*, and *comical* can never surely be pronounced or written without exciting tender remembrance of him, whose pleasantry made our lives cheerful —perhaps even at the expence of his own."

Variety, Diversity, Fluctuation, Change, Mutability, Vicissitude.

"Among these words though analogy may be found, synonymy can hardly be sought: the propriety depends upon the place in which they stand: we may therefore, in order to bring them close together, observe, how through the numberless *vicissitudes* in nature and in life, there is yet less real *change* than *fluctuation* of events, less true *diversity* perhaps than unremarked revolution. Even in the tossings of that sea whence the third substantive upon our list is derived, I have thought there was not so much *mutability* as a light observer would imagine. The same waves probably for many years wash the same coasts.—The shells they leave behind them exhibit no *variety*. Fish of the same kind haunt the same shores, and no flight of time brings turtle to the bay of Dublin, or salmon to Genoa:—I mean, not in sufficient quantity to disprove this observation; for now and then an extraordinary thing will happen, and flying-fishes from the Pacific Ocean are at this hour digging out of a mountain near Verona. Pennant will tell us, that the same swallow occupies the same nest every year; and Dr. Johnson said, that no poet could invent a series or combination of incidents the præcognita of which might not be found in Homer: and should we claim an exception or two in favour of Shakspeare and Ariosto, those exceptions would only prove the rule.

"Herschel informs us that all nature's works are rotatory: if then each star, however firmly fixed, has in itself a motion round its own axis, the solid contents of every such globe may be supposed to participate this spirit of rotation. In our own we see truth and error, land and sea, shifting their stations with more *vicissitude* than actual *change*; and while the natural sun rises to one half of us mortals, while it sets to the others, we discern

cern in like manner whole regions immerſed in darkneſs at beginning, now brightly illuminated with Revelation's beam; and the tracts of country firſt irradiated, ſunk into ſad opacity.

"This ſeems indeed the evening of our earth's natural day—

Night ſucceeds impervious night.
What thoſe dreadful glooms conceal,
Fancy's glaſs can ne'er reveal:
When ſhall light the ſcene improve?
When ſhall time the veil remove?
When ſhall truth my doubts diſpel?
Awful period! who can tell?

Hawkesworth.

On the Difficulty and Dignity of Translation.

[From the Second Volume of the Looker-on, a Periodical Paper.]

Non miſſura cutem, niſi plena cruoris hirudo.

Nor will he leave his ſkin, until he drains,
Through every pore, the liquor of his veins.

"THERE is no better proof of the difficulty that attends any ſpecies of compoſition, than the ſcarcity of ſucceſsful ſpecimens it affords, among a more than common multitude of trials. It is hard to point out an indiſputably good tranſlation in the language; whence it follows that no mind of ordinary mould is equal to the performance, and that, to accompliſh the taſk, ſome certain qualities muſt conſpire, which do rarely operate in conjunction. Why men ſhould think humbly of an object, which great geniuſes have thought not unworthy to employ them, and on which original talents have been tried in vain, which, in the literary warfare has proved too ſtrong for the mighty, and which, circumſcribed as its limits may ſeem, has held out againſt thoſe conquerors by whom greater provinces have been ſubdued, it is not eaſy to conceive, unleſs it ariſe from the envy inſpired by thoſe failures in original attempts, which derive ſome conſolation from under-rating the glory acquired in leſs arduous undertakings. They are beſt anſwered, however, by a fact which contains in it ſomething a little problematical: there never was a capital tranſlator that was deſtitute of original powers, while many an original genius is without the qualifications of a tranſlator.

"If tranſlation were nothing more than a verbal exerciſe of the memory, and a mechanical accommodation of one part to another; if the letter alone, and not the ſpirit, were concerned; if the force of a man's mind exiſted ſeparately in the words, and not in their combination; and if the ſum of his meaning were always to be produced from the ſame denominations; the tranſlator might ſtand in the middle, between the maker of an index and the compiler of a vocabulary: but, if there be any intellectual chemiſtry employed in the tranſfuſion of thoughts and images from one language into another; if, to repreſent, in all their vivacity, the pictures wrought in another's imagination, we muſt poſſeſs all the correſponding colours in our own; if it be neceſſarary to feel nicely, to deſcribe juſtly; if we muſt conceive fully, to copy faithfully;—then there is a dignity in tranſlation above the reach of common men; a merit

rit that belongs to it beyond what the original reflects; a merit peculiarly and eminently its own; and a mode of excellence not always within the grasp of original ability.

"But what is that circumstance in which consists the superior difficulty of translation; a difficulty which great wits and accomplished writers have rarely, if ever, surmounted; and before which genius itself falls often prostrate, and avows its imbecillity? A greater felicity of invention, or power of imagination; a greater skill in combining, or force in colouring; a greater expansion of thought, or affluence of materials, it cannot require than works of original genius: to these belong whatever holds the highest place and character in the order of intellectual endowments; whatever is paramount and princely in the mind. In what then consists this peculiar difficulty of translation? Not in its concerns with the genius or the judgment separately: not in its claims upon the imagination, or its exercise of the memory; but in that equal tribute it exacts from all the powers of the intellect, in that poise and equilibrium of the faculties it requires, which holds them all in reciprocal dependence; in its calls for genius, but genius yoked to discretion; in its calls for prudence, but prudence informed with vivacity; in that rigour of its demands, which requires an assemblage of qualities that rarely conspire, which requires ambition with moderate pretensions, emulation without the wish to surpass, freedom tempered with reserve, and spirit exercised to forbearance.

"This speculative difficulty of translation has produced those defects in practice, which might have reasonably been expected. In its earlier efforts, we behold a tameness and servility which disappoint us of all the genius of the original; by its idolatrous adherence to forms and symbols, it lost sight of the true objects of adoration—the spirit and divinity itself. Of this character are the attempts of Ben Johnson, Hobbs, Holiday and others. Then followed a crowd of slovenly translators, whose pride seemed to consist in familiarising their originals, by coarse and ordinary expressions, content with a loose display of their meaning, without caring about the quality of the medium through which their sense was conveyed. Such are the versions of Echard and L'Estrange, whose productions may be studied with advantage by those whose business is with the vulgar combinations of the language, with sordid witticisms and proverbial buffoonery. In the cohort of licentious translators who followed, and who may justly be said to be above their profession, Dryden appears at their head,

——— by merit rais'd
To that bad eminence.

"Franchised by nature, and endued with that grace of manner by which some men are privileged above rules, he felt that he could adventure in poetry beyond any other writer of his age. Unhappily he carried this habitual carelessness into the province of translation, where it could not but work considerable mischief, and overthrow the very principle and purpose of his labours; where it was a breach of literary trust, and a violation of that faith to which he pledged himself by the undertaking. He complains, indeed, of the insufficiency of our language, which was unable to supply what the original exacted in the grace and splendor of diction; and repines at the diffi-

difficulty which grew upon him, of making new words and phrases, to correspond with the unwearied variety of his author's language: but this plea, which is doubtful as far as it goes, can never excuse his violations of that first and fundamental law of his original, which enjoined an unrelenting severity, and an uniform elevation of style.

"I do not know how a man can reasonably complain, with the Paradise Lost in his hands, of the want of strength, or variety, or majesty, in our language. We have words in abundance for high and low occasions, for grave and mirthful topics; a wardrobe furnished for every character, whether we act the prince or the mountebank, the hero or the harlequin: yet, true as this observation may be of the language in general, it is a misfortune inherent in translation, that no language can furnish, for every particular phrase, a phrase of corresponding dignity; for every particular word, a word of similar energy. Some sentences must unavoidably lose a proportion of their value, for the want of adequate expressions; and the force of a passage must frequently be reduced by words of inferior sound. But where there is a prevailing character in the original, whatever that character may be, such is the versatile capability of our language, that the English translator is inexcusable if he fail in the ultimate resemblance, and lose sight of the leading excellence of his model.

"Languages are not always in unison, and their chords will not always afford corresponding effects of sound; an irremediable defect attached to translation, in respect to single words, which no arts of combination can supply, and no subsequent compensations redeem. When the harassed army of the Greeks, under the conduct of Xenophon, after innumerable sufferings and fatigues, had gained the heights of the Carduchan mountains, the sea, suddenly bursting upon their view, gave them a prospect of their homes, and, in a moment, filled their hearts with a thousand tender hopes and recollections; they saw before them the sweet reward of all their toils; and already their fancies regaled them with the joyful congratulations of their wives, and the lisping welcomes of their children: "θαλαττα! θαλαττα!" broke involuntarily from the lips of those who were foremost, and the sound ran increasing from the van of the army; presently those who were behind took it up, till at length it spread from battalion to battalion, till it reached the ears of Xenophon, who was bringing up the rear of his troops. Now what sort of figure will the words, "the sea! the sea!" make in place of "θαλαττα! θαλαττα!" Not all the echoes of a thousand hills, or the union of a million of voices, could give it an equal effect; and here we must confess, that there is no force of mind in the translator, which can compensate for the defect in his language.

"But, as certain words, in certain languages, have sounds which cannot be imitated, so have they meanings which cannot be transplanted. If any man of knowledge and research, equal to the undertaking, were to set himself the task of collecting those words in different languages, which are most untranslatable into others; the adoption of such words, instead of the multiplication of our synonymous terms, might be a real accession of literary wealth, and, by saving the necessity of circumlocutions, would bring with it very material advan-

tages

tages in respect to brevity of phrase, and simplicity of expression. In the course of such an enquiry, he would often fall upon very pleasing discoveries of the strong connexion between language and manners, and might discern through this medium, many of the distinguishing features of ancient and modern times. Thus "sentiment," is a word of modern origin, and explains in a manner, by its date, an effect of the Gothic institutions of chivalry. In the Latin word "orbitas," for which we can find no corresponding term, we perceive some intimation of the consequence and immunities which were gained among the Romans by a numerous progeny. The complexional peculiarities of the English have produced a variety of appropriate words, such as "comfortable," "humour," and a hundred others; of which quality are, "appétissant," "piquant," "naïveté," "ennui," in the French.

"But it is not in single words only, that one language bids defiance to another; they are as often irreconcileable in their combinations. That accidental force which is communicated to words by those circumstances and incidents, those trivial localities which leave their impressions on a language long after they expire themselves, impart also to certain phrases an untranslatable quality, an essential inherent virtue which baffles imitation. Thus, in some writers who are most intimately acquainted with the secret resources of their language, we observe a delicacy which will not bear removal, a vivacity which dies in the handling, a charm which fades with exposure. This is that *curiosa felicitas* by which Horace is distinguished above other writers, and which adheres to the language as a painting to its canvas. Who can express, in other words, the "strenua inertia," the "facili sævitia," the "simplex munditiis," and a hundred other phrases of that exquisite poet? they are among the ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, once said, and never to be said again.

"It is flattering to our natures to find excuses for human failures, and to lodge the blame rather with the instruments with which we work, than with ourselves. In the business of translation, we are sure that no perfection of intellect can remedy or supply the deficiencies of language; yet, in the specimens which our country's literature exhibits, we perceive a sufficient number of errors, for which no reason can be given, but the false taste, ignorance, or pride of translators. It may be fairly attributed to one of these causes, when we see an author's meaning grossly mistaken, a new dress given to his sentiments, or new sentiments substituted in their place. Thus I lose my patience, when I see what was meant metaphorically by the author, interpreted literally by his translator; or a thought cast into a metaphor, which was simply intended. This is only warrantable in cases where one language cannot be accommodated to the spirit or idiom of another; but it is plain to be perceived, how often it springs from a pragmatical interference in the translator, who is so continually led away by the conceit of improving upon his original.

"A vanity of this sort seems to have strongly possessed the mind of the celebrated translator of Cicero's and Pliny's Epistles, who not seldom sacrifices his original to an overspun delicacy of phrase, and is, in some respects, too fine a gentleman for a faithful translator. "Epistola enim non

non erubescit"—thus Tully, in his famous letter to Lucceius; which his translator has englished, "For a letter spares the confusion of a blush." Had he rendered it literally, its strength and its brevity might have been preserved in the translation. He has too much of what the Greeks express by the term αἰσχύνη, a word whose force cannot be represented by any single word of any language with which I am acquainted.

"There is no fault into which the pride of improving more frequently betrays modern translators, than this aberration from the simple meaning and spirit of their authors. The circumstance, indeed, which still secures to the ancients their poetical pre-eminence, is that superior vein of simplicity by which, in general, they are distinguished. As the dress of shepherdesses become some women best, so some thoughts are best adorned in the plainest attire. The modern translator is for tricking out every thing in a meretricious splendor; is for covering with a corrosive cosmetic, the vivid bloom of nature, and for hiding her original whiteness with a cold and lifeless enamel.

"This difference of character between ancient and modern compositions, is marked in nothing so strongly as in the taste for allegorical representations. The emblems of the moderns are distinguished by their complication and confusion; those of the ancients, by their simplicity and propriety. The same opposition of character runs through the whole range of metaphor and allusion. The ancient designs with two or three strokes; the modern is always filling up and retouching: the one imagines you can never have enough; the other is afraid of giving you too much. It was a risk more perilous than he thought, for an ancient to have indulged his genius: his boldness is sure to be outraged by his translator; if he be witty, he is converted into a conjuror; all his conceits are wrought up into conundrums; his native elegance is refined into coxcombry; and, if his natural walk be graceful, he is made to dance in the translation.

"In the business of translation, there is no attempt more delicate and dangerous, than that of tampering with a thought, under a notion of improving its effect. It is not in the compass of any general rules to define so dubious a right, or limit so precarious a liberty. Let it be exercised by those only, who, by long acquaintance with their author's manner, have learned with accuracy to distinguish the colour of his thoughts, to embrace the true scope of his meaning, and to detect in his language the tacit operations of his mind. To force upon him a thought, of which he has given no sort of intimation, is an offence without excuse or palliation; and so much like treachery and falsehood, as to take a shade of immorality.—If this be a crime in translation, Dryden must be considered as criminal in no common degree, unless it will be admitted in excuse that, as often as he overcharges the sense of his original in one place, he curtails it in another.

"The last stumbling-block to translators, which I have room left me to remark upon, is the wit and humour of their authors. There is nothing which will bear so little to be loaded as genuine humour, the texture of which is generally so fine, that a breath will almost dissolve

folve it: yet here the wantonneſs of the tranſlator conſpicuouſly breaks out; and nothing is more rare, than a flower of this kind that ſurvives the tranſplanting. One might wonder how any man, in whom there was nothing congenial, ſhould venture upon the tranſlation of a comic writer, if every hour did not ſerve to convince us that the point of humour is that, in which our ſelf-flattery leads us into groſſer miſtakes, than any faculty which belongs to our natures. The ſources of humour lie ſo buried in the words, and its effect is ſo complexional, and adheres ſo cloſely to the manner, that it cannot be ſeparated by rude hands, or developed by common acuteneſs.

"Beſides which, the jeſt of the humoriſt lies often in his earneſt, and his earneſt reciprocally in his jeſt; a circumſtance which induces perpetual miſtakes in the tranſlator, who is forever interpreting ſeriouſly, what is jeſtingly meant in the original, and is ſhaking his ſides, when his author only ſmiles ſeverely. We may boaſt, however, of tranſlations, both of Lucian and of Plautus, two of the moſt humorous writers of antiquity, which are highly creditable to the literature of this country; and a living author of ſome ſenſible eſſays has ſhewn us, by a very ſpirited ſpecimen, how well qualified he is to preſerve, in a tranſlation, the irreſiſtible humour of Ariſtophanes. I do not recollect an inſtance in which the idea of an original has been improved by a chaſter and happier turn, than in a paſſage of Plautus's Treaſure, tranſlated by Thornton. The paſſage to which I allude, is in the fourth ſcene of the ſecond act, the force of which, however, can only be underſtood by a peruſal of the context—" Hem! ſic oportet obſeri mores malos!" The turn given to " mores malos," by tranſlating it " wild oats," adds infinitely to the humour, without departing from the ſcope of the idea."

PHILO-

PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

Observations of a Quintuple Belt on the Planet Saturn, by William Herschel, LL. D. F. R. S.

[From the First Part of the Philosophical Transactions, for the Year 1794.]

"EVERY analogy that can be traced in the appearance of the planets, seems to throw some additional light on what we know of them already. In some of my former papers I have established the spheroidical form of the planet Saturn, and pointed out the motion of a spot on its disk. From the first of these may be inferred a considerable rotation on its axis; while the latter goes a step farther, and shews that it has such a motion. My late observations seem to hint to us, that the period in which it revolves is, probably, not of a long duration.

"They are as follows:

"Nov. 11, 1793. 3^h 35′, 7-feet reflector, power 287.

"Close to the ring of Saturn, where it passes across the body of the planet, is the shadow of the ring; very narrow, and black.

"Immediately south of the shadow is a bright, uniform, and broad belt.

"Close to this bright belt is a broad, darker belt; which is divided by two narrow, white streaks; so that by this means, it becomes to be five belts; namely, three dark, and two bright ones; the colour of the dark belt is yellowish.

"The space from the quintuple belt towards the south pole of the planet which is in view, is of a pale, whitish colour; less bright than the white equatorial belt, and much less so than the ring.

"The globular form of Saturn is very visible, so that it has by no means the appearance of a flat disk.

"Nov. 13, 3^h 30′. The quintuple belt on Saturn is as it was Nov. 11. I saw it three hours ago, and several times since, without any visible change.

"Nov. 19, 3^h 14′. The southern belt of Saturn is still divided into five. The evening is not clear enough to observe changes in it, if there were any.

"Nov. 22, 2^h 32′. The quintuple belt on Saturn remains still the same; power 287.

"With 430, I see the same very distinctly; but the small divisions have hardly light enough when so much magnified.

"I viewed the same belt with four different object specula. One of them shewed the divisions uncommonly well.

"Dec. 3, 0^h 35′. 7-feet reflector; power 287. The quintuple belt upon Saturn remains as it was Nov. 22.

"I tried several double and plano-concave eye-glasses, but found them all defective in figure except one, and that being of one inch focal length, the power was too low to expect seeing these belts well with it.

"The smallness of the field of view, with astronomical objects is not so disagreeable as it is generally supposed to be; for the eye may have a motion before the lens, and by that means a small luminous object, when all the rest of the field is dark, and while the telescope remains in the same situation, may be seen for as long a time, passing through the field of a concave eye-glass, as it can in a convex one; whereas with the latter, it is well-known that such a motion of the eye can be of no use.

"2h 36′: 20-feet reflector; power 157, 300, 480. I see the quintuple belt very well.

"We know that the planet Jupiter has many belts. Some remarkable instances of their being very numerous are recorded in my journal, one of which is accompanied with a figure. The observations are as follows:

"May 28, 1780. Jupiter's belts are curved; and there are a multitude of them all over the body of the planet.

"Jan. 18, 1790. I viewed Jupiter with the 40-feet reflector. There were two very dark, broad belts, divided by an equatorial zone or space, the colour of which was of a yellow cast. Next to the dark belts, on each side, towards the poles, were bright and dark small belts, alternately placed, and continued almost up to the poles, both ways.

"In taking out fig. 2. from my journal, I perceive one so very unlike it just before, that I am induced to give it here, though rather foreign to my present purpose. It contains, however, an observation which it will not be amiss to record.

"April 6, 1780. I had a fine view of Jupiter, and saw, as soon as I looked into the telescope, without having any previous notice of it, the shadow of the 3d satellite, and the satellite itself, upon the lower part of the disk. The shadow was so black and well defined, that I attempted to measure it, and found its diameter by the micrometer 1″,562.

"This measure of the shadow should be checked by the following observation.

"March 15, 1792. 11h 54′. With the 20-feet reflector, and a power of 800, I estimate the apparent diameter of the largest of Jupiter's satellites to be less than one-fourth of the diameter of the Georgian planet, which I have just been viewing. With 1200, it seems also to be less, in the same proportion. With 2400, I can plainly perceive the disk of the satellite. With 4800, the apparent diameter of the largest of the satellites is less than one-quarter of that of the Georgian planet.

"The analogy alluded to in the first paragraph of this paper, refers to the numerous parallel belts which we have noticed, in the above given observations, on the disks of Jupiter and Saturn.

"That belts are immediately connected with the rotation of the planets, will hardly be denied, when those of Jupiter are so well known always to lie in the direction of its equatorial motion. Since, then, it appears that the belts of Saturn are very numerous, like those of Jupiter, and are also placed in the direction of the longest diameter of the planet,

planet, it may not be without some reason that we infer the period of the rotation of the former to be short, like that of the latter.

"The planet Mars, in all my observations, never presented itself with any parallel belts, nor do we observe such phænomena on the disk of Venus. The first is known to have a rotation much slower than Jupiter; and the latter, according to the accounts of Cassini and Bianchini, is certainly not one that moves quickly upon its axis.

"However, I do not mean to enter into the strength of an argument for a quick rotation of Saturn, that may be drawn from the condition of its belts. The circumstance of a quintuple belt is adduced here with no other view, than merely to point out an analogy in the condition of the two largest planets of our system; and from thence to infer, that every conclusion on the atmosphere and rotation of the one, drawn from the appearance of its belts, will equally apply to the other."

On the CONVERSION of ANIMAL MUSCLE into a SUBSTANCE much resembling SPERMACETI, by GEORGE SMITH GIBBES, A. B.

[From the Second Part of the same Work.]

"IT is a matter of great curiosity to observe, after any fact has been well ascertained, how many things might have led to a much earlier investigation; particularly so, had the writings of many great men been equally examined, with those observations which, though apparently very trifling, have often excited general attention. The conversion of animal muscle into a fatty matter gives us a very striking example.

"The celebrated sir Thomas Brown, in his very learned and curious treatise intituled Hydriotaphia, assures us, that he has found a soap-like substance in an hydropical body. His words are as follow, viz. "In an hydropical body, ten years buried in a church-yard, we met with a fat concretion, where the nitre of the earth, and the salt and lixivious liquor of the body, had coagulated large lumps of fat into the consistence of the hardest Castile soap; whereof part remaineth with us."

"Lord Bacon, in his work intitled *Sylva Sylvarum*, also mentions this curious circumstance: "You may turn (almost) all flesh into a fatty substance; if you take flesh and cut it into pieces, and put the pieces in a glass covered with parchment; and so let the glass stand six or seven hours in boiling water. It may be an experiment of profit for making grease or fat for many uses; but then it must be of such flesh as is not edible, as horses, dogs, bears, foxes, badgers, &c."

"Animal muscle, having lost its living principle, has been generally supposed to undergo, when exposed either to the action of air or water, that kind of decomposition only, which is known by the name of the putrefactive fermentation. Since the discovery of the bodies in the *Cimetière des Innocens* at Paris, this

subject has been more attended to; and a substance, much resembling spermaceti, is now known to be formed by combinations which take the animal flesh and water.

"If you put flesh under water, and let it stay some time, it will get very offensive, and the putrefactive fermentation will in some measure most assuredly take place. This seems to have been the reason why the substance remaining in the water had not been more accurately examined, it being imagined, that as this decomposition had commenced, the whole would be changed in the same manner. It would appear strange, if the same substance, exposed to the action of two such different bodies as air and water, should undergo precisely the same change. That they do not, has been lately proved by many experiments: and that the putrefactive fermentation is not at all necessary in the formation of this fatty matter, I think some of the following experiments will shew.

"After having seen some of the matter found in the *Cimetière des Innocens* at Paris, I concluded that in some situations the same kind of substance might be easily found; accordingly I examined some of the macerating tubs belonging to anatomical schools in town, and I found that in most of them the flesh was nearly changed into this kind of fat. By the indulgence of Dr. Pegge, the anatomical professor in Oxford, I was permitted to examine the receptacle in which the bodies are deposited, after he has finished lecturing on them. This place is a hole dug in the ground to the depth of about 13 or 14 feet; and, to remove all offensive smell, a little stream is turned through it. I found, on first looking into it, that the flesh was quite white; and on drawing up the first piece, I found it changed in the manner before described. From this place I have procured at least 12 pound weight of a substance equal in every respect to spermaceti.

"Having seen many specimens of different animals, which had been changed under somewhat different circumstances, that is, where some had been buried in dampish ground, some in wet ground, and some even in water itself, I began to suspect that I might bring about the same change in a shorter time, at least I might determine the time necessary for it: with this view a piece of the leanest part of a rump of beef was confined in a box full of holes, which being tied to a tree near a river, was suffered to float in it. On taking this up from time to time, I perceived that it gradually got whiter and whiter, and at the end of a month it was perfectly to appearance changed to a mass of fatty matter. From some circumstances, I am induced to believe that it is sooner converted in running water than when it is perfectly at rest; for when this beef was exposed to the water in the river, a piece of mutton was placed in a reservoir of water, and I perceived, that though the mutton was exposed for a longer time than the beef, yet it was not so much changed.

"Finding that this substance was so formed, and that I could procure large quantities of it, I tried some experiments to purify it; for this purpose I took several pieces of it and melted them; and I found, though they were brought into a closer union, yet the fœtid smell was as bad as before. After trying some unsuccessful experiments, it occurred to me that if I could add a substance to it which would unite with the offensive parts, and not

6 with

with the fat, I might then get it pure; accordingly I poured some nitrous acid upon it, which immediately had the desired effect; a waxy smell was perceived, and on separating and melting it, I got it nearly pure. The nitrous acid turns it yellow, but by submitting it to the action of the oxygenated muriatic acid, I have got it quite white and pure. In the beginning of last June I buried a cow, in a place where, from the rising of a river to supply a mill twice a day, it was submitted to the action of running water. On taking this cow up in December, I found that where the water was constantly running over it, there it was changed into a fatty substance, but where the water which had acted on the meat could not pass off, there a very disagreeable smell was sensible, and the flesh was not so much changed. A piece of this cow, that was perfectly lean, was stuck through with a stick, and fastened to the bottom of the river; this piece was perfectly changed into a fat matter, and had lost its offensive smell.

"I have brought about this change in a much shorter time, in the following manner: I took three lean pieces of mutton, and poured on them the three mineral acids, and I perceived that at the end of three days each was much altered; that in the nitrous acid was much softened, and on separating the acid from it, I found it to be exactly the same with that which I had before got from the water; that in the muriatic acid was not in that time so much altered; the vitriolic acid had turned the other black.

"From these experiments, it appears to me that it is not at all necessary that the putrefactive fermentation should take place; on the contrary, that it takes away a great deal of the flesh which might serve for the formation of a greater quantity of this waxy substance.

"The foregoing experiments may not appear new to every one; but as they are perfectly so to me, I take the liberty of offering them."

EXPERIMENTS relating to ANIMAL ELECTRICITY, by ALEXANDER MONRO, M.D. F.R.S. EDIN.

[From the Third Volume of the TRANSACTIONS of the ROYAL SOCIETY of EDINBURGH.]

"ON the third of November last, sir James Hall and Dr. Rutherford asked me to repeat with them some experiments on what has been called animal electricity, which were first performed by Dr. Galvani, professor of anatomy at Bologna, and of which an account had been communicated by Mr. Seguin of Paris to Dr. Black, in a letter dated Paris, 3d. August.

"We accordingly, with the help of my assistant Mr. Fyfe, repeated them in the following manner:

"We cut a living frog into two parts, a little above the lower end of the spinal marrow. We then put the middle part of a bit of tinfoil, about one-tenth of an inch in breadth, and two inches long, under the beginning of one of the sciatic nerves, and then doubled the tinfoil over the nerve, that is, we included the nerve in the dou-

bling of the tinfoil. We next placed one half-crown silver piece between the table and loins of the frog, and another between the table and its leg. We then bended a piece of brass-wire, about the size of a common stocking-wire, and after laying one end of it upon the half-crown piece which supported the leg, we with the other end of the wire pressed the double tinfoil against the half-crown piece which supported the loins, and found, that instantly convulsions were produced in the muscles of the thigh and leg.

"When the tinfoil was passed around both sciatic nerves, both legs were convulsed, although the half-crown piece was placed under one of the legs only. These experiments were tried more than an hour after the spinal marrow had been cut across, with the same success.

"In another frog, in which the spinal marrow was not divided, we found the same means produce the same effects upon the legs, but did not observe, that the muscles above the tinfoil in the trunk or fore-legs were affected.

"When the touches were quickly repeated, the motions seemed to become, by degrees, less vigorous, but did not cease after repeating them often, even where the spinal marrow had been divided transversely.

"On the 10th of November, I prosecuted the subject farther by the following experiments:

EXPERIMENT I.

"After cutting off the hind legs of a living frog, I laid bare the upper part of its spinal marrow, and surrounded it with tinfoil; and in another frog, after laying bare the brain, I thrust into it a bit of tinfoil. I then placed one half-crown piece between the table and the body of the frog, opposite to the tinfoil, and another half-crown piece between the table and the lower part of the trunk of the animal, and, on applying the wire, as before, I found convulsions produced in the fore-legs and body. Gold had nearly the same effect as silver; but the convulsions were much less observable, when lead, iron, or copper were substituted instead of these.

EXPERIMENT II.

"I next tried all the above mentioned experiments with one half-crown piece only, placed opposite to the tinfoil; and on pressing the tinfoil against the silver-piece, by means of a brass-wire which I held in my hand, I found, that the muscles were convulsed exactly in the same manner as where two pieces of the silver were employed in the manner before mentioned.

EXPERIMENT III.

"I found likewise, that the experiment succeeded equally well, although the silver-piece did not touch the body of the animal, but was merely brought into contact with the tinfoil put around the nerve, by pressure with a brass-wire held in the hand.

EXPERIMENT IV.

"After inclosing the upper part of the sciatic nerve in tinfoil, I tied a linen-thread around it, where it is about to pass from the trunk into the thigh, so tight as to deprive the muscles of their power of acting by the ordinary exertions of the animal,

mal, and the skin and toes of their feeling: yet when, with a brass-wire held in my hand, I pressed the tinfoil against the silver-piece, the muscles of the limb were violently convulsed.

EXPERIMENT V.

"I divided transversely all the parts of a frog at the pelvis, then tied together the divided parts of one of the sciatic nerves with a linen thread. I afterwards passed the tinfoil around the nerve, at a considerable distance above the ligature, and found, that when, with a brass-wire, I pressed the tinfoil against a half-crown piece, laid on the table at a little distance from the frog, the muscles of the leg were instantly convulsed.

EXPERIMENT VI.

"When, after dividing both sciatic nerves transversely, I tied the upper part of the right sciatic nerve, inclosed in the tinfoil, to the lower part of the left sciatic nerve, and then, with a brass-wire, pressed the tinfoil against a piece of silver, the muscles of the left leg were convulsed.

EXPERIMENT VII.

"The event was the same when the divided parts of the nerves were crossed over each other, without being tied together.

EXPERIMENT VIII.

"The event was the same, when the animal, with the metals, were placed on the top of a large glass-jar inverted, or on a plate of window-glass, supported on two pieces of sealing-wax.

EXPERIMENT IX.

"I passed the tinfoil around portions of the skin, the muscles, the intestines, and around the femoral blood-vessels of frogs, without observing convulsions produced, when the tinfoil was applied to the silver by means of the brass-wire.

EXPERIMENT X.

"I laid bare the sciatic nerve in the back part of the thigh of a young rabbit, and inclosed it in tinfoil, and then applied the tinfoil, by means of a brass-wire, repeatedly to a half-crown piece, laid on the table, and observed convulsions of the leg produced on each application. I after that cut transversely the lower part of the spinal marrow, and then, with a brass-wire held in my hand, I pressed the tinfoil again to the silver, and kept it applied for a few seconds, which occasioned convulsions so quickly repeated, that the leg became rigid. Immediately thereafter, the muscles were relaxed, and their contractile power seemed to be exhausted, as repeated applications of the tinfoil to the silver produced no farther motion of the limb.

REMARKS and QUERIES.

"From the accounts we have received of the experiments of Dr. Galvani and Dr. Valli, it appears, that both these celebrated authors have supposed "That the circulation of the nervous fluid from the nerves to the muscles, is nearly similar to the circulation of artificial electricity in the Leyden phial; and as the circulation of the Leyden phial supposes two contrary electricities, the one more condensed or positive, and the other less so or negative,

gative, so professor Galvani concludes, that a similar distinction takes place in the bodies of animals, and that one of these electricities, to wit, the condensed or positive, is seated in the nerves, and the other in the muscles."

"Hence both of them have conceived it necessary, to establish a communication between the nerve and the muscle, by means of metalline coating of the nerve, and pieces of metal and metalline conductors; or by coating the nerve with lead or tin, then laying one piece of silver in contact with the tin, and another in contact with the muscle; and, in the last place, establishing a communication between the two pieces of metal, or between the nerve and the muscle, by means of a brass-wire, which they term a conductor.

"But, instead of this complex apparatus, I have found, from the above experiments, that the muscle is thrown into action, although no metal is directly in contact with it, or when the communication between the metals and the muscle is made by the nerve alone.

"It appears, therefore, that professor Galvani and Dr. Valli have allowed preconceived theory to conduct their experiments, instead of allowing their experiments to conduct their theory; in consequence of which, several of their experiments have been performed with less accuracy than might have been expected. Thus, they tell us, that if the conductor is first applied to the muscle, the convulsions are stronger than when it is first applied to the nerve; that the shocks are stronger when the feet communicated with the earth, &c. whereas the application of the conductor to the muscles, or of the feet to the earth, are quite out of the question.

"2. We have found, that when a piece of silver is brought in contact with the tinfoil coating of a nerve, the muscles in which that nerve terminates, are thrown into action, although the nerve has been surrounded with a tight ligature between the coating and the muscle, or even although it has been divided by a transverse incision, provided the divided parts are again brought into contact, or tied together by a thread.

"3. When we tie the coated nerve, after it is cut transversely, to another nerve which has been cut transversely, we have found, that the muscles supplied by the latter are thrown into action.

"4. After the spinal marrow and whole body of the frog were divided transversely about the middle of the back, and the tin coating and silver were applied to the sciatic nerve, I did not observe, that the muscles at the loins and pelvis were thrown into action, or the effect produced by the metals did not influence muscles supplied by branches of nerves sent off from the spinal marrow or sciatic nerves above the coating.

"It appears, that the nerve of a living animal, whether entire, or cut and rejoined, conducts that matter by which the muscle is influenced, more readily than the skin, the flesh or the blood-vessels do.

"5. Although, on repeating Dr. Galvani's experiments, it should be proved, that electrical matter, drawn from a cloud or excited by the common machinery, and conducted to a nerve, and that matter, which is put in motion by the application of certain metals to each other and to a nerve, produce similar motions in the muscles in which the nerve terminates, we are not at liberty to take for granted, as Galvani and Valli

Valli seem to have done, that the electrical matter and this matter are the same, as the nerves may be affected by stimuli of different kinds.

"6. As an animal does not feel nor act by the medium of a nerve which has been divided transversely, although its divided parts are placed contiguous, or tied together; as the muscles supplied by nerves, above the place coated, are not thrown into action; the above experiments, or those of Galvani and Valli, instead of proving, as they have supposed, that the matter which is excited is electrical, and the fluid of the nerves the same with it, appear to show, that the electrical fluid, or matter put in motion by the different metals, is quite different in its nature from the nervous fluid, as the course of the nervous fluid, but not that of the electrical, can be intercepted by ligature or incision of the nerve.

"7. As the action of the muscles, in the above experiments, is not produced, nor even increased, by connecting the coating of the nerve with the muscle by means of a wire, there is no foundation for the opinion of Galvani and Valli, that the nerve is electrified plus, and the muscle minus, or that the electricity of the one is positive, and that of the other negative.

"8. We seem therefore to be led to the conclusion, that the matter or fluid which is excited or put in motion by the application of the different metals to each other, and to the nerve, serves merely as a powerful stimulus to that energy or fluid which is lodged in the nerves.

"To support this way of reasoning, we may observe, that in a warm-blooded animal, the rabbit, although convulsions were repeated for a considerable length of time when the nerve was entire, yet, after dividing the nerve and intercepting the further supply of nervous energy from the brain, the action of the muscles ceased in a few seconds, by keeping the two metals contiguous, which is readily explained on the supposition, that the nervous energy or fluid, lodged in the nerve beyond the place of the incision, was exhausted; and Dr. Valli himself, by observing, that, after the electricity, as he calls it, of a limb is exhausted, if the coating of a nerve be moved higher up, the action of the muscles may be renewed, furnishes a fact which, I apprehend, may be explained on the same principle."

MEMOIR on the PURIFICATION of CORRUPTED WATER, read at the ŒCONOMICAL SOCIETY of PETERSBURGH, by M. LOWITZ.

[From the Seventh Number of the REPERTORY of ARTS and MANUFACTURES.]

"WATER is one of those substances without which mankind cannot exist: yet every one knows that it is very apt to become putrid, and to contract, in consequence of its being so, qualities which render its use unsafe. This circumstance is particularly embarrassing in sea voyages; and it deserves no less consideration in those districts where the inhabitants are often obliged to make use of stagnant water, or of such as, from its hepatic taste and smell, is very disagreeable. It would be useless here to enumerate the various disorders

orders occasioned by the use of such waters; but it is undoubtedly an object of great importance to make known the means by which the putrefaction of water may be prevented, and by which that water wherein putrefaction has already taken place, may be rendered perfectly sweet.

"Having employed myself, during the course of last year, in making a great number of experiments on the purifying powers of charcoal, I saw with great satisfaction, that it possessed, among other properties, that of almost instantly depriving the most putrid water of its bad smell. From that circumstance, I immediately conceived an idea that it might have a very powerful effect in preventing water from becoming putrid, and the numerous trials I have since made have convinced me that I was not deceived in my opinion.

"Pure water, properly so called, when deprived of all heterogeneous parts, is not subject to become putrid; but it is very difficult to keep it long in a pure state, on account of its dissolving powers. To preserve water for a length of time in that state, it would be necessary to keep it in vessels of glass, or of earthen ware: but the brittleness of these vessels renders it impossible to make use of very large ones, and we are therefore obliged to have recourse to wooden vessels, which, though they are not subject to be broken like the others, have the great disadvantage of imparting to the water a great quantity of mucilaginous and extractive particles, which hasten its putrefaction. It is well known that these particles, in a state of division, furnish an innumerable quantity of living creatures, the almost perpetual and uninterrupted destruction and regeneration of which communicate to water that degree of corruption and putrefaction which renders its use so dangerous: it is not, therefore, from the water itself, but from the continual decomposition of the substances dissolved in it, that its disposition to putrefaction arises.

"From what has been said it evidently appears, that the first means of preserving from putrefaction water which we are obliged to keep in wooden vessels or casks, consists in having these reservoirs perfectly clean. The smallest quantity of matter already corrupted being left in them acts as a real ferment, and very quickly disposes the fresh water, with which these vessels are filled, to become putrid in the same manner. For this reason I advise, that the casks, or other vessels, be well washed with hot water and sand, or with any other substance capable of removing the mucilaginous particles; and afterwards, that a certain quantity of powder of charcoal be employed, which will entirely deprive such casks, &c. of the musty or putrid smell they may have contracted.

"When water is preserved by having certain substances mixt with it, these substances act, either by their antiputrescent powers, or by mechanically absorbing the putrified particles. Vitriolic acid possesses the first of these properties, and powder of charcoal fulfils the second intention, in a very striking manner.

"To satisfy myself that charcoal, when used alone, possesses the property of preserving water from corruption, I undertook, in the summer of the year 1799, a course of experiments which completely fulfilled my hopes; but, at the same time, I was convinced that the effect of the charcoal is rendered

ed much more speedy by using, along with it, some vitriolic acid.

"The following, according to the result of my experiments, is the best proportion of charcoal powder, and vitriolic acid: viz. one ounce and a half of charcoal in powder, and twenty-four drops of concentrated vitriolic acid, (oil of vitriol) are sufficient to purify three pints and a half of corrupted water, and do not communicate to it any sensible acidity. This small quantity of vitriolic acid renders it unnecessary to use more than one third part, at most, of the charcoal powder which would be wanted if the acid were not made use of; and the less of that powder is employed, the less is the quantity of water lost by the operation, which, in sea voyages, is an object worthy of consideration. In proportion to the quantity of acid made use of, the quantity of charcoal may be diminished or augmented; and it must be observed, that all acids produce nearly the same effects. Neutral salts also, particularly nitre and sea-salt, may be used for the purpose in question, but vitriolic acid certainly is preferable to any of these; water which is purified by means of this acid and charcoal will keep a longer time than that which is purified by charcoal alone.

"The cleanness of the casks in which water is kept, in sea voyages, is an object which should never be neglected: I have already described the best method of cleaning them, and of depriving them of any bad smell; and it would not be amiss if that operation were repeated every time they are about to be filled with fresh water. I would advise that six or eight pounds of powdered charcoal be used to each cask, (it is better to put too much than too little of this powder) and as much vitriolic acid as is sufficient to communicate to the water a degree of acidity hardly to be perceived. To hinder the charcoal from settling at the bottom of the cask, in the form of a paste, it will be proper to stir the whole together with a stick, at least twice every week; by this means the charcoal will be better dispersed through the whole mass of water, and consequently will perform its office more completely.

"Powder of charcoal and vitriolic acid are two antiputrescent substances; the first prevents the water from acquiring that yellow colour which it usually contracts by time, and the acid particularly contributes to clarify the water, which the powder of charcoal, when employed alone, generally renders turbid. If we wish to make use of the water so preserved, we should try it first, by passing a small quantity of it through a strainer, in the form of a jelly-bag, filled with powder of charcoal; such a strainer or bag should always be in readiness, to be made use of for such trials.

"When we mean to purify any given quantity of corrupted water, we should begin by adding to it as much powder of charcoal as is necessary to deprive it entirely of its bad smell. To ascertain whether that quantity of powdered charcoal was sufficient to effect the clarification of the said water, a small quantity of it may be passed through a linen bag, two or three inches long; if the water, thus filtered, still has a turbid appearance, a fresh quantity of powdered charcoal must be added, till it is become perfectly clear: the whole of the water may then be passed through a filtering bag, the size of which should be pro-

proportioned to the quantity of water.

"If vitriolic acid, or any other, can be procured, a small quantity of it should be added to the water, before the charcoal powder is used; the quantity of acid must be regulated according to the state of putridity in which the water is; it should be sufficient to communicate to the water a degree of acidity just perceptible to the taste. If the water is intended merely for dressing meat and vegetables for the ship's crew, instead of the acid, such a quantity of sea salt as would have been proper for seasoning the above articles, may be employed. Saline substances, like acids, hasten the effects of the charcoal powder; by making use of acids, (as was before observed) a much less quantity of powdered charcoal is necessary; and, so easy is the process to any one a little accustomed to operations of this kind, that four or five minutes only are required to render several gallons of very putrid water fit to drink.

"To improve the taste of those spring waters which have naturally an hepatic flavour, and are therefore unpleasant to make use of, nothing more is necessary than to filter them through a bag half filled with powder of charcoal; if such waters are not very much loaded with mucilaginous particles, the addition of an acid is not necessary. With respect to the best method of preparing the powder of charcoal, what I have said on that subject in Crell's Annals for the year 1788, pages 36 and 131, of the second volume, and in the first volume for the year 1791, pages 308, 398, and 494, may be consulted.

"Powder of charcoal, when prepared according to the method described as above, is a very light substance, a circumstance which may perhaps appear embarrassing, on account of the room it will take up in a ship, supposing the quantity of it to be in proportion to the quantity of water taken on board. The following is the result of my experiments respecting the space required for stowing the charcoal.

"First, four ounces and a half of powdered charcoal, a quantity which is sufficient to purify three pints and a half of water, when no acid is made use of, take up as much space as sixteen ounces of water; but, if this powder is strongly compressed, it will take up only the space of nine ounces of water; consequently two casks of powdered charcoal would be required to purify eleven casks of water.

"Secondly, one ounce and a half of powdered charcoal is sufficient to purify three pints and a half of water, provided a small quantity of vitriolic acid, or sea-salt, is at the same time made use of; one cask of powdered charcoal, therefore, if tightly packed, is sufficient for seventeen casks of water.

"In the last experiments I made on this subject, I found that six drachms of powdered charcoal were sufficient to deprive three pints of water of its bad smell, and to render it perfectly clear, provided, at the same time, twenty-four drops of vitriolic acid were added; in this way, therefore, one cask of powdered charcoal would be sufficient to purify thirty-four casks of corrupted water. These experiments, however, must be considered as liable to some variation; for, in order to obtain effects equal to those I have related, the charcoal powder must be prepared with the greatest care; it must also be observed, that though the above small quantity was found sufficient to deprive the water

water entirely of its bad ſmell, and to render it very clear, a larger quantity will be required to deprive it of its bad taſte.

"In order to ſave the charcoal powder on board a ſhip, as that is an article not eaſily procured at ſea, I adviſe, that the powder ſhould not be thrown away after it has been once uſed; for, if it is afterwards well dried, and again beat to powder, it will by that means acquire new ſurfaces, and will ſerve a ſecond time, to purify a quantity of water almoſt as great as that for which it was uſed the firſt time. Nay, charcoal powder which has been ſeveral times made uſe of, and has in conſequence thereof entirely loſt its purifying power, will immediately recover it by being made red-hot in a cloſe veſſel; this operation is certainly a troubleſome one on board a ſhip, but it may, perhaps, in ſome circumſtances, be rendered more eaſy. As on board all ſhips there is a fire every day, œconomy requires that we ſhould ſave the charcoal of the wood which has been uſed; and, inſtead of letting it burn to aſhes, it ſhould be extinguiſhed by water, or by any other means, and kept to be made uſe of when wanted.

"The cinders of pitcoal, provided they are perfectly burnt, and reduced to powder, may ſerve, in caſe of neceſſity, for the purification of water; but, when this kind of coal is made uſe of, no acid of any kind muſt be added to the water, as the metallic particles which pitcoal contains, even after it is thoroughly burnt, might, if acids were employed, communicate dangerous qualities to the water.

"It is proper to obſerve here, that charcoal takes from the water a part of the acid which has been made uſe of; if two drops of oil of vitriol are put into four ounces of water, the water will become ſenſibly acid, but this acidity will immediately diſappear, if a ſmall quantity of powdered charcoal be added to the water."

ANTI-

ANTIQUITIES.

Observations on some Egyptian Mummies, and the Arts practiced by the Venders of them, by John Frederic Blumenbach, M.D. F.R.S.

[From the Second Part of the Philosophical Transactions for the Year 1794.]

"AMONG the many instances of kindness I have experienced during my late abode in London, of which the recollection can never be obliterated from my memory, I reckon and acknowledge with gratitude, the uncommon, and to me very interesting, opportunities that were afforded me, to open and examine several Egyptian mummies.

"A few days after my arrival, I found in the library of my honoured friend Dr. Garthshore, F. R. S. among other Egyptian antiquities, a small mummy, not above one foot in length, of the usual form of a swathed puppet, wrapped up in cotton bandages, painted and gilt in its front part, and inserted in a small sarcophagus of sycamore wood, in which it fitted exactly.

"Having expressed a wish to know the contents of this figure, the doctor was kindly pleased to permit the opening of it; which accordingly took place on the 21st of January, 1792, at his house, in the presence of the president and several members of the royal society, and other men of letters.

The mummy itself measured 9½ inches in length, and 8 inches in circumference at the breast, where it was of the greatest thickness.

"The mask, exhibiting human features, was of a gypseous plaster, which here and there shewed some signs of having once been gilt.

"Of the semicircular breast-plate only some fragments were still extant.

"The lower part of the front covering was, as is frequently observed on large mummies, in a manner dissected in regular compartments; and on it were painted the two standing figures that so often appear on the integuments of mummies, viz. on the right side, Anubis with the dog's head, and on the left, Osiris with the head of a sparrow-hawk.

"The mummy itself was opened at the side. The outward integuments were glued so fast upon each other that it was found necessary to use a saw: the inner ones were less adhesive. I counted in the whole above 20 circumvolutions of these cotton bandages.

"Within these was found, as a kind of nucleus, a bundle, about 8 inches long, and full 2 inches in circum-

circumference, of the integuments of a larger mummy, strongly impregnated with a resinous substance, which rendered it hard and compact, and which appeared on the edge to have been shaped into this oblong form by the paring of a knife. Pieces of this mass having been put on a heated poker, emitted a smell perfectly similar to to that of fir-rosin, or the drug called wild incense from ant-hills.

"The sarcophagus consisted of six small square boards of sycamore, fastened together with iron nails.

"Soon after I found in the collection of Dr. Lettsom, F. R. S. another similar mummy, which, outwardly, perfectly resembled the above, was likewise contained in a sarcophagus, and differed only in the dimensions, this being $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $11\frac{1}{2}$ in circumference at the breast.

"The proprietor was likewise kind enough to suffer me to open it, which I did at his house on the 29th of January.

"But much as it resembled Dr. Garthshore's mummy externally, it was found very different as to its contents, there being in it a great number of detached bones of the skeleton of an Ibis, which were only here and there indued with rosin.

"This striking difference, no doubt, rather excited than satisfied my curiosity; and having hereupon found in the British Museum no less than three such diminutive mummies, which were now to me become enigmatical (viz. two in the Hamiltonian collection of antiquities, both contained in the same kind of square wooden coffins, clinched with iron nails, and the third in the Sloanian collection), I felt an irresistible impulse to apply to the president of the royal society, as one of the curators of the Museum, for his interference towards obtaining permission to open one of these three, in order to have an opportunity for some further comparison.

"The result of this application was, that at the very next meeting of the curators leave was granted me, in the most liberal manner, not only to open one of these little mummies, but also to choose among the four large ones that are in that noble repository, the one that should appear to me the most likely to afford some material information on the subject.

"I chose among the small ones the Sloanian, as it seemed to me to differ more than the two in the Hamiltonian collection, from either that of Dr. Garthshore or Dr. Lettsom. The four large mummies resembled in the main the one deposited in the academical museum of Gottingen, which I examined in the summer of the year 1781. I selected, however, the one that appeared to differ most from the others, and from ours, by the close adhesion of the bandages, from which I had reason to expect some difference in the interior preparation of it.

"The 18th February was appointed for the opening of these two mummies at the Museum, in the presence of a numerous and respectable meeting.

"The small mummy was externally very similar to those I had opened before, except that it was only $11\frac{6}{10}$ inches in length, and $8\frac{2}{10}$ inches round the breast, somewhat more compact in the handling, and, proportionably to its size, rather heavier.

"On sawing it open, a resinous smell was immediately emitted, and glutinous

glutinous particles of rosin adhered to the heated saw. This was owing to the cotton bandages having been from without impregnated with rosin, which was not the case with the two former ones.

"On opening it completely, we found in the inside a human os humeri, being part of the mummy of a young person, perhaps eight years old, who had been embalmed with rosin; and with it were also found some shreds of the original integuments likewise impregnated with rosin. The upper end (*caput*) of the bone was inserted in the head, and the lower extremity was at the feet of the little figure.

"Although when viewed externally nothing appeared suspicious in this little mummy, I found, however, on examining carefully the successive integuments, that the outward ones had some traces of our common lint paper, with which it seemed to have been restored, and afterwards painted over.

"The large mummy I was permitted to examine, appeared by its stature to be that of a young person, not above 14 years old, but who had not, it seemed, as yet shed all his teeth. Its outward painted integuments were very similar to those of the Gottingen mummy, as it is figured in the IVth Vol. of the Commentationes Societatis Scientiarum. The bandages about the head were in a manner caked together by means of rosin. The skull was inclosed in a kind of cast of the same substance, which could with difficulty be removed from it. It seemed also, to judge by its weight, to be filled with rosin, which particularly appeared in the cavity between the palate and the lower jaw. The rosin here having been gradually punched out, not the least appearance of a tongue was discernible; though some have asserted to have found traces of it in mummies; nor was any thing like the little golden plate (the supposed *naulus*) to be here met with. There were no remains whatever of the soft fleshy parts, of skin, tendons, &c. in short, nothing was found but mere naked bones.

"The maxillæ were sensibly prominent, but by no means so much as in a true Guinea face; and not more so than is often seen on handsome negroes, and not seldom on European countenances.

"What appeared to me very remarkable, and has, as far as I can learn, never yet been noticed, is two exterior artificial ears, made of cotton cloth and rosin, and applied one on each side of the head. That on the right side was prominent; but the other seemed to have been shoved from its proper place; it was compressed, and much disfigured.

"The cotton bandages on the remainder of the body were loose, not glued together, and readily yielded to the pressure of the hand.

"The great cavity of the trunk was filled with bundled rags, and dark brown vegetable mould, in which, however, some pieces of rosin were here and there discovered. But the inside of the thoracic cavity on both sides of the spine, and the inner surface of the ossa ilium, were covered with a thick coat of rosin.

"No idol, or any artificial symbol whatever, was found in the inside of this mummy. Nor did it contain any thing like an onion, such as have been now and then found about the parts of generation, or under one of the foot-soles of mummies.

"The bones of the arms lay along

along the side of the body, in the same manner as those of the Gottingen mummy, and the one at Leipzig, described by Kettner. Whereas in the mummy at Gotha, described by Hertzog, the two at Breslau, that were examined by Gryphius, another at Copenhagen, that was dissected by Brunnich, and a fifth which belonged to the royal society, and has been described by Dr. Hadley in the Philosophical Transactions, the arms were found lying across over the breast.

"On some of the bones of the arms, for instance on the left *os humeri*, was found some glutinous rosin, which on being touched stained the fingers of a dusky red greasy colour, and had a strong empyreumatic alkaline taste. In the remainder of the body, the dry rosin was almost entirely covered or impregnated with a saline crust, by which the *thoracic vertebræ* in particular were much corroded, and which had entirely stripped the intermediate *corpora vertebrarum* of their *periosteum*.

"Circumstances did not allow me to make any experiments on this salt; but I have since obtained from my worthy friend John Hawkins, esq. F. R. S. some considerble pieces of mummies which he had bought of a druggist at Constantinople, one of which was covered and impregnated with a saline incrustation, which in taste and appearance was very similar to that I have just now mentioned. Of this I dissolved a part in water, filtered and evaporated the solution, and thus obtained a true *soda*, or mineral alkali (*natrum*), which shot into very neat and regular crystals.

"For the sake of comparison, I examined another large mummy in the Museum, which had already been opened in several places. This was of a full grown person, and measured 5 feet five inches in length. Like the former, it shewed not the least trace of any of the soft parts, but consisted of nothing but naked bones.

"Except a little rosin which stuck fast between the teeth, this mummy, as far as its inside could be examined, contained none of that substance; its thoracic and abdominal cavities being entirely filled with a dark brown mould, which also occupied the whole space between the palate and the lower jaw, where it could easily be loosened and drawn out with the fingers.

"The *maxillæ* of this mummy were still less prominent than those of the former one.

"Some weeks after, viz. the 17th March, I had an opportunity to examine one more mummy at the honourable Charles Greville's, F. R. S. which had four years before, viz. March 29, 1788, been already opened in the presence of several curious spectators. It belonged to John Symmons, Esq. of Grosvenor house, Westminster, who with the most obliging readiness allowed me unconditionally, not only to dissect it as much more as I should think proper, but also to select and take away whatever parts of it I should think worthy of a particular investigation.

"It was a mummy of a child about six years old, which as to its preparation, (viz. without rosin, and without the least remaining trace of any of the soft parts), and the painted semicircular breast-plate, consisting of several folds of cotton cloth glued upon each other, was very similar to those at the British Museum, and the one at Gottingen, except that the characters upon that part of the cotton

integument which covered the shanks, resembled rather more the figures of the one delineated by count Caylus, in his Recueil, &c.

"Nothing remained of the head but some pieces of the bones of the face, a few teeth, and the mask, which still adhered to the cotton bandages.

"Among the teeth I found the incisores, which notwithstanding the tender age of the person had however a very short thick crown, considerably worn away at that edge which is usually sharp. This therefore, is a new confirmation of the extraordinary phænomenon which I had already noticed in a complete skull, and some fragments of jaws, in my own collection, and which had also been observed by Middleton in the Cambridge mummy, and by Bruckmann in the one that is at Cassel. Storr has also seen something similar in a mummy that is preserved at Stuttgard.

"If we reflect during how many centuries, and through what a variety of revolutions, the Egyptians have used the practice of mummifying their dead bodies, it will naturally occur that we are not to expect in all mummies a similar characteristic formation of the teeth, any more than we are to look for a similar characteristic national form in their productions of art.

"This peculiar structure of the teeth was not observed in the two mummies I examined in the British museum, neither does it exist in our Gottingen mummy. A detached skull of a mummy in the museum, prepared with rosin, and which bore great resemblance to the abovementioned in its general form, and especially in the narrowness of the poll, had unfortunately the crowns of the teeth so much mutilated as to afford no manner of information concerning this circumstance.

"The above observation however appears, at all events, to be well worth attending to, as it may hereafter prove a criterion for determining the period at which any given mummy has been prepared.

"But what interested me most in Mr. Symmons's mummy was the mask, to the two sides of which pieces of the bandages, with which the whole of the exterior integuments had been fastened to the corps, still adhered. The inner part of this mask was sycamore wood, its outside being shaped, by means of a thick coat of plaster, in bas-relief, into the form of a face, the surface of which seemed to have been stained with natural colours, which time had now considerably blended and obscured. Having, however, with Mr. Symmons's leave, taken this mask, together with some other very interesting pieces of his mummy, with me to Gottingen, I there steeped it in warm water, and carefully separated all the parts of it. By this means I discovered the various fraudulent artifices that had been practised in the construction of this mask: the wooden part was evidently a piece of the front of the sarcophagus of the mummy of a young person; and in order to convert its alto-relievo into the basso-relievo of the usual cotton mask of a mummy, plaster had been applied on each side of the nose; after which paper had been ingeniously pasted over the whole face, and lastly, this paper had been stained with the colours generally observed on mummies.

"The small Sloanian mummy in the museum had probably been prepared nearly in the same manner. That

That the deception has in both cases been very industriously executed, appears from this, that, as far as I can learn, no one has observed it before, although both these pieces have no doubt been often seen, and examined by persons conversant with these matters.

"Some other suspicious circumstances in the mummies I examined in London were more evident. For instance, the coffins of sycamore wood fastened together with iron nails, in which the small mummies of Dr. Garthshore, Dr. Lettsom, and sir W. Hamilton, were contained, had most probably been recently constructed of pieces of decayed sarcophagi of ancient mummies. The little Sloanian mummy even lay in a box in the form of a sarcophagus, which was made of a dark-brown hard wood, totally different from the sycamore, and manifestly of modern construction.

"How many other artificial restorations and deceptions may have been practised in the several mummies which have been brought into Europe, which have never been suspected, and may perhaps never be detected, may well be admitted, when we consider how imperfect we are as yet in our knowledge of this branch of Egyptian archæology, which, as a specific problem, few have hitherto treated with the critical acumen it seems to deserve.

"All the knowledge we have concerning the manner of preparing mummies is derived from two sources, viz. the examination of the mummies themselves; and two classical passages in Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus; Strabo and other ancient authors having mentioned mummies only incidentally, and in very few words.

"But unfortunately these two classical passages do not in the least agree with the state of the mummies brought into Europe, which are in general of two sorts, viz. the hard compact ones, wholly indued with rosin, which hence can be knocked into pieces; the soft ones, which yield to the pressure of the hand, and are prepared with very little rosin, and often none at all, whose loose bandages may be wound off, and which contain in their cavities scarce any thing but a vegetable mould, and particularly no idol whatever as far as I have been able to learn.

"The front part of the latter is usually covered with a painted, and, at times, guilt mask of cotton cloth; and as they appear more variegated than the former, and have no rosin in them yielding drugs for traffic, they are brought in much greater numbers, and may be seen in many collections in Europe in a more perfect state than the former, though often rendered so by restoration. The former on the contrary, have for this very reason remained most of them in the hands of druggists.

"Of this, viz. the former sort, were the two in the dispensary of Crusius at Breslau, which Gryphius described in the year 1662, and particularly the very valuable body of a mummy which was opened by the apothecary Hertzhog, at Gotha, in 1715, and in which more idols, beetles, frogs (as symbols of fertility), nilometers, &c. were found, than was ever, to the best of my knowledge, known to have been contained in any other mummy whatever.

"But Herodotus, that very inquisitive and credulous historian (as one of the most learned and ju-

dicious antiquaries in England has named him), does not so much as mention either of these sorts of mummies; nor does he speak of the rosin, or painted masks, although he expressly describes such painted integuments on the Æthiopian mummies.

"Diodorus is equally silent as to the rosin, and the painted covering; whilst on the other hand he advances some very strange assertions, such as that the skill of the embalmers extended so far as perfectly to preserve the lineaments of the face, although the faces of mummies of both sorts be generally covered with cotton cloth to the thickness of nearly a man's hand.

"These authors, although they have both been in Egypt, had probably their intelligence merely from hearsay; for, on the other hand it would no doubt be too paradoxical to assert, that all the mummies we are now acquainted with have been made since the days of Diodorus, and that none of those described by him and by Herodotus should have reached our time. Count Caylus rather conjectures, that no mummies were made since the conquest of Egypt by the Romans (about the time of Diodorus); but in this he is manifestly mistaken, since we learn from St. Augustin that so low down as his own time (viz. in the first half of the fifth century) mummies were certainly made in Egypt. But that among the mummies that now exist, especially the hard ones, which are entirely done over with rosin, there cannot but be many of a much greater antiquity, will, among other proofs, appear particularly from the style of workmanship of several of the little idols contained in them.

"At least it may be admitted, without much hesitation, that the mummies we now possess, which differ so much in their preparation and characteristic structure, are at least of a period including one thousand years.

"But it were much to be wished that we might have certain criteria, to determine with some accuracy the precise age of any particular mummy that may happen to fall into our hands. Before, however, we can expect to obtain this object, the two following *sine desideria* must first be accomplished, viz.

"A more accurate determination of the various, so strikingly different, and yet as strikingly characteristic national configurations in the monuments of the Egyptian arts, together with a determination of the periods in which those monuments were produced, and the causes of their remarkable differences.

"A very careful technical examination of the characteristic forms of the several skulls of mummies we have hitherto met with, together with an accurate comparison of those skulls with the monuments abovementioned.

"This, at least, I consider as the surest method of solving the problem; being persuaded that, especially after what has just now been said of the fraudulent restorations, it can hardly be expected that we should be able to draw any just inferences from the mere style, and the contents of the painted integuments of the mummies we may have opportunities to examine.

"Still less can we infer aught from the sculpture or paintings on the sarcophagi, as to the contents of

of the mummies sent us into Europe; Maillet having about sixty or seventy years ago detected the fraud of the Arabs, who he says are in the practice of breaking in pieces the mummies contained in the catacombs in the more ornamented sarcophagi, for the sake of the idols they expect to find in them, of replacing them with tolerably preserved common painted mummies, (such as I have called soft), and thus offering them for sale.

"The osteological properties which I have had opportunities to observe in the skulls of mummies, are most of them mentioned in the description of my collection of the skulls of different nations above quoted; and, will, I hope, prove useful to others for further comparisons.

"As to the different national physiognomies of the ancient Egyptians, I shall here advert only to what, in my physiological study of the varieties in the human species, I have deduced from my comparisons of these skulls with the artificial monuments found in Egypt. For I am wholly at a loss to conceive how learned writers, not only of the stamp of the author of the *Recherches sur les Egyptiens*, but even professional antiquaries, such as Winkelmann, and the author of the *Recherches sur l'Origine des Arts de la Grèce* could ascribe to the artificial monuments found in Egypt one common character of national physiognomy, and define the same in a few lines in the most decided and peremptory manner.

"It appears to me that we must adopt at least three principal varieties in the national physiognomy of the ancient Egyptians; which, like all the varieties in the human species, are no doubt often blended together, so as to produce various shades, but from which the true, if I may so call it, ideal archetype may however be distinguished, by unequivocal properties, to which the endless smaller deviations in individuals may, without any forced construction, be ultimately reduced.

"These appear to me to be, 1. the Æthiopian cast; 2. the one approaching to the Hindoo; and, 3. the mixed, partaking in a manner of both the former.

"The first is chiefly distinguished by the prominent maxillæ, turgid lips, broad flat nose, and protruding eye-balls, such as Volney finds the Copts at present; such, according to his description, and the best figures given by Norden, is the countenance of the Sphinx; such were, according to the well-known passage in Herodotus on the origin of the Colchians, even the Egyptians of his time; and thus hath Lucian likewise represented a young Egyptian at Rome.

"The second, or the Hindoo cast, differs *toto cœlo* from the above, as we may convince ourselves by the inspection of other Egyptian monuments. It is characterized by a long slender nose, long and thin eyelids, which run upwards from the top of the nose towards the temples, ears placed high on the head, a short and very thin bodily structure, and very long shanks. As an ideal of this form, I shall only adduce the painted female figure upon the back of the sarcophagus of capt. Lethieullier's mummy in the British museum, which has been engraved by Vertue, and which most strikingly agrees with the unequivocal national form of the Hindoos, which,

especially in England, is so often to be seen upon Indian paintings.

"The third sort of Egyptian configuration is not similar to either of the preceding ones, but seems to partake something of both, which must have been owing to the modifications produced by local circumstances in a foreign climate. This is characterized by a peculiar turgid habit, flabby cheeks, a short chin, large prominent eyes, and rather a plump make in the person. This, as may naturally be expected, is the structure most frequently to be met with.

"I thought this little digression the less intrusive, as it appears to me that it may on the one hand prove useful, not only towards illustrating the history of the origin and descent of the nations that were transplanted into Egypt, and have acquired the general denomination of Egyptians, but also for the determination of the different periods of the style of the arts of the ancient Egyptians, concerning which we have as yet very imperfect ideas; whilst, on the other hand, it might lead to much accurate information as to matter of fact; many very eminent authors having given the most incongruous representations of the Egyptian national character, such as Winkelmann for instance, who produced a wretched figure of a painted mask, without any character whatever, engraved in Beger's *Thesaur. Brandenb.* T. III. p. 402. as one of the most characteristic representations of the form of the ancient Egyptians; and who, as well as several others, will have this form to be similar to that of the Chinese; an assertion which, after having had opportunities to compare twenty-one living Chinese at Amsterdam, and having since seen in London abundance of ancient Egyptian monuments, especially in the British museum, and the collections of Mr. Townley, Mr. Knight, and the marquis of Lansdown, has ever appeared to me incomprehensible.

"Adopting, as I think it conformable to nature, five races of the human species, viz. 1. the Caucasian; 2. the Mongolian; 3. the Malay; 4. the Æthiopian; 5. the American; I think the Egyptians will find their place between the Caucasian and the Æthiopean, but that they differ from none more than from the Mongolian, to which the Chinese belong.

"Thus far concerning the bodies of the Egyptians prepared into mummies. I shall conclude with some observations on the probable meaning and destination of the diminutive mummies, which have given rise to the present inquiry.

"They certainly are not what they have long, I believe, universally been taken for, namely, mummies of small children and embryos. Some of them are the real mummies of Ibises, such as one of Dr. Lettsom, and one of the two in the Hamiltonian collection, in the British museum, which had by decay been so far laid open as to allow me plainly to distinguish in it the bill of an Ibis, and other bones of a bird.

"These sacred birds, it is well known, were usually, after having been swathed round with cotton bandages, placed in earthen urns, and deposited in the catacombs appropriated to the Ibises. Sometimes, without being stuck into an urn, they were prepared in the form of a puppet, yet so that the head and bill projected at the top; one of this sort has been figured by count Caylus. And thirdly, the whole bird was frequently wrapped up in this puppet form, and dressed

dressed in a mask, like one of the human species.

"But as the two others, viz. Dr. Garthshore's and the Sloanian, were externally perfectly similar to the abovementioned, I am led to conjecture (for in the total want of information from the ancients concerning these small mummies, we must however fix upon some conjecture,) that the manufacturers of mummies, who made them for sale, in order to save themselves the trouble of preparing a bird, took a bone, or other solid part of a decayed mummy, or indeed any thing that was nearest at hand, dressed it up as the mummy of an Ibis, and tendered it for sale.

"Whoever recollects what a despicable set the Egyptian priests were, even in the time of Strabo, and how the whole religious worship of the Egyptians was then already fallen into decay, will not think this conjecture too gratuitous, or void of probability.

"Or shall we rather consider these puppets as the *memento mori* which it is well known the Egyptians were wont to introduce at table in their meals and festivals? Herodotus says, that little wooden images were usually carried about for this purpose, and I do actually recollect having seen such small wooden representations of mummies in the British museum, Lucian also relates, as an eye witness, that in his time the dead bodies themselves were introduced at table. It is easy to conceive how, during the long interval of near 700 years, before the transition took place from the first simple idea to this disgusting practice, such little mummies may at some period or other have formed the intermediate step.

"The author of the *Recherches sur les Egyptiens* seems unwilling to to admit that real mummies had ever been introduced at table: but his scepticism appears to me to be no better founded than the contrary assertion of one of the most eminent physicians of the last century, Casp. Hoffman, who, in his once classical work *de Medicamentis Officinalibus*, in the section of the Egyptian mummies, gravely relates, that in lower Saxony no feast was ever given without the introduction of a mummy. And strange as this *qui pro quo* between an Egyptian corpse and a particular kind of Brunswick strong beer must appear, it is however a fact, that several more modern writers upon mummies have actually copied it out into their works with implicit confidence."

The ORIGIN and HISTORY of NEWSPAPERS in GREAT BRITAIN, to the REIGN of GEORGE I.

[From CHALMERS's LIFE of RUDDIMAN.]

"THE origin of news-papers, those pleasant vehicles of instruction, those entertaining companions of our mornings, has not yet been investigated with the precision which is undoubtedly due to what has been emphatically called one of the safeguards of our privileges. We are still unacquainted with the name of our first newspaper, and we are still ignorant of the epoch of its original publication.

"The intelligent editor of Dodsley's

ley's old plays has indeed, told the English world, though with less certainty than confidence, "that *Gallo-Belgicus* was the name of the first news-paper, published in England:" and, he maintains his position from ancient plays, and draws his proofs from obsolete poetry: May's comedy of the Heir, which was first acted in 1620, opens in the following manner:—

Polymetes.
Hast thou divulged the news,
That my son died at Athens?
Roscio.
Yes; my lord,
With every circumstance, the time, the place,
And manner of his death; that 'tis believed,
And told for news, with as much confidence,
As if 'twere writ in *Gallo-Belgicus*.

"Inquiring for the certainty of facts rather than the fictions of poetry, I went to the British museum, where I saw, and handled, *Gallo-Belgicus*. This collection, which had once belonged to the king's library, shows plainly, though it is not compleat, the nature of the work. It may be called the State of Europe; or, the Annual-Register; or it may be entitled more truly, The History of his own Times: but it is not a news-paper.

"Gallo-Belgicus seems to have been the first contemporary author, who, in modern times, detailed events as they arose. He appears to have been well received; the first volume, which was printed for the widow of Godfred Karpensis, having run through a second edition, before the year 1603, with additions, and amendments. The fourth volume, which was published in 1603, was compiled by Gaspar Lorchan, for William Lutzenkirch. Success soon gave rise to rivalship. The fifth volume appears to have been collected by Gotard Arthus, for Sigismond Latom, and to have been printed at Frankfort, in 1605. This was plainly a rival work. Gallo-Belgicus was now published half-yearly with a title-page and index to every volume; and was now, for the first time, usefully ornamented with maps. It was written, as late as the year 1605, by John Philip Abel, and was printed for the heirs of Latom, with the emperor's special privilege. I flatter myself, the inquisitive reader is now sufficiently acquainted with the parentage, and performances, of Gallo-Belgicus, of whom the poets, and the editor of poets, seem only from

"Rumour's tongue to have idly heard."

"When Paul came to Athens, he perceived that the Athenians, and the strangers, residing there, spent their time in little more than "either to tell, or to hear some new thing." At a period, more early, perhaps, than the time of Paul, the government of China distributed, through that most extensive empire, a written paper, containing a list of the Mandarins, who were appointed to rule in every province. Yet this Chinese Red Book, which was afterwards printed, and is still distributed, can scarcely be deemed a news-paper.

"Venice is entitled to the honour of having produced the first Gazetta, as early as the year 1536. It was compiled upon the plan, which was afterwards adopted by Gallo-Belgicus, and contained much intelligence, both of Italy, and even of the rest of Europe. Yet, a jealous government did not allow a printed news-paper. And the Venetian Gazetta continued long after the invention of printing, to the close

close of the sixteenth century, and even to our own days, to be distributed in manuscript.

"After enquiring, in various countries, for the origin of news-papers, I had the satisfaction to find what I sought for in England. It may gratify our national pride to be told, that mankind are indebted to the wisdom of Elizabeth, and the prudence of Burleigh, for the first news paper. The epoch of the Spanish Armada is also the epoch of a genuine news-paper. In the British museum, there are several news-papers, which had been printed while the Spanish fleet was in the English channel, during the year 1588. It was a wise policy, to prevent, during the moment of general anxiety, the danger of false reports, by publishing real information. And, the earliest news-paper is entitled, The English Mercurie, which, by authority, "was imprinted at London, by Christopher Barker, her highnesses printer, 1588."

"Burleigh's news-papers were all Extraordinary Gazettes, which were published from time to time, as that profound statesman wished, either to inform, or terrify the people. The Mercuries were probably first printed in April 1588, when the armada approached the shores of England. After the Spanish ships had been dispersed by a wonderful exertion of prudence, and spirit, these Extraordinary Gazettes very seldom appeared. The Mercurie, No. 54, which is dated on Monday November the 24th 1588, informed the public, that the solemn thanksgiving for the successes which had been obtained against the Spanish armada, was this day strictly observed. This number contains also an article of news from Madrid, which speaks of putting the queen to death, and of the instruments of torture that were on board the Spanish fleet. We may suppose, that such paragraphs were designed by the policy of Burleigh, who understood all the artifices of printing, to excite the terrors of the English people, to point their resentment against Spain, and to inflame their love for Elizabeth.

"Yet are we told, that posts gave rise to weekly news-papers, which are likewise a French invention. The inventor was Theophrast Renaudot, a physician, who, laying his scheme before cardinal Richelieu, obtained from him a patent for the Paris Gazette, which was first published in April 1631. Thus would confident ignorance transfer this invention, which is so usefully advantageous to the governors and the governed, from the English Burleigh to the French Richelieu. The dates demonstrate, that the pleasures and the benefits of a news-paper were enjoyed in England, more than forty years before the establishment of the Paris Gazette, by Renaudot, in France. And the English Mercurie will remain an incontestible proof of the existence of a printed news-paper in England, at an epoch when no other nation can boast a vehicle of news of a similar kind.

"The English Mercurie no longer proclaimed his news, when Elizabeth, speaking of the armada, had said, *Flavit Deus et dissipantur*. A news-paper had now gratified the curiosity of the people; and the curiosity of the people would be no longer satisfied without a news-paper. Burton complains, in his Anatomy of Melancholy, which was first published in 1614, "that if

if any read now-a-days it is a play-book, or a pamphlet of newes." The news-papers were at first occasional, and afterwards weekly. Nathaniel Butter, at the Pyde-Bull, St. Austin's gate, established a weekly paper, in August 1622, entitled, The certain Newes of this present Week. How long Butter, who was a great publisher of newes, continued his hebdomadal intelligences, I am unable to tell. He said little before his readers, which could enlarge knowledge, or excite risibility; though his battles may have surprised and elevated, and his sieges may have alternately agitated the hopes and fears of his countrymen.

"Whatever may have been his success, he certainly had competitors, and imitators. In February 1625-6, was first published a fresh paper of Weekly Newes. The foreign intelligence of May the 2d, was conveyed in number 13. This too was a small quarto of fourteen pages. And it was printed at London for Mercurius Britannicus, in 1626. This proves sufficiently, that the well-known title of Mercurius Britannicus had a more early origin than has generally been supposed. Similar papers were continued, though they assumed different names. In the preface to the Swedish Intelligencer, which was published in 1632, "now the third time revised, corrected, and augmented," we are assured, that, "very good use have also been made of the Weekly Currantoes, which, if a man of judgment read, he shall find very true and very punctual: whosoever will be cunning in the places and persons of Germany, and would understand her wars, let him not despise Currantoes."

"Butter, the active news-monger of the times, was influenced by his interest to tell—

"News, old news, and such news as you never heard of."

He was thus induced to convert his Weekly News into half-yearly news. And he published the German Intelligencer, in 1630, and the Swedish Intelligencer, in 1631. He had for his compiler, William Watts, of Caius college, of whom it may be said, that he was educated for other labours; and of whom Voscius speaks as *doctissimus et clarissimus Wattsius, qui optime de historia meruit*. He was born near Lynn in Norfolk of I know not what parentage. After being transplanted from the banks of the Cam to the groves of Oxford, he travelled into several countries, says Anthony Wood, and became master of divers languages. He was, on his return, after the accession of Charles I. made one of the king's chaplains, and was preferred successively, to livings, and dignities in the church; and adhering manfully to the king's cause, he was sequestered, plundered, and left without a shelter for his wife and children. He was carried by his courage, and resentment, into the field with prince Rupert, during the hardiest of his exploits; and died, in 1649, on board his fleet, in the harbour of Kinsale. He had an especial hand, says Wood, in sir Henry Spelman's glossary; he edited Matthew Paris; and exclusive of other treatises, he published, before the civil wars of England began, several numbers of new books, in the English tongue (more than forty), containing the occurrences done in the wars between the king of Sweden and the Germans. William Watts may, therefore, be deemed the Gallo-Belgicus of England.

"We are now come, by a regular

in progress, to that memorable epoch in English history,

"When civil dudgeon first grew high."

Each party, whether political or religious, now hoped to gain their object, by spreading their pretensions. From this source, the nation was soon over-run with tracts of every size, and of various denominations: hence the diurnal, which continued its hebdomadal round, notwithstanding the ridicule of Cleveland, from 1640 to 1660; and hence too the different Mercuries, which were sent abroad, to inflame by their vehemence, or to conciliate by their wit; to convince by their argument, or to delude by their sophistry. Many of them were written with extraordinary talents, and published with uncommon courage. The great writer of Mercuries was Marchmont Needham, who was born in 1620, and was educated at Oxford; who assumed all the colours of the chamelion, during those contentious times: and being discharged from writing public intelligence by the council of state, in March 1660, he was allowed to live at the Restoration, till at length, says Anthony Wood, this most seditious, mutable, and railing author, died suddenly in Devereux Court, in November 1678.

When hostilities commenced, every event, during a most eventful period, had its own historian, who communicated news from Hull, truths from York, warranted tidings from Ireland, and special passages from several places. These were all occasional papers. Impatient, however, as a distracted people were for information, the news were never distributed daily. The various news-papers were published weekly at first; but, in the progress of events, and in the ardour of curiosity, they were distributed twice or thrice in every week. Such were the "French Intelligencer," the "Dutch Spye," the "Irish Mercury," and the "Scots Dove;" the "Parliament Kite," and the "Secret Owl." Mercurius Acheronticus brought them hebdomadal News from Hell, Mercurius Democritus communicated wonderful news from the World in the Moon, the Laughing Mercury gave perfect news from the Antipodes, and Mercurius Mastix faithfully lashed all Scouts, Mercuries, Posts, Spies, and other intelligencers.

"Amid this clamour of contradiction, this activity of ridicule, this tumult of laughter, Scotland was not neglected. As early as 1642, there were published at London, The Scots Scout's Discoveries. On the 30th of September 1643, appeared The Scots Intelligencer, or the Weekly News from Scotland and the Court. On the same day, flew abroad The Scots Dove;

"Our Dove tells newses from the king's,
"And of harmonious letters sings."

In 1644, arrived weekly, Intelligence from the South Borders of Scotland. Mercurius Scoticus appeared in 1651. And, in the subsequent year, was given out the Theme, or Scoto-Presbyter, which, with admirable ridicule, inquires, "Whether it be not as little dishonourable for the Scots to be conquered by the English, in 1652, as to have been these twelve years past slaves to the covenant." All these papers were assuredly published at London, either to gratify private interest, or to promote public

lic measures, though some of them are mistakingly supposed to have been printed at Edinburgh.

"It is a remarkable fact, which history was either too idle to ascertain, or too much ashamed to relate, that the arms of Cromwell communicated to Scotland, with other benefits, the first news-paper, which had ever illuminated the gloom, or dispelled the fanaticism, of the North. Each army carried its own printer with it; expecting either to convince by its reasoning, or to delude by its falsehood. King Charles carried Robert Barker with him to Newcastle, in 1639. And general Cromwell conveyed Christopher Higgins, to Leith, in 1652. When Cromwell had here established a citadel, Higgins reprinted in November 1652, what had been already published at London, a Diurnal of some Passages and Affairs, for the information of the English soldiers. Mercurius Politicus was first reprinted at Leith, on the 26th of October, 1653. The reprinting of it was transferred to Edinburgh, in November 1654; where it continued to be published, till the eleventh of April 1660; and was then reprinted, under the name of Mercurius Publicus.

"The time was, however, at hand, when Scotland was to enjoy the luxury of a news-paper, which was of Scottish manufacture. On the 31st of December, 1660, appeared at Edinburgh, Mercurius Caledonius: comprising the affairs in agitation in Scotland, with a survey of foreign intelligence. It was a son of the bishop of Orkney, Thomas Sydserfe, who now thought he had the wit to amuse, the knowledge to instruct, and the address to captivate, the lovers of news, in Scotland. But he was only able, with all his powers, to extend his publication to ten numbers, which were very loyal, very illiterate, and very affected.

"Even after the Restoration, the news-papers which were published, by authority, at London, continued to be reprinted at Edinburgh, though not by the hand of Higgins. The Mercurius Publicus was here published, till it was superseded by The Kingdom's Intelligencer, which still retailed the news of London to the people of Scotland.

"In the annals of our literature, and our freedom, it is a memorable fact, that there was not a news-paper printed in Scotland, at the æra of the Revolution. The few had doubtless instructed themselves, during several years, from the London Gazette. And the many had been too busy, during the late times, with the affairs of the other world, to be very anxious about the events of this. Yet, were the estates of Scotland, who assembled at Edinburgh on the 14th of March, 1689, and the mobs which outraged on that occasion, both law and religion, sufficiently inflamed, without the agency of a news-paper.

"Whatever freedom, either of thought, or of printing, may have been established in Scotland, by the Revolution, ten years elapsed before it was deemed safe by the public, or advantageous by an individual, to print a news-paper. The Edinburgh Gazette was at length published by authority, in February 1699, by James Watson, who is still remembered for his History of the Art of Printing. Having published only forty-one numbers, he transferred, in July 1699, the Edinburgh Gazette to John Reid, on whose death it became the property of John Reid, his son, who continued to print the Edinburgh Gazette, even

even after the Union. Watson was for several years, the great news-monger of Scotland, as Butter had been of England, during the prior age. In February 1705, he established the Edinburgh Courant, which, after he had printed fifty-five numbers, he relinquished to the heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson, the printer to the queen, to the city, and to the college. Yet Watson still hoped for profit, or honour, from printing a news-paper. And, in September 1705, he published the Scots Courant, which he continued to print, beyond the year 1718. At the epoch of the Union, Scotland had thus successively acquired three news-papers, which were all published at Edinburgh; but neither promoted that measure by their facts, nor retarded it by their declamations.

"To the Gazette, the Edinburgh Courant, and the Scots Courant, were added, in October 1708, the Edinburgh Flying Post; in August 1709, the Scots Postman, which was printed by John Moncur for David Fearne; and in March 1710, the North Tatler, which was printed by John Reid for Samuel Colvil.

"The year 1715 is also the epoch when the commercial city of Glasgow first enjoyed the advantages of a news-paper. The Glasgow Courant alone was then equal to her wants. Her traffic, her opulence, and her knowledge, give circulation, at present, to a Journal, a Mercury, an Advertiser, and a Courier.

"The printing of a news-paper at Glasgow did not prevent the establishment of other news-papers at Edinburgh. In March 1714, Robert Brown began to print the Edinburgh Gazette, or Scots Postman, on Tuesday and Thursday in every week. On the 24th of December 1718, the town council gave an exclusive privilege to James M'Ewen, stationer-burgess, to publish three times a week, the Edinburgh Evening Courant; "the said James being obliged, before publication, to give one coppie of his print to the magistrates." This paper continues to be published by David Ramsay, though I am unable to tell whether he comply with the original condition, of giving one coppie of his print to the present magistrates."

MISCEL-

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

COMMUNICATIONS, in a LETTER to Mr. MORE, on pruning and planting ORCHARDS, by THOMAS SKIP BUCKNALL, Esq. additional to what were inserted in our last Volume.

[From the Twelfth Volume of the TRANSACTIONS of the SOCIETY, for the ENCOURAGEMENT of ARTS, MANUFACTURES, and COMMERCE.]

"SIR,

"I HAVE been twice this summer to view the orchards at Sittingborne, and desire the favour of you to acquaint the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, that to fulfil the promise conveyed in the memorial, I did myself the honour of presenting to them, I now send further observations to throw the husbandry of orchards under such culture as to preserve the tree, and improve the fruit.

"The appearances were much to my satisfaction, and I saw great reason to be pleased with the operation of pruning; yet several of the cherries were much gummed. I examined to see whether the gum was from fresh fissures, or those formerly medicated; and to a certainty the former medications were perfectly healed; and I did not observe, but that the cherry bears the knife very well, with the aid of the medication. I pointed out these circumstances to the tenants; and desired they would look to them, and open the blotches which had affected the trees since pruning.

"Mr. R. and J. Boulding informed me that the medication had been objected to, on account of the tar. I should not have thought this of consequence sufficient to mention to the society, if it had not been represented by William Pattenson, esq. in a paper published in the XIth volume of their Transactions, that to smear the stems of trees with tar, to keep cattle from biting them, is injurious: certainly, in the sense there conveyed, the observation is perfectly right; and to explain the difference, I must beg the indulgence of the society; for to suffer any doubt to remain either in the science or practice, would entirely destroy the whole system.

The Formation of Gum.

"From the stems and leaves of trees a constant and copious evaporation is regularly going on, as may

may be proved by the air-pump. Now, any sudden check striking the tree, stops the pores; and obstructing the perspiration, throws all the sap into disorder; which soon becoming vitiated, and nature having no other way of relieving itself, forces a fissure through the bark, out of which oozes the almost stagnated sap, which, there condensing, becomes gum very soon; after which the bark, wanting its due portion of nourishment, begins to crack and split: from that time the tree runs fast into ruin.

"Therefore any smearing, or other cause which may impede a just circulation and perspiration, must injure the tree; but the medication cannot produce any of these evils; for it is applied merely as a plaster, and is never extended further than on the bare wood, or torn bark, and where the gum is oozing through the bark. I desire to assure the society, that in each of these cases, the medication, from its drying qualities, becomes supremely salutary, and the wounds heal in half the time they can do when exposed to heat, cold, moisture, and vermin: for the misfortune is, being left exposed, the wounds do not heal; there the evil lays.

"Mr. Boulding, in his certificate, says, 'When we took off a 'large branch or two, the wounds 'generally cankered; which made 'us leave them in the encumbered 'state they were in, rather than run 'any hazard.'

"Mr. Lake also remarked, 'Many died; others were wounded 'by a canker in the bark, from the 'bottom of the body to the top 'arms.' Mr. Fausset says, 'I apprised Mr. Bucknall that his orchards, in the occupation of Mrs. 'Boulding, were in a very declining state; and, in autumn, 1789, 'having business with him, I again 'repeated my thoughts relative 'thereto; and that, if something 'was not done to recover the trees, 'I suspected that great part, if not 'all of them, would certainly die. 'He (Mr. Bucknall) said he could 'easily reinstate the trees and bring 'them to health, and would come 'down for that purpose, and be answerable the trees should not 'sustain any injury; and he did 'come down in the spring following.'

"My agent Mr. Fausset, the tenants, Mr. Lake and the Bouldings, all concur in saying that the trees were in an actual state of decay. This is a circumstance necessary to be fully established, as any one may see they did recover and wonderfully. This induces me to say that from the certainty of success and easy application, the medication surpasses any thing for such pruning as orchards require. Where trees have been so long neglected as to become hollow, I would recommend the composition prepared by Mr. Forsyth, because the hollow parts require a substance to fill them up; and I have the happiness of saying that Mr. Forsyth and I go on the same principle; each planning for the general good of society, and the improvement of art.

"And, as I have long wished to introduce the name of orchardist, I here desire it may take place; and for the encouragement of those who are willing to undertake the art, say that it is easily learnt and highly pleasurable; for what can be a greater gratification, than to see nature improving under our hands?

"It is a mistake to cut off the heads

heads of trees, and engraft them, merely to procure young wood; pruning being better, as an old tree cannot continue in health after such loppings; for the head being gone, the roots become inactive and more mischief takes place out of sight than can be repaired in years. Do not attempt to force a tree higher than it is disposed to grow, for that will not improve the fruit: the rule should be—keep the branches out of the reach of cattle, then let them follow their natural growth; for each different species of the apple and other fruits have a growth peculiar to themselves. With regard to general pruning, do it as soon as the fruit is off, that the wounds may tend toward healing before the frost comes on; but do not suffer a broken or decayed branch to continue at any season.

"If I may make use of an exploded idea, the substantial form of the tree is the same before and after pruning; that is, the tree continues of the same size, and all extreme shoots keep the same distance, which is an improvement no one has brought into practice; for each person employs his strength to knock the heads of the trees to pieces, mutilating them, till he leaves the tree in a more decaying state than when he first attempted the pruning it. Having spoken thus freely, I must, in justice to the age, say, there are few professional men who are not expert at wall-fruit pruning; because, it being their profession, they attend to what they are about.

Hints on Planting.

"The preventing of a disease is preferable to the cure; therefore, if possible, choose the trees the year before they are to be planted, and see that they are properly pruned in the nursery, by taking off, perfectly close, all rambling and unsightly branches, leaving the heads to three or four good leading shoots; from this forecast the trees will not require pruning for some time, and, having no wounds to heal the year they are transplanted, will greatly accelerate their growth. Be sure the trees are young; and do not plant any galled, fretted, or cankered plants; for it is certain that there is a vapour arises from cankered trees which affects the sound ones.

"When the trees are taken up, keep the roots as long as is convenient, which will give them a disposition to run horizontally, from which, the roots being more under the influence of the sun, the sap is richer and produces the sweetest, fairest fruit; prepare stakes before the day of planting, for the trees must be well staked and defended from cattle; and other precautions with which the planters are well acquainted.

"Choose your ground carefully, that your plantation may be screened on the east, north, and west sides, and open to the south: and tell the nurseryman that he must attend to the natural growth of the different fruits, and mark them, that they may be planted thus—one row of the tallest strongest growers on the three cold sides, and that row should be planted twice as thick as any other; then one row more of the next free-growers parallel to the last rows; and so go on gradually, declining in size till you come to the centre.

"What I mean by twice as thick, place a low rambling growing fruit-tree between each of the other;

other; for the intention here is to raise shelter; and it would be adviseable on the outside of the plantation to run a row of underwood, more than a pole wide of the freest-growing trees which the country produces; be assured the wood will more than pay for the expence. Be not tenacious of the size or shape of the orchard; for, in some situations, by taking a little more or less ground, much good may result. Before the ground is laid out, let the mind be active to secure the little risings or inflections, to catch the sun, and exclude the cold. The Scotch fir, or other valuable trees, may be happily introduced at a distance for shelter, which would also greatly embellish the appearance of the country.

"Such a plantation may be expected often to bear a crop when the whole neighbourhood fails; and every one knows the value of a good crop in a failing year. These ideas are on a large scale, for the supply of the London markets: and, though I can bring no proof that such an orchard exists, the hints here given are to point out that position is an essential circumstance both for the whole plantation and every individual tree. Always remembering local circumstances must govern the business: follow nature.

"If I have expressed this clearly, the orchard will appear as it were enclosed on three sides; the larger trees are to keep off the blighting winds; and leaving the plantation open in the middle and to the south, is to dissipate the stagnant vapours which stunt the fruits in the spring; besides, the ground being open in the middle, the verdure or crop under the trees will be more valuable: this mode of planting will also appear handsome, and each tree enjoy the happiest influence of the sun and air. The custom of intermixing fruits by chance is always unsightly and detrimental; for the strong growers constantly stunt and spoil the more delicate fruits by overtopping them; whereas by this mode the delicate fruits fall to the centre and south.

"In new plantations be careful not to place the trees too deep; more mischief arises from that one source than all the other combined causes: but when the trees are too deep, a method may be introduced for raising them, or for setting them upright when they lean, also for making the barren trees fruitful, provided they are in high health; if not, the sooner they are grubbed up the better. Also avoid planting too thick, for sunshine and shade are unalterably the cause of sweet and sour fruits.

"I have been careful in expressing the manual operations in a plain and short manner, that the practice might appear easy. As for the natural and philosophical accounts of the bark, the formation of gum, the power of vapour, &c. with the relative causes of decay in vegetation, I have entered more fully into them, in hopes of inducing gentlemen to take up the practice, and establish the profession of an orchardist.

"Lastly, I beg the Society not to deem any of these circumstances visionary; for I have so long dwelt upon the subject as to be fully persuaded of the efficacy of the whole practice, and that it may be rationally expected from judicious pruning, that the crooked trees may be made strait, the sterile fruitful, and the old handsome; as the power of nature may thereby be regenerated, the disease removed, all the branches supplied with young and bearing wood, so that we may almost say the causes of decay

decay are banished: but to support these assertions, the trees ought from their earliest infancy to be in good hands, and regular pruning introduced.

I am, Sir,
Your most obliged
humble servant,
THOMAS SKIP DYOT BUCKNALL."

Hampton Court,
Nov. 15, 1793.
Mr. MORB.

Orchardist's Tools recommended by Mr. Bucknall.

"Two pruning-knives, a saw, two chissels, a mallet, a spoke-shave, and a painter's brush. With the chissels and spoke-shave, work upwards, on the bark will shiver: the saw must be coarse set, all the other tools sharp and smooth; and to shew the size and form of the pruning-knives, three are reserved in the society's repository, for the inspection of the public."

SUBSTANCE of SIR JOHN SINCLAIR'S ADDRESS to the BOARD of AGRICULTURE on the first DAY of its being assembled.

"THAT he could not forbear troubling the board with a few words, congratulating the members present, on the complete establishment of so invaluable an institution, as that of a board of agriculture. That in other countries attempts of a similar nature, on a humbler scale, had been made; but that the present, he believed, was the first instance, of such an institution having been snatched from the feeble hands of individuals, and invested with all the strength and vigour of public establishment.

"That from the circumstance of his having moved in parliament for the establishment of that board, his majesty had been graciously pleased to nominate him as president, a situation, to which he could not otherwise have aspired, among so many members, distinguished by their superior talents, and possessed of greater experience and skill in husbandry; but that he would endeavour to make up for any personal deficiency, by the most unwearied zeal and attention to promote the objects for which the board was constituted.

"That no man would have ventured to have made such a motion in parliament, without having previously sketched out in his own mind some general ideas respecting the system that might be pursued, in case the proposed institution should take place, and that he would shortly state to the board what had occurred to him upon the subject.

"That having carried on, for some years past, a correspondence with above 1500 individuals, on matters of a public nature (for promoting the improvement of British wool, and examining with great minuteness into the political state of Scotland) he was enabled, by the experience which he had thus acquired, to ascertain in a great measure those leading principles, on which so great and extensive a plan might be conducted, and these he would shortly submit to the consideration of the meeting.

"That, in the first place, he had much satisfaction in stating, as the found-

foundation on which the edifice of national improvement might be built, that there existed in these kingdoms a greater fund of solid ability and of useful information, and a greater extent of actual and efficient capital, than, so far as he could judge, any other country, of the same extent and population in the universe, could boast of; and that little more would be necessary, than to call forth that ability, and to collect that information, and to give the capital of the country a direction or tendency to increase internal wealth and cultivation, in order to make this island, what it ought to be, the garden of Europe.

"In the second place, he was certain that there existed a greater mass of public spirit in the nation at large, (more especially among that description of people, with whom the board of agriculture was principally connected) than was commonly imagined; and he was satisfied, that the board would find no difficulty, in prevailing on the active and intelligent husbandmen of the kingdom to try any experiment, or to follow any system, that could contribute to the public good, and did not materially militate against their own personal interests; and that a wide difference would be found, between a recommendation to improvement, coming from a respectable public body, and from private individuals.

"In the third place, this principle ought ever to be kept in view, that, in a good cause, nothing can resist industry and perseverance. That at first, some doubts or jealousies might be entertained of a new institution, and some rumours might be circulated respecting the objects of the board, which time would soon do away. But for his part, he entertained no doubt, that if parliament would continue its pecuniary assistance for some years, (promoting at the same time, by wise regulations, a general system of improvement) and if the board (which he was persuaded would be the case) would steadily persist in its exertions, that in a very short period the produce of many millions of acres, now cultivated in a very defective manner, would be greatly augmented; that many millions of acres, now lying waste, would be brought under cultivation, and that the stock of the kingdom would be improved, to at least double its present value.

"In regard to the plan to be pursued, he submitted to the consideration of the board, whether the first object ought not to be, to ascertain facts, without which no theory or system of reasoning, however plausible, could be depended on. That, for that purpose, it would be necessary to examine into the agricultural state of all the different counties in the kingdom, and to inquire into the means, which, in the opinion of intelligent men, were the most likely to promote, either a general system of improvement, or the advantage of particular districts. That by employing a number of able men for that purpose, and circulating their reports previous to their being published, requesting the additional remarks and observations of those to whom such communications were sent, it was probable that no important fact, or even useful idea, would escape notice.

"That the immense mass of information thus accumulated would answer two purposes: first, it would point out the measures which the legislature might take, for promoting agricultural improvements; secondly, individuals would thus be instructed by the practice and experience of others—the landlord

in the proper mode of managing his property, and the farmer in the best plan of cultivating his fields.

"That for attaining the first object, that of legislative assistance, it would be proper to digest the substance of the information that was accumulated, into one Report, to be submitted to the consideration of his majesty, and of both houses of parliament; suggesting, in the report, what measures had occurred, in the course of their inquiries, that could tend to the improvement of the country. He added, that from the spirit with which these agricultural surveys had been gone into, he had no doubt, that such a report could be drawn up, in time sufficient to enable parliament to take some effectual measures for the benefit of agriculture, in the course of the ensuing session.

"That parliament might be of essential service to husbandry in two respects: first, by removing all discouragements to rural industry; and secondly, by granting encouragements. That the second was a matter of much delicacy, and which required very mature consideration. At the same time it was certain, that by granting encouragements to agriculture, the great Frederick of Prussia was enabled to double the value of his dominions, and to amass a very considerable treasure, amounting, it is well known, to many millions sterling. That such encouragements operated like manure spread upon the ground, which insured a more abundant harvest. That they also had a tendency to impress on the public mind this truth, "That the proper cultivation of the soil is an object so peculiarly interesting to the community at large, that those who most assiduously attend to it, are, perhaps, to be accounted the most meritorious citizens of their country." That in one point of view, at least, the husbandman was more intitled to public attention, than those of other professions, being more fixed to the territory on which he lived, and less apt, from habit, inclination, or ability, to wander from it.

"That in regard to instructing individuals, no doubts could be entertained, from the great mass of information which would be accumulated, by the correspondence of the board, both at home and abroad, that the best mode of managing landed property, or in other words, the most advantageous system of connection between the landlord and the tenant, would be ascertained, and that the principles of rational husbandry, for the instruction of the practical farmer, would soon be brought to a very great degree of simplicity and perfection.

"That he would not anticipate, with too much confidence, the important consequences, that might result from such an institution. He believed, however, there was none, from which the public at large had reason to expect so many substantial benefits. That the board, indeed, was already looked up to, even by foreign nations, as likely to become the general magazine of knowledge on agricultural subjects. That they already considered it as the source from which they were to derive the most important information, and the most solid advantages. That in these respects, at least, agriculture had an advantage over other arts, that no jealousy subsisted among those who were engaged in it, and that every discovery which tended to its improvement, more essentially contributed, than in any other, to promote the general good of the species."

SIR-

SUBSTANCE of SIR JOHN SINCLAIR's ADDRESS to the BOARD of AGRICULTURE, on TUESDAY the TWENTY-NINTH of JULY, 1794.

"THAT he considered it extremely necessary for any person who filled that situation in which he happened to be placed, previous to the annual adjournment of the board, to give a short statement of the business which had been transacted in the course of the session, and of the progress that had been made in carrying on the important objects for which the board was constituted.

"That at the commencement of the present, being the first session after its establishment, the attention of the board had naturally been directed to the formation of those bye-laws which were to regulate its future proceedings, the original sketch of which had been drawn up, with great attention and ability, by a noble lord, (lord Hawke) to whose zeal and assiduity the board, in that and in other respects had been infinitely indebted.

"That a great variety of important communications had been transmitted to the board from many quarters, both at home and abroad, on all the different topics connected with agricultural inquiry, furnishing a number of valuable hints, which might be of essential service in promoting the improvement of the country. These hints, he observed, might either be separately printed, or incorporated with the reports of the board. That the committee appointed "to take the present state of the waste lands, and common fields of this kingdom, and the probable means of their improvement, under their consideration," had already made great progress in that important inquiry, and he had no doubt, would, when the board re-assembled, have a report ready, fully explaining the ancient laws respecting the division of such lands, and the best means of facilitating them in future; and that the board was already in possession of a very interesting and able paper, drawn up by one of its members (John Robinson, esq. surveyor-general of the woods and forests), which had thrown much light upon that subject.

"Above all, that the progress made in the agricultural survey of the kingdom, (the basis of all the measures which the board might think it adviseable to recommend to the attention of the public) had surpassed the most sanguine expectations. The whole kingdom had been assigned in districts to different surveyors, from each of whom a separate report was required. Such a plan had never been formerly attempted in any country; and many doubts were entertained whether it would be possible to effect it even in Great Britain, in any reasonable space of time. He had the pleasure, however, of acquainting the board, that seventy-four reports had been already given in, and were either printed or now in the press, and that the remainder were in such a state of forwardness, that they might soon be expected; and, consequently, within twelve months from the establishment of the board, this great object would be completed. That to the credit of the gentlemen who engaged in this laborious undertaking, a considerable number of them would accept of nothing for their trouble, and the remainder were satisfied with sums, in general, scarcely adequate to the expences they had incurred. That the reports they had

had given in, were not to be considered as complete systems of husbandry, but merely as chapters of a great work; distributed at present, as affording the readiest means of collecting farther information. That the circulating of 80,000 papers, on so popular a subject as that of agriculture, must have a strong tendency to direct the public attention, in a very peculiar manner, to that object; which, indeed, had already sufficiently appeared, from the anxiety to procure those papers, and from the demand which had lately arisen for works on agriculture.—That about 100 reports had been already received back, the margins of which were filled with many valuable hints and observations. That he had no doubt a considerable number of the reports in circulation would be returned with remarks of equal merit. The board would thus have under its inspection at once, not only very interesting accounts of the present state of the kingdom, and a complete collection of all the past skill and experience of which the country was possessed, in matters of husbandry, but probably every suggestion that the kingdom was master of, respecting the means of its future improvement; "a mass of useful information, of which it cannot with justice be asserted, that any other nation has ever yet been possessed."

"In regard to the use that ought to be made of the information thus accumulated by the labour and exertions of so many active and intelligent individuals, there are two points which he begged leave to submit to the consideration of the board. First, that they ought not to suffer the public attention to waste itself, previous to their communicating that information to the country; and, secondly, that instead of frittering away the valuable treasure they have thus obtained, in partial reports, they should endeavour to condense it into one great system.

"To explain more fully to the board the idea which he had formed of a general report, he had drawn up a plan, stating the various subjects to be treated of in it, and the order in which they might be arranged, and which he flattered himself it would be possible for the board to complete, in the course even of the ensuing session.

Plan of a General Report, on the Present State of the Agriculture of Great Britain, and the Means of its Improvement: To be laid before His Majesty, and both Houses of Parliament, by the Board of Agriculture.

"Introduction, and plan of the report.

Chap. 1. General view of the natural advantages possessed by Great Britain, for carrying on agricultural improvements.

Chap. 2. State of property in the kingdom—lands held in severalty, or in common—size of estates—advantages resulting from a diversity of landed property, in point of extent.

Chap. 3. Mode of occupation, in woods—plantations—pastures, natural or artificial—arable land,—gardens—orchards—English husbandry, or the union of improved stock and skilful culture.

Chap. 4. Manner of cultivation—land cultivated by the owner—lands let—on the proper size of farms.

Chap. 5. System of connection between

between the landlord and the tenant, or leases and the covenants in them.

Chap. 6. Rent, whether payable in money, in kind, or in personal services—whether taxes are paid by the tenant, or otherwise—of taking fines.

Chap. 7. Buildings on a farm and their repairs, with observations on the accommodations necessary for a farmer.

Chap. 8. Wages of servants—price of labour; whether by the day, or the piece—cottages.

Chap. 9. Inclosures, their nature and advantages.

Chap. 10. Draining, whether surface or under draining.

Chap. 11. Live stock. 1. Sheep, 2. Cattle, 3. Horses, 4. Hogs, &c. with engravings of the different breeds.

Chap. 12. The dairy and its productions.

Chap. 13. Implements of husbandry, and engravings of the best kinds.

Chap. 14. Oxen, and their use in husbandry.

Chap. 15. Manures, whether of a mineral, vegetable, or animal nature.

Chap. 16. Rotation of crops adapted for the different soils.

Chap. 17. Comparison between the drill and broad-cast husbandry, and on dibbling.

Chap. 18. On fallowing, and the extirpation of weeds.

Chap. 19. Culture of the different kinds of grain, and the soils for which they are respectively best calculated.

Chap. 20. Harvesting, and the best means of preserving grain and roots, either from the inclemency of the weather, or from vermin.

Chap. 21. Culture of green crops.

Chap. 22. Culture of artificial grasses—whether pastured on, cut green, or converted into hay, and on the best mode of preserving herbage.

Chap. 23. Crops not generally cultivated, as hops, hemp, &c. &c. and the culture of plants for dying, for medicine, &c.

Chap. 24. Husbandry of the fens, including paring and burning.

Chap. 25. Natural meadows and pasture, and the proper mode of managing them.

Chap. 26. Embankments.

Chap. 27. Watering land, or artificial meadows, and a comparison between them and other pastures, in regard to quantity and quality of produce.

Chap. 28. Gardens and orchards, and the diseases incident to plants.

Chap. 29. Woods and plantations.

Chap. 30. Of waste lands, and the means of their improvement, whether by rendering them arable—converting them into water meadows, or pasture, or into plantations.

Chap. 31. Of the proper system to improve waste lands, either by private individuals, or public companies: with a view of increasing the population, as well as the produce of the country.

Chap. 32. Roads, public, and parochial; and navigations connected with agricultural purposes.

Chap. 33. Markets, domestic and foreign; and on the advantages of establishing a uniformity of weights and measures.

Chap. 34. Effects of commerce, manufactures, and fisheries, on agriculture, and the advantages of their union together.

Chap. 35. Of manufacturers residing in the country, and being occasionally employed in the cultivation of the soil.

Chap. 36. Of the poor, and the means of employing them in the operations of agriculture.

Chap. 37. The corn laws, and on the policy of encouraging a surplus of grain for exportation, after supplying the consumption of the country.

Chap. 38. Of agricultural legislation and police.

Chap. 39. On the price of provisions, and the laws for encouraging the sale, or manufacturing the produce of the country.

Chap. 40. Miscellaneous observations.

CONCLUSION.

Chap. 1. Obstacles to improvement, and the means of removing them.

Chap. 2. Hints of improvement from foreign countries.

Chap. 3. Means of exciting a spirit of industry and improvement in the labourer, the farmer, and the landlord: and whether public encouragements are necessary for that purpose.

Chap. 4. General view of the agricultural produce of the kingdom.

Chap. 5. Resources of the nation, from the farther improvement of its stock and territory.

"In order that the general report might not be drawn out to too great a length, it is proposed that an appendix shall be annexed to each chapter, for the purpose of containing a number of facts and observations, which, though tending to illustrate the subject treated of, might, in the opinion of some, be considered of a less interesting nature.

"That besides the general report, it would be expedient to reprint and to publish, the various agricultural accounts now in circulation, with every possible correction and improvement, and in such a form, that every individual may have it in his power to purchase on reasonable terms, either the account of his own particular county, or the reports relating to all the different counties, or the general report on the state of the kingdom at large, as he may find most desirable.

"He could not conclude, without attempting to give, even in this early stage of their proceedings, some general idea of the public benefit to be derived from the improvement of the territory of the country.

"It is not difficult, even on such data as have been already obtained, to make calculations sufficiently accurate for every useful purpose, respecting the probable advantages to be expected from the improvement of the kingdom, in regard to income, capital and population: and perhaps a short statement of such advantages may awaken more the public attention, and be more satisfactory to the generality of the people, than long disquisitions. He had therefore embraced the earliest opportunity, of throwing together some ideas upon the subject, for his own private satisfaction, and for the consideration of the board and of the public.

"Of the different reports given in to the board, that from the county of Cambridge is by far the most minute, the surveyor having, with great labour, gone from parish to parish, and in general having obtained sufficient information in regard to stock, produce, and population. At the conclusion of his report, he recapitulates the increase of rent, which may be expected, by improving the cultivation of 319,300 acres in that county, of which the following is an abstract.

Number

Number of Acres.	Description of the Land.	Increased Rent per acre.	Total Increase.
150,000	Waste and unimproved fen	£ 0 10 0	£ 75,000 0 0
132,000	Open and common field arable land	0 8 0	52,800 0 0
19,800	Inferior pasture	0 9 7	9,487 10 0
7,500	Of upland common	0 11 0	4,125 0 0
8,000	Of fen common	0 10 0	4,000 0 0
2,000	Of half-yearly meadow land	0 8 6	850 0 0
319,300	At an average about 9s. per acre.		£146,262 10 0

"That it seemed to him impossible to contend, that these rents are exorbitant, or beyond what any tenant would be willing to pay for the advantage of having his land drained, inclosed, and put in a state of improvement. This seems, therefore, a fair foundation, on which the following calculations may be built.

"That the above increased rent, it is evident, can only arise from increased produce, or decreased expences, but principally from the former; and it is not unreasonable to say, that the tenant ought to have, of increased produce alone, thrice the increased rent, or, in the county of Cambridge, deducting smaller sums, 438,000l. per annum.

"That to prove this is a low calculation, it is sufficient to remark, that, stating the additional produce of 319,300 acres at 438,000l. is only at the rate of about 1l. 7s. per acre, which surely cannot be called too high an estimate.

"That in order to judge what addition this would make to the national capital, the increased produce ought to be multiplied by thirty;—hence the total value, at thirty years purchase, would amount to 13,140,000l.

"That in the view of additional population, the result is equally satisfactory. According to the common calculation, 10l. at an average, is sufficient for every human being, men, women, and children included, consequently 438,000l. of additional produce would furnish subsistence to 43,800 additional inhabitants.

The general result, in regard to Cambridgeshire, is then as follows:

Number of acres to be improved,		319,000
Addition of rent, at the average of about 9s. per acre,		£ 146,262
Additional produce, at 1l. 7s. per acre,		£ 438,000
Addition to the national capital at 30 years purchase of the produce,		£ 13,140,000
Probable increase of population,		43,800 souls.

"That for the purpose of calculating the extent to which improvements may be carried in the kingdom at large, it is necessary to state, that according to the computation of the celebrated Dr. Halley, Cambridge-shire is a seventieth part of England and Wales; consequently the above results are to be multiplied by seventy, in order to ascertain the improvable value and population of the southern part of the

The united kingdom.—The result of that calculation would be as follows:

Number of acres to be improved,	22,351,000
Addition of rent, at the average of about 9s. per acre,	£10,057,950
Additional produce, at 1l. 7s. per acre,	£30,173,850
Addition to the national capital, at 30 years purchase of the produce,	£905,215,500
Probable increase of population,	3,017,385 souls.

"That of the number of acres to be improved, namely 22,351,000, one half probably consists of waste lands, and the other half of common fields and lands under defective cultivation; and that, great as would be the benefit to be derived from the improvement of the former, it was the latter from which the greatest expectations of solid advantage were to be entertained.

"That doubtless there would be some, who, unaccustomed to such calculations, or perhaps from despondency of temper, might be inclined to question them. They may probably say that one district is too small a foundation, on which to build so great a superstructure: that Cambridge-shire has an unusual proportion of wastes and common fields, and consequently cannot furnish fair data for such a calculation, &c. &c. To this it may be sufficient to answer, that in such cases, minute exactness is not to be looked for. That to be able to form some general idea of the nature and extent of public improvement, is a great step gained.

"That from every information which the board of agriculture has as yet been able to procure, there are at least twenty-two millions of acres, partly waste, and partly already in cultivation, which may be made to yield an additional produce of 1l 7s. per acre. That the above calculations are confined to South Britain; and that one-sixth more, at least, might have been added for North Britain, had there been any wish to make exaggerated estimates: and that as much of the additional produce will consist of wool, hides, and other raw materials, which will employ many hands, and the value of which will be trebled by being manufactured, it is impossible that the above statement can do justice to the additional wealth and population of the country, resulting from a general improvement of the soil; more especially, when the improvement of the live stock in the kingdom is taken into consideration, from which so much additional advantage may be expected.

"Another objection, which may be urged, is, that no deduction is made on account of the expence of these improvements. That is undoubtedly a circumstance to be attended to by those private individuals, by whom those improvements are to be made. But in a national account, that is not an object for consideration. The public pays for none of these improvements; though John employs Thomas to survey a waste, to inclose a common field, to build a new house for a farmer, or to raise new plantations, the public, so far from losing, gains by the expenditure. The money thus laid out might have lain dormant in the coffers of a banker, might have been wasted on foreign luxuries, might have been employed in manufacturing articles for foreign markets, which were never paid for; or might have been destined for

for the cultivation of distant territories, with all the risk of being taken from us by an enemy, or declaring themselves independent. How different is the result, when our money is laid out at home, and employed in a manner, in every possible point of view, so peculiarly beneficial. The improvements of our own land cannot be taken from us. They require no additional troops to defend them, nor fortresses to be reared for their protection. But if any person should incline to consider the money expended in carrying on the amelioration of our own soil, as so much national loss, let him state the expence at the sum of 4l. per acre, which is certainly sufficiently high, (for the first crops, after any field is improved, are in general so luxuriant as to repay all necessary expences) and even then, ample inducements for improving will still remain.

The expence of improving 22,351,000 acres, at 4l. per acre, would amount to,	£ 89,404,000
Interest thereof at five per cent.	£ 4,470,200

"These sums are to be deducted from 905,215,500l. of additional national capital, and 30,173,850l. of additional national income.

"That here it was impossible not to advert to the astonishing difference, between expending eighty-nine millions in improvements at home, or in foreign conquest. After the expenditure of that sum in war, it would be accounted a most fortunate means of reimbursement, if we could secure any territory, by a commercial intercourse with which, five millions per annum could be gained; whilst at the same time, it would be necessary to pay at least five millions of additional taxes. But if that money were laid out at home, or rather, if private individuals were encouraged to expend a part of their wealth and capital in the internal improvement of the country, instead of new taxes being necessary, the old ones would become lighter and more easily paid, and instead of dragging five millions per annum, at an enormous distance, and consequently with much risk and expence, thirty millions would be produced within our own domain, and always at our command. That these were truths which had been often vaguely talked of, and consequently made little impression, but which were now likely to be probed to the bottom, and established beyond a doubt.

"He should conclude with remarking, that, with such a prospect of public prosperity resulting from the labours of the board, he was persuaded every member of it would persevere with alacrity and zeal, in completing the great undertaking in which they were engaged: the effect of which would be felt and remembered, whilst any vestige of civilization, of useful industry, or of political happiness could be traced in Europe."

METHOD

Method of curing the Dry-rot in Timber, communicated in a Letter to Mr. More, from Robert Batson, Esq. of Limehouse.

[From the Twelfth Volume of the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.]

"Sir,

"THE Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, continuing to offer a premium for discovering the cause of the dry-rot in timber, and disclosing a certain method of prevention; I beg leave to lay before them an account of a method I have put in practice, and which at present appears to me to have fully succeeded.

"The dry-rot having taken place in one of my parlours in such manner as to require the pulling down part of the wainscot every third year, and perceiving that it arose from a damp stagnated air, and from the moisture of the earth, I determined, in the month of June, 1783, to build a narrow closet next the wall through which the damp came to the parlour; which had the desired effect: but, though it put a total stop to the rot in the parlour, the evil soon appeared in the closet; fungi of a yellow colour arose to a great degree, in various parts of it. In the autumn of the year 1786, the closet was locked up about ten weeks: on opening it, numerous fungi were observed about the lower part of it, and a white mould was spread by a plant resembling a vine or sea-weed, and the whole of the inside, china, &c. was covered with a fine powder of the colour of brick-dust. It being then cleaned out, I soon perceived, what, indeed, I did not expect, that the evil had impregnated the wood so far as to run through every shelf therein, and the brackets that supported them; it had also seized upon and destroyed a moveable board for breaking sugar on. I therefore, in the beginning of the year 1787, determined to strip the whole closet of lining and floor, and not leave a particle of the wood behind, and also to dig and take away about two feet of the earth in depth, and leave the walls to dry, so as to destroy the roots or seeds of the evil. When by time and the admission of air, and good brushing, it had become sufficiently dry and cleansed, I filled it, of sufficient height for my joists, with anchor-smith's ashes; knowing that no vegetable would grow in them. My joists being sawed off to their proper lengths, and fully prepared, they and the plates were well charred, and laid upon the ashes; particular directions being given that not any scantling or board might be cut or planed in the place, left any dust or shavings might drop among the ashes. My flooring boards being very dry, I caused them to be laid close, to prevent the dirt getting down, which, I thought, in a course of time, might bring on vegetation.

"The framing for lining the closet was then fixed up, having all the lower pannels let in to be fastened with buttons only, that, in case any vegetation should arise, the pannels might with ease be taken out to examine them.

"This having now been done upwards of six years, and no vegetation or damp appearing, the whole of the pannels and floor remaining in the same state as when

first put in, I shall have a satisfaction in taking a part of the floor up, if the society think proper to appoint a committee to examine the place.

"If what I have produced meets the approbation of the society, I wish it made public under their sanction, that as full a trial as possible may be made of it: and if at a proper distance of time it proves of general utility, any honorary token of the society's approbation will be received with much satisfaction by me.

"I think it may be highly necessary, in some situations, to take out a greater depth of earth; and where ashes can be had from a foundery, they are fully equal to those from anchor-smiths; but by no means depend upon house-ashes.

I am, Sir, &c.

ROBERT BATSON."

Limehouse, December 7, 1793.

"In consequence of the foregoing letter, a committee was appointed to examine and report the state of the closet, who having met on the 15th of May, 1794, and the wainscot being taken down, and the flooring boards taken up, they were all found entirely free from any appearance of the rot; and, from all the circumstances then observed, it was the opinion of the committee, that the method advised by Mr. Batson, when fully and completely put in execution, appeared to have answered every intention mentioned in his letter; and this opinion seemed the more justly founded, as two pieces of wood, (yellow fir) which had been driven into the wall as plugs, without being previously charred, were affected with the rot."

LETTERS from WILLIAM PATTENSON, of Ibornden, in Kent, communicating a DISCOVERY of a CHEAP and DURABLE COMPOSITION for preserving WEATHER-BOARDING.

[From the same Work.]

"Sir,

"I TROUBLE you with this letter on the following occasion. I have often thought something much wanted for preserving weather-boarding, &c. from the injuries of the weather; tar and oker, and other mixtures recommended for the purpose, I have tried, but do not find they answer: I therefore have made many experiments, to discover a composition better adapted to the purpose, and think I have found one which answers my expectation: it is impenetrable to water; is not injured by the action of the weather, or heat of the sun, which hardens it, and consequently increases its durability; it is much cheaper than paint, and more lasting.

"I have sent a small specimen, which has been exposed to the weather for many months; it has rather a rough appearance, but that may be easily altered in the preparation; if you think it deserving the

the society's notice, you will please to acquaint them with it; and should they suppose it an article of public use, I shall be happy in communicating to them its composition and mode of preparation.

I am, Sir, &c.

WILLIAM PATTENSON."

Thornden,
Feb. 5, 1794.

Mr. More.

"SIR,

"I RECEIVED the favour of your letter; and with great pleasure inform the society of the composition for preserving weather-boarding, &c. which is as follows:

"Three parts air-slacked lime, two of wood-ashes, and one of fine sand, or sea-coal ashes; sift these through a fine sieve, and add as much linseed oil as will bring it to a consistence for working with a painter's brush; great care must be taken to mix it perfectly. I believe grinding it as paint would be an improvement: two coats are necessary; the first rather thin, the second as thick as can conveniently be worked. I am not certain as to the length of time the samples I sent you were exposed to the weather, but suppose seven or eight months; it was exposed immediately on its being applied to the wood; and from the nature of its composition, there is no doubt but it is very durable; as it certainly will improve in hardness by time, and is much superior for the purpose to any thing I know of.

I am, Sir, &c.

WILLIAM PATTENSON."

Thornden,
March 12, 1794.

Mr. More.

Process to deprive Treacle of its disagreeable Taste, and to render it capable of being employed for many Purposes, instead of Sugar.

[Inserted in the Ninth Number of the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures.]

"THE high price of refined sugar deprives a great number of persons of a wholesome aliment, to which they have been accustomed; among the methods which have been proposed to compensate the loss of sugar, the use of purified treacle is one of the least expensive. The following is a process given by M. Cadet (Devaux) in the *Feuille du Cultivateur*, founded upon experiments made by Mr. Lowitz, of Petersburgh.

Take of treacle,	24 pounds.
—— of water,	24 pounds.
—— of charcoal, thoroughly burnt,	6 pounds.

"Bruise the charcoal grossly, mix the three substances in a caldron, and let the mixture boil gently upon a clear wood-fire; after it has boiled for half an hour, pour the liquor through a straining bag, and then replace it upon the fire, that the superfluous water may be evaporated, and that the treacle may be brought to its original consistence.

There

There is little or no loss by this operation, as twenty-four pounds of treacle give nearly the same quantity of syrup.

"This process has been repeated in the large way, and has succeeded; the treacle is sensibly ameliorated, so that it may be used for many dishes: nevertheless those with milk, and the fine or aromatic *liqueurs*, are not near so good as with sugar."

Account of the Method of curing Butter practised in the Parish of Udny, and its Neighbourhood, by James Anderson, L. L. D.

[From the Sixth Number of the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures.]

"The following mode of curing butter is practised by some in the parish of Udny, and that neighbourhood, which gives to their butter a great superiority above that of others.

"Take two parts of the best common salt, one part of sugar, and one part of saltpetre; beat them up together, and blend the whole completely. Take one ounce of this composition for every sixteen ounces of butter, work it well into the mass, and close it up for use.

"I know of no simple improvement in œconomics greater than this is, when compared with the usual mode of curing butter by means of common salt alone. I have seen the experiment fairly made, of one part of the butter made at one time being thus cured, and the other part cured with salt alone: the difference was inconceivable; I should suppose that, in any open market, the one would sell for thirty *per cent.* more than the other. The butter cured with the mixture appears of a rich marrowy consistence, and fine colour, and never acquires a brittle hardness, nor tastes salt; the other is comparatively hard and brittle, approaching more nearly to the appearance of tallow, and is much salter to the taste. I have eat butter cured with the above composition, that had been kept three years, and it was as sweet as at first; but it must be noted, that butter thus cured requires to stand three weeks or a month, before it is begun to be used. If it be sooner opened, the salts are not sufficiently blended with it; and sometimes the coolness of the nitre will then be perceived, which totally disappears afterwards.

"The pernicious practice of keeping milk in leaden vessels, and salting butter in stone jars, begins to gain ground among some of the fine ladies in this country, as well as elsewhere, from an idea of cleanliness. The fact is, it is just the reverse of cleanliness; for, in the hands of a careful person, nothing can be more cleanly than wooden dishes; but under the management of a slattern, they discover the secret, which stone dishes indeed do not.

"In return, these latter communicate to the butter, and the milk, which

which has been kept in them, a poisonous quality, which inevitably proves destructive to the human constitution. To the prevalence of this practice, I have no doubt, we must attribute the frequency of palsies, which begin to prevail so much in this kingdom; for the well known effect of the poison of lead is, bodily debility, palsy,—death!"

POETRY.

P O E T R Y.

ODE for the NEW YEAR.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, ESQ. POET-LAUREAT.

I.

NURTUR'D in ſtorms, the infant year
Comes in terrific glory forth;
Earth meets him wrapp'd in mantle drear,
And the loud tempeſt ſings his birth.
Yet 'mid the elemental ſtrife
Brood the rich germs of vernal life.
From January's iron reign,
And the dank months ſucceeding train,
The renovated glebe prepare
For genial May's ambroſial air,
For fruits that glowing Summer yields,
For laughing Autumn's golden fields;
And the ſtout ſwain, whoſe frame defies
The driving ſtorm, the hoſtile ſkies,
While his keen plowſhare turns the ſtubborn ſoil,
Knows plenty only ſprings the juſt reward of toil

II.

Then if fell War's tempeſtuous ſound
Swell far and wide with louder roar;
If, ſtern, th' avenging nations round
Threaten yon fate-devoted ſhore;
Hope points to gentler hours again,
When peace ſhall re-aſſume her reign.
Yet never o'er his timid head,
Her lauting olive ſhall be ſpread,
Whoſe breaſt inglorious wooes her charms
When Fame, when Juſtice calls to arms.
While Anarchy's infuriate brood,
Their garments dy'd with guiltleſs blood,

With Titan rage, blaſpheming, try
Their impious battle 'gainſt the ſky,
Say, ſhall Britannia's generous ſons embrace
In folds of amity the harpy race,
Or aid the ſword that coward Fury rears,
Red with the widow's blood, wet with the orphan's tears?

III.

But tho' her martial thunders fall
Vindictive o'er Oppreſſion's haughty creſt,
Awake to Pity's ſuaſive call,
She ſpreads her buckler o'er the ſuffering breaſt.—
From ſeas that roll by Gallia's ſouthmoſt ſteep,
From the rich iſles that crown th' Atlantic deep,
The plaintive ſigh, the heart-felt groan,
Are wafted to her monarch's throne;
Open to mercy, prompt to ſave,
His ready navies plow the yielding wave,
The ruthleſs arm of ſavage licenſe awe,
And guard the ſacred reign of Freedom and of Law.

ODE on converting a SWORD into a PRUNING HOOK.

[From POEMS, LYRIC and PASTORAL, by EDWARD WILLIAMS.]

Recited on Primroſe Hill, at a Meeting of ANCIENT BRITISH BARDS, Reſidents in London, Sep. 22, 1793, being the Day whereon the Autumnal Equinox occurred, and one of the four grand ſolemn Bardic Days.

Gwir, yn erbyn y Byd.
Motto of the Ancient Bards of Britain.
In Engliſh—Truth, againſt all the World.

And they ſhall beat their ſwords into plough-ſhares, and their ſpears into pruning-hooks; nation ſhall not lift up ſword againſt nation; neither ſhall they learn war any more. Iſaiah, chap. ii. ver. 4.

FELL weapon, that in ruthleſs hand
Of warrior fierce, of deſpot king,
Haſt long career'd o'er ev'ry land,
Haſt heard th' embattled clangor's ring;
Wrench'd from the graſp of lawleſs pride,
With reeking gore no longer dy'd,
I bear thee now to rural ſhades,
Where nought of hell-born war invades;
Where plum'd Ambition feels her little ſoul;

And

And hiding from the face of day
That dawns from heaven, and drives away
Those fiends that love eternal night,
She, with rude yell, blasphemes the sons of light,
That bid her deathful arm no more the world controul.

I saw the tyrant on her throne,
With wrathful eyes and venom'd breath,
Enjoy the world's unceasing groan,
And boast, unsham'd, her fields of death;
When through the skies her banners wav'd,
When, drunk with blood, her legions rav'd,
Her priest invok'd the realms above,
Dar'd at thy throne, thou God of love!
Call for the thunders of thy mighty will,
To storm around the guiltless head,
To strike a peaceful brother dead;
Whilst blasphemies employ'd his tongue,
The gorgeous temple with loud echoes rung;
I felt my shudd'ring soul with deepest horror chill.

I saw the victor's dreadful day,
He, through the world, in regal robe,
Tore to renown his gory way;
With carnage zon'd th' affrighted globe:
Whilst from huge towns involv'd in flame
The monster claim'd immortal fame,
What lamentable shrieks arose,
In all th' excess of direst woes!
Loud was the sycophant's applauding voice:
Together throng'd the sceptred band,
Hymn'd by the fiends of ev'ry land:
How mourned my soul to hear the tale
Of sad humanity's unpity'd wail!
And each imperial dome with horrid shouts rejoice!

But hear from heav'n the dread command;
It gives to speed that awful hour,
When from oppression's trembling hand
Must fall th' insulting rod of pow'r;
Long vers'd in mysteries of war,
She scyth'd her huge triumphant car;
Her lance with look infuriate hurl'd;
Bade fell destruction sweep the world;
She wing'd her Churchill's name from pole to pole:
Now, brought before th' eternal throne,
Where truth prevails, all hearts are known,
She, self-condemn'd, with horrid call,
Bids on her head the rocks and mountains fall,
To shield her from the wrath whose venging thunders roll.

Thou,

Thou ſtrength of kings, with aching breaſt,
I raiſe to thee the mournful ſtrain;
Thou ſhalt no more this earth moleſt,
Or quench in blood thy thirſt again.
Come, from rude war's infernal ſtorm,
And fill this hand in alter'd form,
To prune the peach, reform the roſe,
Where, in th' expanding boſom glows
With warmeſt ardours, ev'ry wiſh benign:
Mine is the day ſo long foretold
By heavens illumin'd bards of old,
To feel the rage of diſcord ceaſe,
To join with angels in the ſongs of peace,
That fill my kindred ſoul with energies divine.

Dark error's code no more enthrals,
Its vile infatuations end;
Aloud the trump of reaſon calls;
The nations hear; the worlds attend!
Deteſting now the craft of kings,
Man from his hand the weapon flings;
Hides it in whelming deeps afar,
And learns no more the ſkill of war;
But lives with nature on th' uncity'd plain:
Long has this earth a captive mourn'd;
But days of old are now return'd;
We pride's rude arm no longer feel;
No longer bleed beneath oppreſſion's heel;
For truth, to love and peace reſtores the world again.

The dawn is up, the lucid morn,
I carol in its golden ſkies;
The muſe, on eagle pinions borne,
Through rapture's realm prophetic flies;
The battle's rage is heard no more,
Huſh'd is the ſtorm on ev'ry ſhore;
See lambs and lions in the mead
Together play, together feed,
Crop the freſh herbage of perennial ſpring:
From eyes that bleſs the glorious day,
The ſcalding tears are wip'd away;
Raiſe high the ſong; 'tis heav'n inſpires!
In chorus joining with ſeraphic lyres,
We crown the prince of peace, he reigns th' eternal king!"

ELEGY

ELEGY on the DEATH of MISS HARRIET TAYLOR, by her FATHER JOHN TAYLOR, Esq.

I.

HOW vain the wish of long-continuing joy,
Form'd on the transient pleasures of a day!
How weak, that man should serious toil employ,
To rest his thought on clouds which fleet away!

II.

As well from hence he may attempt to rise,
On eddying winds aloft, and proudly dare
To bid the fiery meteor in the skies
Arrest its motion thro' the liquid air.

III.

Scarce hath swift Time his laughing circle drawn,
Of gay delusive years, to twenty-one,
Ere all the light-blown bubbles of our dawn
Vanish, like dew drops from the morning sun.

IV.

In manhood's course how artfully are thrown
Succeeding lures of life, from stage to stage!
More firm in prospect, but, when truly known,
Frail as the playthings of our infant age!

V.

Of human ties that bind us most to earth,
However various, 'tis by all agreed,
If sunk with sadness, or if chear'd by mirth,
In either period friendship takes the lead.

VI.

Happy their lot, whose ever-seeking minds
In this false world can gain a small supply!
Supremely so the man, who hourly finds,
At home, its radiance beam from every eye!

VII.

This my pass'd life hath prov'd, and yet may prove,
Save that my Harriet is no longer giv'n!
Her soul of friendship and her looks of love,
Fled to their source, have found a home in heav'n.

VIII.

Alas! reflection now alternate guides
The mind, enfeebled, to each diff'rent theme;
As buried joy or living hope presides,
Till balmy slumbers give this lenient dream:—

IX.

Methinks I see, with sympathetic woe,
Pale Sorrow moving from that hallow'd tomb,
In sighs as mild as summer zephyrs blow,
To breathe these accents thro' the midnight gloom:

X.

Mourner, approach! yon moon will light thy way,
O'er fun'ral hillocks in the cypress glade;
These flowing eyes shall catch her waning ray,
And shew the flow'ry turf where Harriet's laid!

XI.

Eager I haste, with dying voice to speak
This one memorial, as a truth sincere:
Her life ne'er caus'd a blush upon her cheek,
Or drew, till gone, from this fond heart a tear.

XII.

When Faith, descending on a seraph's wing,
Points out my progress to a happier shore;
There, the bright saint (she said) can welcome bring,
And hail with rapture "We shall part no more."

ODE on his MAJESTY's BIRTH-DAY.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. Poet Laureat.

I.

ROUS'D from the gloom of transient death,
Reviving Nature's charms appear:
Mild Zephyr wakes with balmy breath
The beauties of the youthful year.
The fleecy storm that froze the plain,
The winds that swept the billowy main,
The chilling blast, the icy show'r,
That oft obscur'd the vernal hour,

And

And half deform'd th' etherial grace
That bloom'd on Maia's lovely face,
Are gone—and o'er the fertile glade,
In manhood's riper form array'd,
Bright June appears, and from his bosom throws,
Blushing with hue divine, his own ambrosial rose.

II.

Yet there are climes where Winter hoar
Despotic still usurps the plains,
Where the loud surges lash the shore,
And dreary desolation reigns—
While, as the shiv'ring swain descries
The drifted mountains round him rise,
Thro' the dark mist and howling blast
Full many a longing look is cast
To northern realms, whose happier skies detain
The ling'ring car of day, and check his golden rein.

III.

Chide not his stay;—the roseate Spring
Not always flies on halcyon wing;
Not always strains of joy and love
Steal sweetly thro' the trembling grove.—
Reflecting Sol's refulgent beams,
The falchion oft terrific gleams;
And louder than the wintry tempest's roar,
The battle's thunder shakes th' affrighted shore.
Chide not his stay;—for in the scenes
Where Nature boasts her genial pride,
Where forests spread their leafy skreens,
And lucid streams the painted vales divide,
Beneath Europa's mildest clime,
In glowing Summer's verdant prime,
The frantic sons of rapine tear
The golden wreath from Ceres' hair;
And trembling industry, afraid
To turn the war-devoted glade,
Exposes wild, to Famine's haggard eyes,
Wastes where no hopes of future harvests rise,
While floating corses choke th' empurpled flood,
And every dewy sod is stain'd with civic blood.

IV.

Vanish the horrid scene, and turn the eyes
To where Britannia's chalky cliffs arise.—
What tho' beneath her rougher air
A less luxuriant soil we share;
Tho' often o'er her brightest day
Sails the thick storm, and shrouds the solar ray;

No purple vintage tho' she boast,
No olive shade her ruder coast;
Yet here immortal freedom reigns,
And law protects what labour gains;
And as her manly sons behold
The cultur'd farm, the teeming fold,
See commerce spread to every gale
From every shore her swelling sail;
Jocund they raise the choral lay
To celebrate th' auspicious day,
By Heav'n selected from the laughing year,
Sacred to patriot worth, to patriot bosoms dear.

SONNET to the BAT.

[From Mrs. RADCLIFFE'S MYSTERIES of UDOLPHO.]

FROM haunt of man, from day's obtrusive glare,
Thou shroud'st thee in the ruin's ivy'd tow'r,
Or in some shadowy glen's romantic bow'r,
Where wizard forms their mystic charms prepare,
Where Horror lurks, and ever-boding Care!
But, at the sweet and silent ev'ning hour,
When clos'd in sleep is ev'ry languid flow'r,
Thou lov'st to sport upon the twilight air:
Mocking the eye, that would thy course pursue,
In many a wanton-round, elastic, gay,
Thou flitt'st athwart the pensive wand'rer's way,
As his lone footsteps print the mountain-dew.
From Indian isles thou com'st, with summer's car,
Twilight thy love—thy guide her beaming star!

ADDRESS to the WINDS.

[From the same Work.]

VIEWLESS, through heaven's vast vault your course ye steer,
Unknown from whence ye come, or whither go!
Mysterious pow'rs! I hear ye murmur low,
Till swells your loud gust on my startled ear,
And, awful! seems to say—some God is near!
I love to list your midnight voices float
In the dread storm that o'er the ocean rolls,
And, while their charm the angry wave controuls,
Mix with its sullen roar, and sink remote.
Then, rising in the pause, a sweeter note,
The dirge of spirits, who your deeds bewail,
A sweeter note oft swells while sleeps the gale!

But

But ſoon, ye ſightleſs pow'rs! your reſt is o'er:
Solemn and ſlow, ye riſe upon the air,
Speak in the ſhrouds, and bid the ſea-boy fear—
And the faint-warbled dirge is heard no more!
Oh! then I deprecate your awful reign!
The loud lament yet bear not on your breath!
Bear not the craſh of bark far on the main,
Bear not the cry of men, who cry in vain,
The crew's dead chorus ſinking into death!
Oh! give not theſe, ye pow'rs! I aſk alone,
As wrapt I climb theſe dark romantic ſteeps,
The elemental war, the billow's moan;
I aſk the ſtill, ſweet tear, that liſt'ning fancy weeps!

ODE to WAR.

[From WHITEHOUSE'S ODES MORAL and DESCRIPTIVE.]

I.

DREAD offſpring of Tartarian birth,
Whoſe nodding creſt is ſtain'd with gore,
Whom to ſome giant ſon of earth,
Strife, in ſtrong pangs of child-bed bore;
O War! fierce monſter, homicide,
Who marcheſt on with hideous ſtride,
Shaking thy ſpear diſtilling blood,—
Bellona thee, in angry mood,
Taught proud Ambition's ſpoils to win,
Amidſt the loud, conflicting din
Of arms, where Diſcord's gorgon-featur'd form
High ſhakes her flaming torch amidſt the martial ſtorm.

II.

Stern God! wolf-hearted, and accurſed,
Foſtered by pow'r, by rapine nurſed,
Oppreſſion ever in thy train,
For hapleſs man prepares her chain:
A thouſand vulture-forms beſide
Stalk on before thee; bloated Pride,
Thick-eyed revenge, his ſoul on fire,
And Slaughter breathing threat'nings dire,
Tumult, and Rage, and Fury fell,
And Cruelty, the imp of hell,
Her heart of adamant! and arm'd her hand
With iron hooks, and cords, and deſolation's brand.

There

III.

There, where the battle loudeſt roars,
Where wide th' impurpled deluge pours,
And ghaſtly death—his thouſands ſlain—
Whirls his ſwift chariot o'er the plain,
Rapt in wild horror's frantic fit,
'Midſt the dire ſcene thou lov'ſt to ſit,
To catch ſome wretch's parting ſigh,
To mark the dimly-glazing eye,
The face into contortions thrown,
Convulſ'd: the deep, deep-lengthening groan,
The frequent ſob, the agonizing ſmart,
And nature's dread releaſe, the pang that rends the heart.

IV.

Avaunt, from Albion's iſle! nor there
Thy arms and madd'ning car prepare,
Nor bid thy crimſon banners fly,
Terrific, through the troubled ſky;
But ſtay thee in thy wild career;
Lay by thy glitt'ring ſhield and ſpear,
Thy poliſh'd caſque, and nodding creſt,
And let thy ſable ſteeds have reſt:
At length the work of ſlaughter cloſe,
And give to Europe's ſon's repoſe,
Bid the hoarſe clangors of the trumpet ceaſe,
And ſmooth thy wrinkled front to meet the ſmiles of Peace.

Anna's Complaint; or the Miseries of War;

Written in the Isle of Thanet, 1794.

By Mrs. Moody.

A Ballad.

ON Thanet's rock, beneath whoſe ſteep,
Impetuous rolls the foaming deep,
A lowly maid, to grief conſign'd,
Thus pour'd the ſorrows of her mind;

And while her ſtreaming eyes purſue
Of Gallia's cliffs the miſty view,
Accurſt (ſhe cries) that guilty ſhore,
Whence William ſhall return no more!

Thou, cruel war, what haſt thou done!
Thro' thee the mother mourns her ſon,

The orphan joins the widow's cries,
And, torn from love—the lover dies.

Ah, William! wherefore didſt thou go
To foreign lands to meet the foe?
Why, won by war's deceitful charms,
Didſt thou forſake thy Anna's arms?

Alas! full little didſt thou know,
The monſter war doth falſely ſhow:
He decks his form with pleaſing art,
And hides the daggers in his heart.

The muſic of his martial band,
The ſhining halberd in his hand;
The feather'd helmet on his head,
And coat ſo fine of flaming red—

With theſe the ſimple youth he gains,
And tempts him from his peaceful plains;
And by this pomp was William led
The dang'rous paths of war to tread.

Fair-ſounding words my love deceiv'd:
The great ones talk'd, and he believ'd,
That war would fame and treaſure bring,
That glory call'd to ſerve the king.

But wiſe men ſay, and ſure it's true,
That war is theft and murder too;
Yet had my William thought it ſo,
He had not gone to fight the foe.

How bleſt, could Anna ſee him now,
With ſhoulders bending o'er the plough,
Toiling to ſow his native fields,
And reap the harveſt virtue yields.

Then happier lot would both betide,
A bridegroom he, and I a bride.
But theſe fond hopes return no more,
For dead he lies on yonder ſhore.

O! in that battle's diſmal day,
When thou, dear youth, didſt gaſping lay,
Why was not then thy Anna there,
To bind thy wounds with ſofteſt care,

To ſearch with ſpeed the neareſt ſpring,
To thy parch'd lips the water bring,

To

To wash with tears thy bleeding face,
And sooth thee with a last embrace?

But thou, amid a savage train,
Wert mingled among heaps of slain,
Without one friend to hear thy sighs,
Or Anna's hand to close thine eyes.

Thou, cruel War, what hast thou done!
Thro' thee the mother mourns her son,
The orphan joins the widow's sighs,
And, torn from Anna—William dies.

A Free Imitation from Catullus.

[An original Communication.]

Ut flos in septis secretus nascitur hortis,
Ignotus pecori, nullo convulsus aratro,
Quem mulcent auræ, firmat sol, educat imber,
Multi illum pueri, multæ optavere puellæ;
Idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui,
Nulli illum pueri, nullæ optavere puellæ;
Sic virgo, dum intacta manet, tum cara suis: sed
Cum castum amisit polluto corpore florem,
Nec pueris jucunda manet, nec cara puellis. Catullus.

As some fair flow'r beneath a soft'ring sky,—
Sweet fav'rite object of the gard'ner's eye!—
With jealous care is strongly fenc'd around,
Secure from cattle, and the ploughshare's wound:
To lads and lasses when this flow'r is shewn,
Pleas'd they all wish the lov'ly plant their own;
Snapp'd from its stem it now neglected lies,
Fade its warm tints, and ev'ry beauty dies;
The lads and lasses, who admir'd so late,
Pass the pale flow'ret, nor regard its fate.

Thus a fair virgin whom kind heav'n approves,
Whom friendship fosters, guards, directs, and loves,—
Should some curst spoiler blast her spotless fame,—
Sinks the wan victim of remorse and shame:
No longer friends, the fair, with fondness eye;
The lads reject her, and the lasses fly. W. T.

DOMES-

DOMESTIC LITERATURE

Of the Year 1794.

IN the course of our annual labours, we have had frequent opportunities of congratulating the biblical scholar, on the very respectable talents, and the indefatigable industry which, within our own period, have been consecrated to the service of sacred literature. Among other critics, Dr. Newcome, bishop of Waterford, has been eminently distinguished. The numerous works of this prelate are equally recommended by the learning, the impartiality, and the ingenuousness which they display. It is with pleasure that we are able to place at the head of our present Catalogue, a new work of the bishop's, entitled "An Historical View of the English Biblical Translations: the Expediency of revising by Authority our present Translation; and the Means of executing such a Revision." This work is divided into five chapters. The first chapter contains a history of the English versions of the bible, from Wickliff to James I. which is chiefly an abridgment of Lewis, but more distinct and judicious than the original, and abounding in more useful information. In the second chapter we are presented with a methodical and entertaining view of "such authorities as have occurred on the subject of our authorised version; whether they consider its merit or demerit; the propriety or impropriety of recommitting it to the anvil." The third chapter consists of satisfactory answers to the ordinary objections to an improved version of the bible, which are delivered partly in his own words, and partly in the words of the authorities which he had before introduced. In the fourth chapter, the bishop brings forward his arguments to shew the expediency of an improved version; of which the principal are—the flux nature of living languages, and the vast accession to the biblical apparatus which hath been furnished since the period when the present version was executed. The last chapter contains the rules for conducting an improved version of the bible, (which were prefixed to Dr. Newcome's Version of the Minor Prophets, announced by us in our Register for the year 1785) with considerable enlargements, and additional illustrations from later critics. To the whole is added a list of various editions of the bible, and parts of the bible, in English, from 1526 to 1776. The high estimation in which our author's learning and candour are deservedly held, and the repeated applause we have bestowed on his

exertions in the cause of sacred science, render it unnecessary for us to make any farther remarks on the importance and value of this publication.

In our Register for the year 1789, we congratulated the lovers of sacred literature on the publication of "Observations upon the the Expediency of revising the present English Version of the Four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, by John Symonds, LL. D. Professor of Modern History, in the University of Cambridge." We likewise informed them of his conditional promise, to lay before them the result of his future enquiries in the same course of study. During the present year, that learned author has acquitted himself of his engagement, and fulfilled the expectation of those who were highly gratified by his former work, by publishing his "Observations on the Expediency of revising the present Version of the Epistles in the New Testament." In this work, Dr. Symonds has introduced the same sensible and perspicuous mode of arrangement, as in his former treatise; and has discovered the same marks of attention, liberality, and critical acumen. In the preface, after announcing the connexion between the two publications, our author has introduced a reply to some passages in a pamphlet, entitled "An Apology for the Liturgy and Church of England," which was noticed by us in our volume for the year 1790. The author of that pamphlet took occasion, in the course of his observations on the production of another writer, to animadvert on the labours of our professor, in a manner that was very generally considered to be unwarrantable and illiberal. Dr. Symonds's defence of himself is manly and satisfactory; and, in point of good temper, as well as argument, is a proper contrast to the attack of the Apologist.

To the list of learned men who have contributed to the elucidation of the sacred writings, we have now also to add the name of the late W. H. Roberts, D. D. provost of Eton college, whose "Corrections of various Passages in the English Version of the Old Testament, upon the Authority of Ancient Manuscripts, and Ancient Versions," have been published during the present year by his son, W. Roberts, M. A. fellow of Eton college. The merits of this work, like those of every critical publication of so multifarious a nature, will be differently appreciated by different readers: but that the author had just pretensions to learning and ingenuity, no one will dispute, who dispassionately perusses it:—and it is but justice to add, that the application of these talents, in the treatise before us, will be found serviceable to those who may hereafter comment on the scriptures.

The same observations are in a considerable degree applicable to "a Commentary on the Revelation of St. John, by Bryce Johnson, D. D. Minister of the Gospel at Holywood, in 2 Vols." This Commentary on the Revelation was originally delivered in the form of lectures, to the inhabitants of the parish in which the author resides. His object in delivering it to the public is, to call their attention to an interpretation of a difficult part of scripture, which he conceives to be more consonant with the symbolical language of the Old and New Testament prophets, and to convey a more just and complete explanation of that book, on

on fixed and rational principles, than the illustrations of any preceding writers which he had met with. How far he has been more successful than his predecessors in the explication of this mystical book, and given to the prophetic idiom that simple and rational illustration which he considers to be the "innate evidence of truth," is what we must leave to be decided by those candid and enlightened readers to whom he appeals. Dr. Johnson is not a stranger to the works of the ablest expositors of the prophetic writings; and he appears to have exercised great attention and industry, in performing the task which he had prescribed to himself.

The next work which attracts our notice is the production of a veteran in literature and criticism: it is entitled "Observations upon the Plagues inflicted upon the Egyptians, in which is shewn the Peculiarity of those Judgments, and their Correspondence with the Rites and Idolatry of that People, &c. by Jacob Bryant." This elaborate performance was drawn up by the author, with a view to do honour to the religion which he professes, and to authenticate the scriptures upon which it is founded. The contents may be divided into six parts. The first part is an introductory disquisition on the Egyptian rites and customs, and the migrations from Egypt into Greece, by which they were, at a very early period, introduced into the latter country. In the second, third, and fourth parts, Mr. Bryant is employed in explaining distinctly the nature of each of the ten plagues, and in shewing their particular adaptation to the circumstances and sentiments of the Egyptians, from their having, in every instance, a strict reference to the peculiar nature of their idolatry. The fifth part of this work contains a copious and ingenious dissertation on the divine mission of Moses, in which the author takes very different ground from that occupied by bishop Warburton, as it is his object to shew "that the great lawgiver and leader of the Israelites, in numberless instances, acted contrary to common prudence: and that the means used seemed inadequate, and oftentimes opposite, to the end proposed. Hence the great events, which ensued, were brought about, not only without any apparent probability, but even possibility, of their succeeding by human means." The sixth part consists of geographical disquisitions relative to the place of residence given to the children of Israel in Egypt, and the route which they took on their journey towards the promised land. From the perusal of this truly valuable and ingenious work, which interests and gratifies curosity at the same time that it presents us with rich stores of solid and useful erudition, every biblical scholar, and friend to revelation, will receive much pleasure and improvement.

The cause of Divine Revelation is also greatly indebted to Mr. Archdeacon Paley, for his "View of the Evidences of Christianity, in 3 Parts. Part I. Of the Direct Historical Evidences of Christianity, and wherein it is distinguished from the Evidence alleged for other Miracles. Part II. Of the Auxiliary Evidences of Christianity. Part III. A brief Consideration of some popular Objections. In 3 Vols." These volumes contain a most judicious popular view of the arguments in favour of the christian religion, drawn up with the same candour,

candour, perspicuity, and felicity of reasoning, as distinguished his admirable treatise, entitled "Horæ Paulinæ," of which we gave an account in our Register for the year 1790. To such evidence as has been repeatedly adduced by the ablest advocates for our holy religion, and especially by the admirable Lardner, Mr. Paley has given an interesting and pleasing air of originality; while his penetration and ingenuity have enabled him to bring forward new auxiliaries in support of the cause for which he contends. It would give us pleasure to lay before our readers an analysis of the contents of this valuable performance: but the narrowest space into which we could compress them would occupy more than we can devote to any single publication. There is one circumstance, however, highly recommendatory of our author's work, which we must not overlook, and that is, the unexceptionable plan on which it is drawn up, so as not to interfere with the opinions or prejudices of any sect of christians. "It has been my care," says he, "in the preceding work, to preserve the separation between evidences and doctrines as inviolable as I could, to remove from the primary question all considerations which have been unnecessarily joined with it; and to offer a defence of Christianity, which every Christian might read, without seeing the tenets in which he has been brought up attacked or decried: and it always afforded a satisfaction to my mind to observe that this was practicable; that few, or none, of our many controversies with one another, affect or relate to the proofs of our religion; and that the rent never descends to the foundation."

The anonymous author of "An Essay on the Necessity of Revealed Religion," instead of entering into a particular view of the positive evidence in favour of the truth of Christianity, insists principally on the arguments for the necessity of such a scheme, drawn from the religious and moral state of the ancient world. And notwithstanding that his little treatise has no great pretensions to novelty, either in the design, or in the facts which are adduced, it deserves to be recommended as an elegant introduction to the evidence for Divine Revelation. When the author incidentally adverts to theological topics, he appears to be of the creed of our established church: when he obtrudes in a note his political faith, which has no connexion with the subject of his pamphlet, and which, without any injury to it, might have been wholly omitted, he does not appear to be of the number of English whigs.

"The Age of Reason, being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology, by Thomas Paine," is a bold and undisguised attack upon Revelation, and especially upon Christianity, drawn up in that blunt and popular manner, which has given such celebrity to the author's political writings. It abounds in forcible but unsupported assertions, which, by the ignorant and half thinking, may be mistaken for arguments: but they must be persons of such descriptions only, who, after attentively perusing his work, can give Mr. Paine any credit for a tolerable acquaintance with history, or for that share of erudition and critical skill which were necessary to qualify him for such a discussion. To the greater part of what he says in defence of natural religion, there are few if any christians who will object. And we think

think it calculated to have good effects on those uninstructed men, who have been seduced into infidelity, and who are in danger of becoming indifferent to all religion and moral obligation. His strictures on the evidence of revelation are pert and flimsy, and such as, in a variety of shapes, have been frequently detailed, and as frequently answered. In the objections which Mr. Paine urges to the opinions disseminated throughout the Old and New Testaments, we cannot vindicate him from the charge of gross disingenuousness. For, instead of those tenets which by the common consent of all sects and parties are to be found in the sacred writings, he chuses to receive, as their genuine and unquestionable contents, the glosses and comments of individuals, which other firm believers disavow, and which they maintain to be errors and corruptions. His work, however, has been serviceable to the cause of Revelation, in provoking discussion: and from the most liberal and unrestrained discussion, nothing can arise that will excite alarms in the mind of the consistent friend to truth.

Among the different treatises to which the last mentioned publication gave rise, our first attention is due to "An Examination of the Age of Reason, &c. by Gilbert Wakefield, B. A." This ingenious author, after expressing in handsome terms his respect for the intellectual abilities of Mr. Paine, agrees with him in the first articles of his creed; and condemns, in animated and pointed language, national institutions of religion. He afterwards, in the most frank and liberal manner, makes numerous concessions with respect to the difficulties connected with scripture history, and the peculiar system of doctrines attacked by his antagonist: concessions, for which he will be condemned by the more orthodox believer, but which he may make in perfect consistency with the most ardent attachment to the interests of Christianity, and which the Unitarian Christians will contend are necessary to vindicate the reasonableness of their faith. After dismissing the points on which he is ready to join issue with Mr. Paine, our author enters into a particular examination of his objections to the Jewish and Christian systems, and the authenticity of the scriptures. In this part of his work, Mr. Wakefield employs the most clear and forcible reasoning in defence of Revelation, and exposes, with no little spirit, and with occasional pleasantry, the weakness and ignorance of Mr. Paine on the subjects in dispute. This treatise, together with our author's publication on the Evidences of Christianity, of which an enlarged edition was published during the last year, we recommend to those who wish for a concise view of the most important arguments which are adduced, by men of literature and liberal enquiry, in favour of divine revelation.

"The Age of Infidelity, in Answer to Thomas Paine's Age of Reason, by a Layman," is a defence of revelation conducted on very different ground from that occupied by the last mentioned writer; at least as far as theological opinions are introduced into the controversy. For the doctrines and mysteries which are maintained in the creeds and confessions of our established churches, he considers to be the best parts of religion, and will not consent to relinquish them to secure the rest. This answer is

divided into two parts. In the former, the author exhibits a sketch of the evidences of Christianity, drawn up in a pleasing and popular manner. In the latter, he offers a review of Mr. Paine's objections to Christianity, which he includes under different heads, and answers with much ingenuity, and often with complete success. That, however, the whole ground which he has chosen is tenable, is a point which will be denied by those who differ from our layman on doctrinal topics; who will contend, that, by endeavouring to prove too much, he has not followed the most judicious method of defending the common cause against the hostile attempts of unbelievers.

The same observations will apply, in general, to the treatise entitled, "Christianity the only true Theology, &c. by a Churchman." After some preliminary observations, in which the author injudiciously believes the contempt in which he holds his antagonist, we are presented with the objections of Mr. Paine, and answers to them, in a regular series, as they affect the authenticity and genuineness of the books of scripture, the testimony of the apostles as historians of facts, and the importance of revelation. What the author advances on the sufficiency of prophecy and miracles as evidences of revelation, constitutes the most valuable part of his performance. On the whole, it is sensible and well written, and will be particularly acceptable to those who maintain the orthodox creed.

A few days ago, his informed adversary has published a sketch of the [illegible] in a short reply to [illegible] entitled, "[illegible] Deism, &c." which in the character of a French layman. The fluency and eloquence which this author displays, and which are by no means contemptible, appear to much greater advantage than his argumentative powers, or his acquaintance with the subjects which his zeal has induced him to discuss. His theology, as far as it respects the person of Christ, is that of the Arian school.

"Deism disarmed, or a short Answer to Paine's Age of Reason, on Principles self-evident, but seldom produced," is another injudicious attempt to stop the progress of infidelity. Renouncing any design to prove the reasonableness and importance of revelation, or to explode the objections of ignorance and disingenuity, our author thinks that the most powerful way of defending truth is to use the *argumentum ad hominem*: not to endeavour to establish Christianity, by which we presume he means the authenticity of Christianity, but to silence its enemies, by shewing that the mysteries, which, he contends, constitute its essence, are less mysterious than those which the Deist must admit to exist in nature, or have recourse to palpable absurdity. We do not conceive the mode which he recommends to be calculated to thin the ranks of Deism.

"Dogmatism exposed, and Sophistry detected, &c. by [illegible] M'Neille, A. M." is the work of an author who expresses his dissatisfaction with the different answers to Paine which he has met with, on account either of their weakness and inefficiency as argumentative productions, or of their proceeding on principles which he considers to be little better than Deism. We do not think it improbable that succeeding w[illegible]

may class our author among the weak supporters of a good cause: for his treatise consists of an imperfect and not very luminous summary of the positive evidences of Christianity, and a variety of unconnected, and, frequently, superficial remarks on the obvious errors, and gross blunders of Mr. Paine.

"Paine's Age of Reason measured by the Standard of Truth, &c. by Michael Nash," is the offspring of one of those illuminated minds, whose ideas, and language, common sense and profane criticism may not understand or approve, but which will, nevertheless, meet with acceptance among certain sects of religionists. With Mr. Wakefield's and the Layman's Answers to the Age of Reason, Mr. Nash is highly displeased, as the authors have presumed to make their appeal to human testimony, and wickedly to avail themselves of the assistance of logical deduction. The witness to which he appeals is the inward witness of the spirit; under whose inspiration he is confident of effectually "stopping the way against Deists, Arians, Socinians, Arminians, and hypocrites, whose words, in carnal minds, do eat as doth a canker."

"Reason and Revelation, &c. by Thomas Bentley," is another answer to the Age of Reason, in which the reader will look in vain for acute investigation, and a series of regular connected arguments. In assertion, indeed, the author is liberal: and of credulity, he will, by many, be thought to possess no small portion, when he is found declaring his belief, that the wisdom of a Socrates, an Alfred, a Wickliff, a Luther, and a Locke, was obtained by means of immediate communications with heaven; and that he himself has had experience of such communications, in dreams and in visions, as have, likewise, several of his acquaintance.

"The Spirit of Christianity, compared with the Spirit of the Times, in Great Britain, by Gilbert Wakefield, B. A." is a bold and manly protest against the incongruity of their conduct, in public or in private stations, who profess themselves the followers of the Prince of Peace, and yet are advocates for war and oppression; and who, in their political transactions, are totally regardless of the obligations of Christian morality. His language is frequently severe and indignant; but not more so than the circumstances on which he animadverts will fully justify. On churchmen and dissenters, on ministry and opposition, he passes his censures with equal freedom and impartiality; and offers seasonable advice, by which all parties, if they will but listen to it, may profit.

The "Letter to Gilbert Wakefield, B. A. on his Spirit of Christianity, compared with the Spirit of the Times, in Great Britain, by David Andrews," is a contemptible and scurrilous attack upon revelation, which the most puny champion may easily repel, and with which the sober deist must be disgusted. A Hume, or a Rousseau, would have been ashamed of hailing that man as their associate in the contest against revealed religion, who should have attempted, like David Andrew, if such a man there be, to fix on the character of the benevolent Jesus, the reproach of injustice and malignity.

"The True Churchman; being a general, free, and dispassionate Enquiry into the Propriety of

Written Worship, peculiarly respecting the Book of Common Prayer, Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England," does not appear, from the language and temper in which it is written, to be the production of one who wishes to introduce a reform into the liturgy and service of our established church. If such had been his view, the body of his work would have corresponded with the title, and been dispassionate, serious, and decent, while it manifested freedom in pointing out imperfections. For the form which it now wears, it is neither indebted to learning, liberality, nor candour.

In our last year's Register, we announced the publication of Dr. Priestley's "Letters to a young Man, Part II." in which the doctor undertook to establish the authenticity of some of the books of scripture, which Mr. Evanson, in his "Dissonance of the Evangelists," published in the year 1792, was desirous of excluding from the sacred canon, and to answer the objections of that gentleman. We there, likewise, intimated our expectation, that Mr. Evanson would not suffer the controversy to drop with that answer, but would speedily present the public with a rejoinder to the doctor's reply. This expectation he has fulfilled in "A Letter to Dr. Priestley's young Man;" in which he pursues his former arguments with additional force and dexterity, and enters into greater minuteness of discussion on the topics in debate. His objections to an historical relation of miracles as a satisfactory ground of belief, unless when introduced or accompanied by predictions, he still maintains with much ingenuity, and rests his faith in Christianity solely on the truth of prophecy. But the levity which occasionally appears in this part of his work, when he treats of the accounts of the miraculous facts recorded in the scriptures, is surely unsuitable to the subject. His reasons for rejecting the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, and several of the epistles, he pronounces to be unshaken by the authorities which the doctor adduces, or the meritorious labours of Mr. Paley, of whose Horæ Paulinæ he speaks in terms of great respect. We cannot think, however, that he carries on the controversy with Dr. Priestly with that urbanity which is due to his character and reputation, or that he is justified in the high tone of triumph which he universally assumes. Some trifling inaccuracies in his opponent's arguments and criticisms, he may have discovered; but these do not materially affect the main points which are contested. We hope that the questions which our author has introduced into the theological *arena*, will still employ the pens of learned and candid polemics, as we are persuaded that such discussions will tend to establish the evidence of divine revelation, and to remove the doubts and distrust which sceptics are so desirous of propagating.

With the value of Dr. Doddridge's "Course of Lectures on the principal Subjects in Pneumatology, Ethics, and Divinity, with References to the most considerable Authors on each Subject," there are few modern divines who are entirely unacquainted. And notwithstanding that some objections may be urged against the author's plan, particularly against the mathematical form of reasoning which he

he applies to moral and theological topics, it must nevertheless be allowed to be the most useful work which has been published, for the student who wishes to have a concise and methodical view of the arguments on any subject within its prescribed limits, and to be directed to the writers who have treated on the several matters in question. Since the time, however, when these lectures formerly appeared, the most important subjects in theology and ethics have undergone new discussion, by men of uncommon learning and abilities, both in the establishment and among the dissenters. This circumstance has rendered an improved edition of these lectures highly desirable. During the present year, Dr. Kippis, who was a pupil of Dr. Doddridge, and whose studies have led him to attend to the progress of literature in general, and particularly to the history of religious controversies for the last fifty years, has performed a meritorious service to the public, by presenting them with such an edition, in 2 vols. 8vo; in which his own industry, learning, and candour are conspicuously displayed. He has inserted references to above a thousand different publications which have appeared since Dr. Doddridge's decease, or which were omitted in former editions; introduced several judicious amendments of former references; and enriched the whole by several notes of reference, which are partly his own, and partly selected from the manuscripts of different gentlemen who have gone through this course as tutors. One thing Dr. Kippis wishes particularly to be remembered, that it is no part of his design to give general illustrations of the subjects treated upon, or either to confirm or to gainsay the opinions of Dr. Doddridge. "This," he observes, "would have been the creation of a new work. It is the business of individual tutors to enlarge upon the lectures in that way which accords with their own sentiments. My sole aim is to mention, with freedom and impartiality, the writers on all sides of the different questions which are the objects of discussion, that hereby the mind of the student may be duly enlarged, and that he may be able, with the greater advantage, to prosecute his searches after truth." After the ample account which we have introduced, it would be superfluous to dwell on the importance of this publication.

During the present year, likewise, Mr. Archdeacon Travis has published a new and enlarged edition of his "Letters to Edmund Gibbon, esq." in which he has given the result of his additional enquiries into the authenticity of 1. John, v. 7. That Mr. Travis has exerted much industry in revising his authorities, and in repelling objections; that he has brought forward much new matter in support of his former opinions; and that he has improved his work by softening the acrimonious and illiberal language in which he formerly spake of the assailants of the controverted passage, is what every dispassionate reader must allow, and redounds much to his credit. But, "that the verse in question seems, beyond all degree of serious doubt, to have stood in the epistle when it originally proceeded from the pen of St. John," is a conclusion which the critics who attacked his former arguments will pronounce, even now, after the archdeacon's multiplied labours, to be illegitimate.

Of Mr. Porson's Letters, which were noticed by us in our Register for the year 1790, and which we still conceive to be decisive of the question, even if it had been left undetermined by Emlyn and Wetstein, not the least notice is taken in this edition.

The "Letter from the Rev. Alexander Geddes, LL.D. to the Right Rev. John Douglass, Bishop of Centuria, and Vicar Apostolic in the London District," contains an able and satisfactory defence of the author, for the freedom with which he has dared to pursue his religious enquiries, without measuring his opinions by the contracted dogmas of his ecclesiastical superiors, and for his boldness in publishing a new version of the Bible, without meanly suing for their approbation and *Imprimatur*. These proofs of his independency of spirit, it appears, have drawn down on his head the vengeance of Dr. Douglass, and two other of the four vicars apostolic in this country; who have pronounced his opinions to be false, heretical, and erroneous; issued to their flocks a solemn prohibition of his translation; and declared him suspended from the exercise of his clerical functions. Against these arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings, Dr. Geddes protests, with the spirit of a Briton, and the freedom of a primitive Christian; and, by solid arguments, not unmixed with a happy vein of irony, exposes the impropriety of their conduct on the ground of reason, as well as on received principles of ecclesiastical discipline. Scarcely emancipated from the severest of the penal laws which lately oppressed the Catholics in this country, it might have been hoped that the bishops of that communion would have shewn themselves worthy of the liberality exercised towards them by the legislature, by discarding that bigotry and intolerance, which in the darker ages exposed them to merited opprobrium and detestation. And we do not doubt, but that the exertions of our author, and of others of equally enlightened minds in the same church, will in time produce so desirable a change. But it should seem that the present race of vicars apostolic must be numbered with their fathers, before ignorance, superstition, prejudice, and the unjust love of power, shall no longer disgrace the Catholic superiors in England.

The Treatise, entitled "Θιαθήκος της Καινης Διαθήκης, or an Appeal to the New Testament, in Proof of the Divinity of the Son of God, by Charles Hawtrey, M. A." contains a selection of the texts which are usually adduced on the Trinitarian side of the controversy, with the explanations commonly given by orthodox divines. We do not perceive, however, that the author has pointed out any more certain or compendious method of terminating the contest respecting the person of Christ, than the numerous class of writers who have of late years preceded him in support of the commonly received opinion. On his zeal and good intentions to establish beyond contradiction, what appears to him to be the true Christian faith, we heartily bestow our applause, especially as his sole appeal is to the language of the sacred scriptures: of his success we augur more than doubtfully.

The next publication which calls for our notice is "The universal Restoration of Mankind, examined and proved to be a Doctrine inconsistent with itself, contrary to the Scrip-

Scriptures, and subversive of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; in Answer to Dr. Chauncy, of New England, and Mr. Winchester's Dialogues; by John Marsom, in 2 vols." In this publication, Mr. Marsom examines, very fully, the passages of scripture to which Dr. Chauncy and Mr. Winchester appeal in support of their opinion, and maintains, with great acuteness and ingenuity, that the interpretations for which they contend are distorted and unnatural. The doctrine which he insists on, as the true scripture doctrine, is that of the complete destruction of the impenitently wicked; in defence of which he argues with considerable ability, in perspicuous and unaffected language. In his preface, Mr. Marsom, with becoming indignation, exposes the dishonest arts which appear to have been practised by some enthusiastic advocates for the doctrine of universal restoration, in order to gain converts to it from among the credulous and superstitious.

The Treatise, entitled, "Advocates for Devils refuted, and their Hopes of the Damned demolished, &c. by William Huntingdon," contains the attack of a pulpit buffoon on the doctrine of universal restoration; in which they who submit to the drudgery of reading it will meet with little argument, but with an abundant quantity of vulgar abuse, and spiritual ribaldry.

"The Signs of the Times; or, the Overthrow of Papal Tyranny in France the Prelude of Destruction to Popery and Despotism, by J. Bicheno, Parts I. and II." chiefly consist of a comment on different parts of the book of Revelation, which, the author conceives, clearly predict the events which have taken place among our neighbours, the preparatory circumstances which preceded them in regular order of time, and the approaching final destruction of Antichristianism and civil oppression. Whatever may be thought of the author's success in the application of the prophecies of this obscure book, he certainly discovers great ingenuity, and a commendable attention in studying the symbolical language of his original. The reflections, likewise, with which he concludes his work, on the predominant motives to the present crusade against a people struggling for liberty, and the unaffected fervour which breathes in his exhortations to a speedy political and moral reformation, are honourable testimonies to his seriousness and liberality.

The "Outline of a Commentary on Revelations, xi. 1—14," is the production of a writer, who adopts Mr. Evanson's mode of calculating the forty-two months for the duration of the fatal apostacy from the pure religion of Jesus, which is advanced in that author's letter to bishop Hurd, and his opinion, that the wild beast, described in the Apocalypse as having seven heads and ten horns, means the civil power, as far as it is connected with the ecclesiastical, of the Western division of the Roman empire in Europe. On these grounds he undertakes to explain that part of the book of Revelation mentioned in the title-page; and endeavours to shew, that the prophecy which it contains has been clearly accomplished in the French revolution. Whether his readers concur with him in opinion, or not, they must allow him to be a sensible and ingenious writer, and to deserve commendation for the anxiety which he professes, "to add even one

grain of evidence in favour of our most holy religion." He is likewise to be praised, for the ingenuous diffidence and modesty with which he offers the result of his reflections, "merely as a foul copy, to be blotted and interlined by the corrections of any learned and judicious friend to revelation," and intreats the animadversions and hints of any liberal-minded critic.

The treatise called "A Revealed Knowledge of some Things that will speedily be fulfilled in the World, communicated to a Number of Christians, brought together at Avignon, by the Power of the Spirit of God, from all Nations; now published by his Divine Command, for the Good of all Men, by John Wright, his Servant, and one of the Brethren," our readers will perceive by the title, to be of that species of compositions, in which are detailed the dreams and ravings of enthusiasm. John Wright announces the close of the spiritual dispensation of Swedenborg, and the appearance of a new prophet, in the person of Richard Brothers, of whom the baron was the forerunner, as John the Baptist was of Christ.

Since the appearance of the above-mentioned publication, the prophet himself has opened his commission in "A Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times, Book the First, wrote under the Direction of the Lord God, and published by his sacred Command, it being the First Sign of Warning for the Benefit of all Nations, containing, with other great and remarkable Things, not revealed to any other Person on Earth, the Restoration of the Hebrews to Jerusalem, by the Year 1798, under their revealed Prince and Prophet." He has likewise published "a Revealed Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times, particularly of the present Times, the present War, and the Prophecies now fulfilling; the Year of the World 5915; Book II. containing, with other great and remarkable Things, not revealed to any other Person on Earth, the sudden and perpetual Fall of the Turkish, German, and Russian Empires, &c." which he entitles "a Second Sign of Warning for the Benefit of all Nations, by the Man that will be revealed to the Hebrews as their Prince and Prophet." Those of our readers who wish to know more of the contents of these publications than is expressed in their title-pages, we must refer to the works themselves; remarking only, that as they discover more striking proofs of the wanderings of a disordered imagination, than we remember to have met with in any of the writings of the Swedish prophet, they will probably secure to Mr. Brothers that preeminence to which John Wright contends he is entitled.

The "Plain and Practical Lectures on each Chapter of the Gospels, partly selected from Authors, but chiefly Original, delivered to the Children of a Sunday School &c. by a Country Clergyman," compose an useful little treatise, judiciously adapted to the capacities of young and uninstructed minds, and calculated to impress them with sentiments of piety and devotion.

"The History of the Life and Death of our Blessed Saviour, by Mrs. Catharine D'Oyly," may, with propriety, be entitled plain and practical lectures on the narrative parts of scripture which relate to the life of Christ, particularly the Gospel of St. John; in which the sentiments and comments have been chiefly selected from the voluminous

nous performances of learned and orthodox divines: the whole regularly arranged in twenty five chapters, and cloathed in neat and perspicuous language.

"The Libertine led to Reflection by calm Expostulation, a Method recommended in a Farewel Address to his younger Brethren, by an old Parochial Clergyman," is a publication which does credit both to the abilities and the heart of the author. The advice which he gives is evidently the result of experience, and an intimate acquaintance with human nature. It appears to have been dictated by an ardent zeal for the interests of religion; and it breathes, throughout, that catholic liberal spirit, which entitles the author not only to the attention of those to whom it is addressed, but of the persons for whose benefit it was written.

The "Devotional Offices for Public Worship, collected from various Services in use among Protestant Dissenters; to which are added two Services, chiefly selected from the Book of Common Prayer," consists of ten different services, beside occasional prayers, and services for baptism, the communion, and the burial of the dead. They are drawn up with judgment, and in that simple and perspicuous style which is best adapted to acts of worship, or to impress devotional sentiments. And, what must strongly recommend them to the liberal and unprejudiced, they are formed on those principles of religion which are common to all sects of Christians, and contain no expressions that can be offensive to persons of any theological system. Of the different liturgic compilations which have been published by Dissenters, we have no recollection of any one which possesses superior merits to that before us.

Among the collections of sermons which were published during the year 1794, the first which we have to announce are, the posthumous "Discourses on several Subjects and Occasions, by George Horne D. D. late Bishop of Norwich, and President of Magdalen College, Oxford, volumes III. and IV." These discourses are twenty-three in number; and appear, for the most part, to have been delivered before the university of Oxford, or in the metropolitan church of Canterbury, of which the author was dean, previous to his exaltation to the mitre. The public is too well acquainted with the style and manner of Dr. Horne, and the cast of sentiment, theological and political, which pervaded his pulpit compositions, to be informed of them in this place. On former occasions, we have expressed our opinion of his talents as a pulpit orator; and have been liberal in our applause of his excellence in that line, which deservedly procured him numerous admirers, while we have, with freedom, pointed out what we conceived to be his blemishes. To those who concur with our author in opinion, these volumes will be highly acceptable; while it would be fastidious not to to say, that, making allowances for his peculiarities, readers of very opposite sentiments to those of the worthy prelate, may receive much pleasure and improvement from the perusal of them.

The next work, which calls for insertion in our catalogue, is the fourth volume of "Sermons, by Hugh Blair, D. D. F. R. S. Edin. Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the University of Edinburgh."

burgh." Of these sermons, which are twenty in number, it is sufficient that we simply announce the publication, and state that they treat on important and useful subjects. To enter into their character, would be to repeat the commendations bestowed by us on the author's former volumes, as they successively made their appearance, and in which we only concurred with general opinion. We congratulate the public, on the valuable addition which this volume makes to their sources of Christian edification and virtuous improvement.

It is with pleasure that, in our next article, we are able to announce another excellent work, in which there is displayed a happy union of those talents which peculiarly qualify the author for the office of a preacher of religion. The work to which we refer is the second volume of "Sermons on several Subjects, by the Right Rev. Beilby Porteus D. D. Bishop of London." Of the merits of our right reverend author, as an eloquent, impressive, and useful preacher, we delivered our opinion so fully in the account which we gave of his first volume of sermons, in our Register for the year 1783, that we must refer our readers to the literary history of that year, for the general character of the work before us. We must be frank enough, at the same time, to express our wish that his lordship had substituted, in the room of the polemical discourses, and those published on particular occasions, which are admitted into this volume, others from among the number of his admirable compositions on practical topics. This wish is prompted by the conviction that such an alteration would have rendered them more extensively useful, and, therefore, better accorded with the principal object of the excellent author. For we are persuaded, that his view in publishing them was the instruction and improvement of his readers, rather than to exhibit a display of his skill in controversial theology, or his attachment to any particular opinions about which good men may differ.

The "Discourses on the Evidences of Revealed Religion, by Joseph Priestley LL. D. F. R. S. &c." are a valuable legacy, which the author hath left to his countrymen, on being obliged, from motives of prudence and a regard to his personal safety, to submit to a voluntary exile from his native land. He had formerly written several treatises on the subject of this volume, which might seem to render this publication unnecessary. The present times, however, he conceives, will justify him in taking ground considerably different from any that he has been upon before; especially, as the number of those persons is continually increasing, who affect to make their appeal to reason, but hastily, and without examination, reject all evidence of supernatural revelation; and, as the complete overthrow of the civil establishment of Christianity in a neighbouring country makes it necessary for the friends of religion to shew, "that they are not chargeable with a blind implicit faith; that their faith is the offspring of reason; and that the evidence of the facts on which it is built, is the same with that of any other facts of ancient date: so that we must abandon all faith in history, and all human testimony, before we can disbelieve them." What he endeavours particularly to illustrate in this volume is, the evidence

evidence arising from the miracles that have been wrought in favour of the divine mission of Moses and of Christ. This design he pursues through ten different discourses: to which he has added a sermon on the resurrection of Jesus; a view of revealed religion; and an appendix, containing the prefaces to these two discourses, and a correspondence which took place between him and Mr. Gibbon. Whatever ideas his Christian readers may entertain of the particular opinions for which Dr. Priestley hath been a zealous advocate, if they can for a moment banish all prejudices, and make allowance for the differences which ever will prevail respecting speculative topics, they must acknowledge, that he appears, in this publication, in the character of an able and dextrous champion in the common cause. And the candid unbeliever will allow, that his open, manly reasonings, in which he disdains having recourse to the little arts of subterfuge and disguise, and makes his appeal to the standard by which he himself professes to be guided, are deserving of serious attention. The language of these discourses is familiar and perspicuous.

The "Short Enquiry into Revealed Religion, in its Origin, its Progress, and its final Establishment in Christianity, digested into five Sermons, preached at Bath, in the Years 1792—3, by the Rev. William Leigh, LL. B." is a practical and useful little treatise, drawn up with neatness and conciseness, and well calculated to conciliate their atte tion to the great objects of religion and virtue, "who neither read much nor long." The sentiments which the author maintains, but without entering into polemical discussions, are those of our established church; for the use of whose members he has particularly adapted them to the subjects usually enlarged upon on fasts and festivals.

"The Expediency, Prediction, and Accomplishment of the Christian Redemption illustrated, in eight Sermons, preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1794, at the Lecture, founded by the late Rev. John Bampton, M. A. by Thomas Wintle, B. D." is a work distinguished by much learned investigation, profound argument, and critical skill. The doctrine which Mr. Wintle supports, as the grand doctrine of Christianity, is that of the recovery of human nature from sin and death, by the merits and atonement of Christ. In the first sermon, he treats of the inability of human nature to discover a mode of deliverance from the fatal consequences of sin, the death of the body, and the final destruction both of soul and body, in the second death. In the second, third, and fourth sermons, he examines the intimations of a deliverer, in the early ages of the world, which were given to the Hebrew patriarchs, and to others not belonging to the family of Israel, and the express predictions of the Messiah, by the Old Testament prophets. The fifth sermon is employed in repelling the objections which have been drawn from the long delay of the Christian revelation. In the sixth sermon, Mr. Wintle undertakes to prove that the death of Christ was an expiatory sacrifice. In the seventh, he makes a practical application of the doctrine for which he had been contending; and, in the eighth, expatiates on the beneficial effects of the intercession of Christ. The able and ingenious defence of the orthodox doctrine, which

which this volume contains, does great credit to the author's talents as a scholar and logician, while the liberality and candour which it discovers, reflect equal honour on him as a gentleman, and as a Christian.

The volume of "Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, by James Fawcett, B. D. Lady Margaret's Preacher," consists of five argumentative discourses on the evidences of Christianity, and of nine others, chiefly on practical subjects. In his argumentative discourses, Mr. Fawcett has exhibited, with great judgment and perspicuity, a general view of the arguments in favour of Christianity, under the following titles: the Connexion between the Internal Evidence of Religion, and its External Proofs; the Jewish Dispensation preparatory to the Christian; the Evidence in Favour of Christianity derived from the prophecies delivered by Jesus Christ; the Evidences of Christianity sufficient; and the Effects of Christianity beneficial. This compendium of the evidences of our religion might, we think, be published with advantage in a separate form, and be properly recommended to young men beginning their academic studies, as an introduction to the large and comprehensive mass which will demand attention in the progress of their enquiries. The remaining sermons in the volume, inculcate a variety of just and weighty sentiments, on religious and moral topics, in correct, elegant, and energetic language.

The "Sermons on some of the principal Doctrines of the Christian Religion, with Practical Inferences and Improvements, by Edward Stillingfleet, M. A." are chiefly employed in familiar and popular illustrations of the tenets commonly held by orthodox believers to be the peculiar doctrines of Christianity. We must not, however, in justice to the author, omit remarking, that, while he zealously inculcates what appear to him to be the essential doctrinal parts of religion, he does not neglect strongly to enforce the obligations to Christian obedience. The language of these sermons is simple and unaffected.

The two volumes of "Sermons, by the Rev. Thomas Harwood, Master of Litchfield School," as the author informs us, "were delivered to a country congregation, to assist the understanding by illustrating the sublime truths of divinity, and to mend the heart by enforcing the practical duties of piety and morality." In his theology, Mr. Harwood appears to be true to the articles which he has subscribed, although he does not engage in any particular defence of their doctrines. In his endeavours to enforce a regard to religious and moral duties, he has given evidence that he possesses learning and abilities, and that he is not a stranger to those arts of persuasion which become the dignity of the Christian pulpit. Yet we cannot say that his discourses are judiciously adapted to the comprehension and edification of a country audience. The classical allusions, which occur in them, must be unintelligible to hearers of that description, as well as the turgid and obscure modes of expression which the author too frequently uses, and which sometimes render it no easy task for an attentive reader to decipher his meaning. By a careful correction of their faults, Mr. Harwood's volumes may be rendered valuable closet companions to the serious and well disposed: and they are certainly

tainly worth the labour of correction.

The two volumes of "Sermons on Useful and Important Subjects, by the late Rev. John Cosens, D. D. Minister of Teddington," do not appear to have been designed by the author for publication. The subjects of them are chiefly practical; and the language in which they are written is plain, animated, and impressive. If they do not abound in much originality, or nice critical discussions, they contain, nevertheless, important and good advice on subjects that come home to men's business and bosoms, delivered, at the same time, with that honest zeal for the interests of religion, and the true happiness of mankind, which must have rendered the author a popular, as well as useful preacher.

The "Discourses preached before the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, by Robert Nares, A.M." which are twenty in number, are written in correct and easy language, such as was proper to be addressed to the intelligent audience before whom they were delivered. The subjects on which they treat are miscellaneous; partly practical, and partly polemical. Mr. Nares' practical discourses deserve to be ranked above the common class of pulpit compositions. In addition to the calm and dispassionate reasonings of an able logician, on some of the most important topics in religion and morals, they discover, throughout, that spirit of genuine seriousness, and Christian piety, which could not fail to engage the attention of his hearers, and to excite good emotions in their minds. In his polemical discourses we do not think that our author appears to equal advantage; or that he has given any new elucidations of the texts which it has been usual to quote in support of the commonly received opinions.

The "Six Sermons preached before the Right Hon. Paul le Mesurier, Lord Mayor of the City of London, by Geo. Stepney Townley, M. A. Chaplain to his Lordship," with the exception of one useful practical discourse, are on political subjects. The author's design is to paint the blessings of the British constitution, in church and state; to exhibit a shocking picture of French principles and manners; and to combat those principles of liberty and equality, which the supporters of the measures of ministry attribute to the men who are strenuous advocates for reformation; but which the latter assert to be absurd phantoms, existing only in the prejudices or disordered imaginations of their opponents, and to have no connexion with their system. The manner in which Mr. Townley treats on these subjects, will not do him any discredit as a rhetorician.

Mr. Bryson's "Comprehensive View of the real Christian's Character, Privileges, and Obligations, being the Substance of a Course of Sermons on the Eighth Chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans," is a publication which, in matter and manner, bears a near resemblance to the puritanical writings of the last century. It possesses, however, one distinctive feature. Within the compass of about three hundred octavo pages, the author endeavours to compress, what the industry of those orthodox divines would have dilated into substantial folios. With due reverence for the superior learning and abilities of those venerable men, we conceive that Mr. Bryson's method will be most acceptable to modern readers.

When

When we turn our attention to such of the single sermons of the year as our plan will allow us to insert in our historical list, we meet, in the first place, with "a Sermon preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, on Thursday, January 30th, by Edward Lord Bishop of Carlisle." This discourse is temperate and judicious, and enforces sentiments and reflections which are honourable to the author as a peer of parliament, and as a Christian minister. Adverting to the circumstances of the times which led to the decollation of Charles I. he candidly acknowledges, "that, in that unhappy period, the causes of alarm to the nation were many and well grounded; that the encroachments of the prerogative had been, in many particulars, such as it was right and necessary to oppose and to repress; that many who first opposed these encroachments, were real lovers of their country, and grave, conscientious, and thinking men, seeking for that redress only, and those remedies which might be attained by means already known and authorised, and by the power of law." And, though he laments that there were others who acted on very different ideas, and, by representing the feebleness and insufficiency of those means, induced the people to adopt new expedients, which ultimately led to the overthrow of the constitution; he does not undertake the absurd task of exonerating the persons possessed of the powers of government, from that heavy share of guilt which is justly to be imputed to their misconduct. It is true his lordship does not enter into a specific crimination of the court party; and, in his inferences, wishes principally to impress on his audience an idea of the dreadful evils to be apprehended from the "passions and unbridled will of the multitude at large," rather than from the abuse of the prerogative. Yet the reflecting and unbiassed mind, from his lordship's premises, will naturally conclude, that the leading causes of the catastrophe which he laments, were the unconstitutional measures of those who perverted and abused the powers entrusted to them, and who were the advisers of the repeated illegal extensions of the royal authority. When attending to his lordship's observations on a neighbouring people, and their supposed attempts to kindle the flames of discord in our native land, we may be disposed to object to some of his statements; but we must applaud the pious and humane reflections which accompany them.

The "Sermon preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, on Friday, February 28th, 1794, being the Day appointed for a General Fast, by Charles, Lord Bishop of Norwich," suggests a variety of sentiments well adapted to a day of public humiliation, and expressed in that temperate and moderate tone which are becoming the clerical character. Among others, the following remarks were peculiarly seasonable, and merited the attention of his brethren of the bench, as well as the lay peers: "to depend totally on the counsels, the valour, the wisdom, the resources of the nation, were an idle and a fond dependance; nor is it a safer policy to rest our hope of success on the iniquities of those to whom we are opposed. National depravity, is undoubtedly national weakness; but it is surely a much wiser principle to correct our own vices, than to presume on those

those of the adversary. The comparative merits and demerits of nations are not easily calculated; and, indeed, if they were capable of estimate, it is still a question of doubt, whether it may not consist with the unsearchable wisdom of God to punish, as in old times he hath punished, a vicious people by a still more vicious." His observation, likewise, that "it does not become the minister of peace to be an advocate for war," was equally worthy of their lordships' consideration. When, however, he urges, in extenuation of the present war, that it is not merely political, but undertaken for the defence of our religion, we cannot subscribe to the right reverend preacher's doctrine. For we deem too highly of the divine origin of our religion to admit, for a moment, that its preservation in the world depends on the prowess of armies, or the vigilance and policy of cabinets. Those who vindicate its defence or propagation by such means, forget the spirit of the gospel, and imbibe that of the koran.

The "Sermon preached at the Chapel in Prince's street, Westminster, on Friday, Feb. 28th 1794, by Andrew Kippis D. D. F. R. S. and S. A." inculcates sentiments well calculated to inspire the devout mind with support and consolation in times of public calamity; and reads, likewise, instructive lessons both to the abettors of despotism and anarchy; to those governors of states, and warriors of the earth, who eagerly strive to crush or confound the interests of mankind, or to triumph over the cause either of honour, rectitude, or religion.

Of the "Two Sermons preached on the Public Fasts of April, 1793, and February, 1794, by the Rev. J. H. Williams, Vicar of Wellsbourn, Warwickshire," we cannot easily speak in too high terms; on account of the liberal and just sentiments which they breathe, and their tendency, on the principles of humanity and true policy, as well as of the gospel, to expose the mischievous effects of war.

On the same grounds, we should be justified in warmly recommending "the Rise, and the Fatal Effects of War, a Discourse delivered on March 28th, 1794, by Robert Milne, M. A." at Carlisle. We might likewise select, from a very long list of fast sermons, several, which in point of matter and composition, and from the known characters of their authors, would be entitled to distinct notice, could we consistently devote more room in our historical catalogue to publications of this class. In such an enumeration, would be found the names of Priestley, Hurdis, Wollaston, Urquhart, Parker, Brand, Jardine, Bathurst, Newton and Grose. This list we might close with pointing out the merits of two excellent tracts, entitled "Reasons for National Penitence, recommended for the Fast appointed February 28, 1794," and "Thoughts on the Nature of true Devotion, with Reflections on the late Fast, addressed to the British Nation;" which are the productions of humane, pious, and enlightened minds; but our prescribed limits oblige us to proceed to the other departments of our work:

We have no recollection of any important publication during the year 1794, which is to be referred exclusively to the head of Philosophy and Ethics, excepting an elaborate and voluminous "Investigation of the Principles of Knowledge, and of the Progress of Reason,

ſon, from Senſe to Science and Philoſophy, in Three Parts, by James Hutton, M. D. and F. R. S. E. in 3 Volumes." Of a ſmall part only of this work have we had a very curſory inſpection, and are obliged, therefore, in juſtice to the author, as well as the ſubject, neceſſarily to defer our account of it to our next volume.

Dr. Morell's "Notes and Annotations on Locke on the Human Underſtanding, written by order of the Queen, correſponding in Section and Page with the Edition of 1793," are the productions of a learned, judicious, and penetrating mind, and will be found of conſiderable uſe to the ſtudent in explaining many intricacies in the queſtions which that great author has agitated. In ſome points, concerning which the commentator differs materially in opinion from his original, it will be acknowledged, even by thoſe who may think his poſitions objectionable, and his reaſoning inconcluſive, that he maintains the conteſt with great ability and preciſion.

The next work which calls for our notice belongs, partly to the Ethical claſs, and partly to that of Government and Political Œconomy. It is entitled "an Enquiry into the Duties of Men in the Higher and Middle Claſſes of Society in Great Britain, reſulting from their reſpective Stations, Profeſſions, and Employments, by Thomas Giſborne, M. A." This work may be conſidered in the light of a continuation of thoſe moral ſpeculations of our author, which were noticed by us in our Regiſter for the year 1789. In the preſent work he purſues his theory into its practical conſequences; and endeavours to engage the deſcriptions of perſons mentioned in the title-page, to a ſtrict adherence to thoſe laws of moral conduct, which enlightened reaſon and divine revelation unite to preſcribe. After ſome introductory remarks, employed in inveſtigating the conformity between the acknowledged principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, and thoſe fundamental rules of political wiſdom which ought to be carefully regarded in every civil ſociety, Mr. Giſborne treats of the duties of the ſovereign; of the general duties of Engliſhmen as ſubjects and fellow citizens; of the duties, both official and perſonal, of peers and members of the houſe of commons; of the duties of the executive officers of government, in the civil, naval, and military departments; of the duties of lawyers; of juſtices of the peace and municipal magiſtrates; of the clergy; of phyſicians; of perſons engaged in trade and buſineſs, and of private gentlemen. Under theſe ſeveral heads he has entered into a great variety of minute particulars, which ſhew him to have been a careful and attentive obſerver, and from which the reader will receive much entertainment, as well as uſeful inſtruction. The political opinions which occur throughout this work, are liberal and manly; and the author's moral advices are delivered with a fervour and earneſtneſs, which beſpeak a diſintereſted and laudable zeal for the beſt intereſts of ſociety, and render them peculiarly impreſſive. Of ſuch a work we ſhould be glad to ſee a judicious abridgment, which might be recommended with advantage to numbers of perſons of the ſtations and profeſſions for whoſe benefit it is intended, by whom the peruſal of a pretty large quarto volume would be deemed a burdenſome talk.

Among the publications which more ſtrictly belong to our preſent de-

department is "an Attempt to establish the basis of Freedom on simple and unerring Principles, in a Series of Letters, by Charles Patton." This is the production of an ingenious and able advocate for the mixed form of government, similar with that which is established in Great Britain. The principles, however, on which he maintains the superiority of such a form, differ, in their nature or application, from those of most preceding writers. In opposition to such as contend that property or population should, either of them, exclusively, be made the ground-work for political power, he sets out with the position that it should be established on a just combination of both; and adduces many arguments to shew, that real freedom, to which the representative form of government is best suited, can only prevail where the legislative authority is placed one half in property, and the other half in persons, and where such a balance is preserved between those parties as completely precludes either of them from preponderating. The instrument for preserving this balance is the executive power, permanently placed in the hands of a single person; whose influence in the legislative assembly the author makes an essential part of his plan. This influence he proposes to arise from the ministers and other officers of government, equal in number to one third of the whole body of deputies, who shall be entitled to sit and vote in the assembly. And in order to prevent either the legislative or executive power from being overawed by the mob, he contends for the institution of a body of nobility to be created by the executive power, and not possessing too great a share of the national property, who shall reconsider and sanction the transactions of the legislative body. Such an institution, he conceives sufficient to give general respect to the legislative power, without recurring to the dangerous expedient of an armed force, which might be debauched by the chief magistrate, or by ambitious demagogues, and made use of to destroy what it had been raised to maintain. These principles Mr. Patton illustrates and supports by a short comparative view of the various forms and revolutions of government in ancient and modern times. What is said by him on the subject of influence, will prove objectionable to many of his readers who are equally attached with himself to a mixed form, in preference to the monarchical or republican. The author, however, does not appear to have adopted this part of his plan on the hasty suggestion of the moment. The arguments by which he supports it seem to be the result of mature reflection; and will be allowed to carry no inconsiderable weight with them, even by those to whom they may not be convincing. The whole of his treatise is drawn up in that candid dispassionate manner, which justly entitles it to respectful attention.

The "Letter to Francis Plowden, Esq. on his Jura Anglorum, by a Roman Catholic Clergyman," is the production of a shrewd and able disputant, who is dissatisfied with some of the positions laid down by that gentleman, in which he relinquishes all pre-eminence of the spiritual over temporal authority, and maintains the natural right that every man has to chuse his religion. In conducting his argument he professes to disclaim all religious controversy; but he frequently forgets the line of distinction which he

he had prescribed to himself, and uses arguments founded on data, which the enlightened Catholics of the present day will not concede to him, much less Protestants, and those of them more especially who protest against the interference of any human authority in religious concerns. Without allowing him these data, his opinions respecting the proper boundaries between ecclesiastical and civil power, and the reasonings by which he endeavours to establish and precisely to define their limits, must fall to the ground. So, likewise, must his spirited and indignant opposition to the doctrine, that the estates of the church may be disposed of by the legislature, as the property of the nation.

The "Preliminary Lecture to a Course of Lectures on the Institutes of Justinian, together with an Introductory Discourse, by John Wilde, Esq. Advocate, Professor of Civil Law in the University of Edinburgh," is a declamatory eulogium on the system of Roman jurisprudence, which the author would wish to see introduced into all our courts of law. We trust, however, that the spirit of freedom, which is not yet entirely extinct in the breasts of Britons, will lead them better to appreciate the value of their present system, imperfect as it may be, than to admit in its room a code which would infallibly lead to the establishment of complete despotism. And we hope that the period is not far distant, when the efforts of enlightened statesmen will prove successful in correcting its operation, if not in entirely banishing it from those courts into which it hath already obtained admission. Mr. Wilde's introductory discourse contains an ample confession of his own political principles, which are those of genuine toryism; and reflections on the present war, the state of things in France, and the characters of Lewis XVI. and his unfortunate queen, in which he shews himself a proficient in the diction of intemperance and rhapsody.

"The Citizen, being the great Outline of Political Science, and a Defence of the British Constitution from the Writings of Montesquieu, Blackstone, Hume, Paley, Gibbon, &c." is a treatise of uncommon merit in point of composition. It is highly to be commended for luminousness of arrangement, and a happy choice of words and expressions adapted to the author's subject. His design is, to enquire into the advantages and disadvantages of the different forms of government which have prevailed in the world, and to allege his reasons for giving a preference to the mixed form, as most favourable to the freedom and permanent happiness of the governed. In pursuing his plan, he shews himself to be well versed in the history of ancient and modern systems, and to have weighed with a cool and discriminating mind, their respective excellences and defects; and his conclusions appear to be the fair and honest results of a comprehensive and liberal enquiry: but we cannot say that they have our entire assent. We must particularly except to the soundness of his opinions respecting the present state of the national representation, and the plausible objections which he urges against a parliamentary reform. The propriety of his suggestion that the greatest caution and deliberation should be used in adventuring upon what may be deemed necessary changes, is what every friend to liberty and order will readily admit. But to magnify the dangers of innovation, when

When the most obvious and glaring abuses call for correction, we conceive to be the part of a timid rather than a wise statesman; and to be productive of incalculable mischiefs to a constitution which, according to the opinion of its ablest defenders and panegyrists, owes its chief excellence to the circumstance of its being the result of repeated experiment, and progressive improvement.

The "Essays on the following interesting subjects: 1. Government.—2. Revolutions.—3. The British Constitution.—4. Kingly Government.—5. Parliamentary Representation and Reform, &c. by John Young," appear to have been chiefly written with the design of vindicating the seceders in Scotland from the charge of being disaffected to the constitution of the country: a charge not unusually brought by the supporters of those in possession of political power, against the men who wish to succeed to their emoluments, or who on the most disinterested and patriotic grounds express a disapprobation of their proceedings. As far as Mr. Young's treatise is to be considered as a defence of himself and his brethren, it is completely successful. It likewise contains a variety of observations on the principles of government, and those especially of our own mixed form, which afford proofs of the author's extensive reading and liberal reflection, as well as of his zealous attachment to our civil constitution.

Our next article, which is a very important one, is entitled "Political Papers, chiefly respecting the Attempt of the County of York, and other considerable Districts, commenced in 1779, and continued during several subsequent Years, to effect a Reformation of the Parliament of Great Britain; collected by the Rev. Christopher Wyvill, Chairman of the late Committee of Association of the County of York, in 3 Vols." Of the contents of these volumes we shall endeavour to give our readers some idea from the editor's preface. They contain a transcript from the books of the Yorkshire committee, of every material resolution passed by that body of men, and by their committee, from the year 1779 to the year 1784; also a similar transcript from the minutes of the proceedings of the first and second meeting of deputies in the years 1780 and 1781; also accounts of the resolutions and debates at several meetings of the county of York, and other counties, the metropolis, and other cities, &c. in the year 1779, and the six subsequent years; also letters and other pieces selected from the correspondence of the Yorkshire committee. With these papers are connected several addresses, &c. published by the constitutional society in London, accounts of several debates in parliament on the proposed reform in the representation of the people, and some other papers relative to that subject. To these pieces are prefixed some preliminary papers respecting the association proposed at a meeting of the county of York, in the year 1745, by archbishop Herring; and papers respecting the proceedings of two meetings of the same county, in the years 1760 and 1769, on the subject of the powers assumed by the house of commons in the case of the Middlesex election. The above-mentioned papers are contained in the first and second volumes. The third volume contains the editor's correspondence with the committees of Edinburgh and Stirling, in the years 1783 and 1784; the resolutions of

several meetings held in London, Edinburgh and Glasgow, in the years 1788 and 1792, for the purpose of promoting improvements in the elections of the counties and royal burghs of Scotland, and a general reformation in the parliament of Great Britain; also the editor's correspondence with the volunteers of Ireland, in the year 1783; with many private gentlemen of Yorkshire, and several members of parliament in the year 1779; and with sir George Savile, the earl of Shelburne, Dr. Franklin, and other respectable persons, on subjects connected with the proposed reformation of parliament: to which are added an appendix; the editor's defence of Dr. Price, and the reformers of England; his letter to the right hon. William Pitt, in the year 1793; and an account of the proceedings, and other papers of the society of the friends of the people, in the year 1792, &c. From this ample enumeration our readers will perceive, that these volumes will supply the historian, as well as the politician, with numerous valuable documents relative to an important period in the history of his country. They will find, likewise, that the doctrines of an equal representation of the people in the great council of the nation, of annual elections, and the universal right of suffrage, have not been doctrines peculiar to republicans and levellers, as their opposers have falsely stated, but that they have been maintained by some of the most respectable characters in the kingdom, for talents and property, and who have given abundant and unequivocal proofs of their attachment to the British constitution. The friends to reform will value this collection, as the faithful history of important exertions in the public cause, which, though they have not yet produced the wished-for effects, will not be lost, but ultimately be followed by essential benefits to the community.

"The Alteration of the Constitution of the House of Commons, and the Inequality of the Land Tax, conjointly considered, by J. Brand, M. A." is an elaborate and well written treatise, in which the author opposes, on grounds different from those of any other author whom we have met with, the measure of a parliamentary reform. The method which he pursues is that of alarming the fears of the landholders, in various parts of the kingdom, by predicting the injurious local consequences of such a measure. He divides England into two districts: one of which he calls the Home District, including the counties of Middlesex, Surry, Hertford, Bedford, Cambridge, Kent, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Berks, Buckingham, and Oxford; and the other the Remote District, including the remainder of the kingdom, and the principality of Wales. The landholders of the latter district he alarms on the ground, that, in the present political circumstances of the country, an equalization of the land tax must necessarily take place, before such a reform can with justice be effected; and by this strong appeal to their interest, biasses them to the support of the old system. On the landholders of the home district, who are at present disproportionately taxed, he urges, that without obtaining such an equalization in the first instance, a reform in the representation will be productive of very great injuries to them, by so increasing the power of the landed interest in the remote districts, in the house of commons, as to preclude

clude their ever obtaining substantial justice, and greatly to augment the disproportionate burthen which they already bear. In the course of his reasoning he undertakes to shew, that the time cannot be far distant, when it will be found necessary to increase the present amount of the land tax; and quotes the opinion of baron Maseres, who says, that there is reason to apprehend that it must be increased to double its present quantity, or to four millions a year. And he forms his calculations on the basis of the plans for an alteration in the representation, which were offered by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Flood, in the years 1785 and 1790. This work does great credit to Mr. Brand's abilities, as a calculator and reasoner: but we think that it is better adapted to damp the ardour for reformation, by exciting the interested jealousies of the landholders in different parts of the kingdom against each other, than to point out any mischiefs that would attend it, on the grounds of liberal and just policy. On these grounds the able statesman can surely adopt measures, by which the apparently jarring interests of both parties may be reconciled, and the benefit of alterations, of which every hour shews the increasing necessity, be equally extended to each of them.

The "Considerations on the Structure of the House of Commons, and on the Plans of Parliamentary Reform agitated at the present Day, by R. D. Peacock, M. A." are employed in shewing that the house of commons, in its present form, is adequate to all the purposes of good and equal government; and that the influence which the other branches of the legislature have over its members, is not only beneficial in its effects, and consistent with the genuine principles of the British constitution, but essential to its very existence. On these topics he argues ingeniously and plausibly, but with less force than others who, like himself, deprecate the evils which they conceive would be attendant on any change in the system of representation. He loses sight, however, of the principles of a constitutional Briton when he laments, that the great body of the people are instructed that they are the only sources of all legitimate power; and that all public transactions should be canvassed and scrutinized with the most jealous severity. The code that was signed at Runnemede, and the recognition of it in the convention parliament of 1689, will condemn any person who would insinuate that such instructions savour of political heresy.

The "Sketches of a Plan for an effectual and general Reformation of Life and Manners, by John Donaldson, Esq." contain the sentiments of a person who appears to have devoted much of his attention to the means by which the state of society may be meliorated and the vices of governments, as well as individuals, be corrected. What he principally holds out to public notice in this treatise are, the evils occasioned by the bad management of our charity schools, workhouses, prisons, and the fictions adopted in our law proceedings; for which he prescribes remedies. His observations on these subjects, and his incidental remarks on other objects of political economy, are not undeserving the attention of those who are fellow labourers with him in the honourable task of promoting the service of the public.

The "Essay on Colonization, particularly applied to the Western

Coast of Africa, with some free Thoughts on Cultivation and Commerce, &c. by C. B. Wadstrom, Part I." is part of a plan which we shall probably have an opportunity of noticing more particularly on some future occasion. It is intended to assist in the grand design of abolishing the slave trade, by proving that the colonization of Africa is not only practicable, but highly desirable in a commercial point of view; and by pointing out the means of accomplishing that object of humanity and justice. In the course of his observations he is led to discuss a variety of commercial and political questions, by which he evinces the industry and pains he has taken to procure information; and to obviate the objections which interest or a narrow-minded policy may suggest. With these discussions he has intermixed interesting and pleasing pictures of the character of the Africans; accounts of the climate, soil, water, and produce of the country; economical observations on the best means of preserving health in those tropical regions; and sketches of the history of the commercial colonies formed in Africa, by the Portuguese, Spaniards, French, Dutch, Austrians, and Swedes.

The "general View of the Fisheries of Great Britain, drawn up for the Consideration of the Undertakers of the North British Fishing, lately begun, for promoting the general Utility of the Inhabitants, and the Empire at large, by the Rev. John Lanne Buchanan," consists of an historical account of former fishing companies, and the causes of their declension; remarks on the advantages derived to Holland from her fisheries; an abstract of the act for incorporating the British society; observations on the errors committed by the present adventurers; an enquiry into the expenditure of the public money; and a postscript, containing a reply to the directors of the royal bounty. Whatever unfavourable ideas many of his readers may be led to entertain of Mr. Buchanan, from his bold and unsupported assertions respecting the high antiquity of Scottish commerce, and from the keen language of resentment, if not of disappointment, which pervades his work, it contains, nevertheless, important matters of fact, with which the author's situation for some years in the Hebrides, as a missionary, afforded him the opportunity of being personally acquainted, and which merit the serious attention of the public. The errors which he points out in the management of the company, are palpable and gross; and if persisted in, must defeat the benevolent intentions of the legislature.

The "Essay on the best Means of providing Employment for the People, to which was adjudged the Prize, proposed by the Royal Irish Academy, for the best Dissertation on that Subject, by Samuel Crumpe, M. D. M. R. I. A." is a publication abounding in much valuable political information, which the author has judiciously adapted to the local circumstances of the Irish nation. The subject which he has chosen, is such as must be interesting to every well wisher to his species; and in discussing it he has discovered, that he possesses the noblest philanthropy, a sound judgment, liberal and comprehensive views, and an intimate acquaintance with the best writers on political economy, of the French and of the English schools. It is not possible for us, within our contracted limits, to give our readers any ade-

adequate idea of the numerous important topics which present themsent themselves to Dr. Crumpe in the course of his investigation, and of the principles on which he builds his system for the future happiness of his country. We must content ourselves with inserting a general view only of the outlines of his plan. After shewing what are the movements of the mind which principally rouse man to labour and exertion, he endeavours first, to point out the best means of introducing, and generally diffusing among a people, a spirit of industry and labour; secondly, to discover the principal impediments to industry and labour, which different forms of government, and various restrictions and regulations have occasioned; and thirdly, to point out the general system of industry, the most beneficial to be pursued, and the most productive of employment to the people at large. These divisions constitute the first part of his plan. In his second part our author applies his general principles to the case of Ireland, and treats first, of the situation, general productions, and climate of Ireland; secondly, of the general character, habits, and propensities of the people of Ireland; and thirdly, of the best means of obtaining employment for the people of Ireland. We shall only add, that Dr. Crumpe, in the whole of his Enquiry, rises superior to the spirit and prejudices of party, and has combined together a great variety of facts and reasonings that are of the greatest political importance, not only to Ireland, but to the whole British empire.

The "Plan for the Commutation of Tythes, the Extension of Agriculture, Relief of the Farmers, the Peasantry and the Poor, without disturbing the existing Government," is the production of a sensible and judicious writer, who has entered into a variety of minute calculations, which appear to justify his general conclusions, and certainly merit the serious attention of the political economist. The adoption of what he proposes would, he conceives, effectually remove the evils of which there are such general complaints under the present system, without being liable to the objections of those who contend that any change would interfere with ecclesiastical privileges and laws, and prove injurious to incumbents or impropriators. We cannot follow him into particulars: but we may convey to our readers a general outline of his plan by stating, that his object is to repress monopoly, to regulate the parochial taxes, to declare all the waste lands in the kingdom national property, and to allow to all tithe-holders a fair and just composition.

The treatise entitled, "Tythes politically, judicially, and justly considered, and in which the Necessity of a general Commutation of Tythes is demonstrated, Modes of Commutation are proposed, and the proper Measures pointed out for obtaining such as may meet the Public Will, by a Pluralist," is written by a zealous advocate for the claims of the church, who appears from the acrimony of his style, and the sore experience which he acknowledges to have gained in the cruel contests of law, to have been a suffering champion in their defence. His advice, however, to his brethren of the clergy, to join with the laity in endeavouring to obtain an equitable commutation of tythes, is sound and politic, and recommended to them by arguments of weight; and it is interspersed with

incidental remarks, which will be found interesting to those who feel the oppression of the tax as it is now laid. How far any one of the different plans which he proposes may meet the ideas of those who, upon the whole, are favourers of the principle of commutation, we must leave them to determine by referring them to the work itself.

The author of "A Defence of the Right to Tythes, on Principles of Equity, with Observations on a Commutation," with great ingenuity supports the claims of the clergy to such an establishment. He is not averse, however, to a species of commutation, which may prove less odious than the present mode of levying the tax. From the increasing attention which appears to be paid to this subject by men of considerable landed property in different parts of the kingdom, it is not improbable that it will, ere long, be particularly and fully discussed by the legislature. The agriculturist and the pious clergyman will both have reason to hail the day, when the grounds of dissension, to which the present system is perpetually giving rise, are for ever removed, by the adoption of some one or other of the alterations which are so repeatedly and forcibly recommended by the warmest friends to religion, and sound policy.

The "Desultory Sketch of the Abuses in the Militia, with Comparative Reflections on the Increase of our Military Establishments, &c. Addressed to the Right Hon. Francis Earl of Moira," is the production of a writer of no mean abilities, whose remarks appear to have been suggested by considerable professional skill, and to be published from an honest desire of being serviceable to his country. The purport of his work is to apprize the public, by a relation of indisputable facts, that in the present management of the militia there occur "innumerable instances of neglected or perverted regulations," which, if not timely corrected, forebode the degradation and ruin of our grand constitutional defence; and also to suggest necessary corrections, "in a succinct methodical display of what the militia and army might be, were they differently modelled." And we think, from the temper with which the author writes, that he does no more than justice to his motives for this publication when he says, that his observations "are brought forward, not so much to criminate the leaders in government for the palpable abuses of their servants, as to rouse the members of both houses to a timely sense of that necessity for correction which the circumstances of the times demand."

The "proposed Plan for the better Regulating of the Militia of Great Britain, &c. Addressed to the Yeomanry of Great Britain, by Charles James, Captain in the Western Regiment of Middlesex Militia," is written by the author of the last mentioned treatise, to which it is an appendix. It contains upwards of fifty propositions for the better regulating the militia of England and Wales, and the fencibles of Scotland, which captain James recommends to be incorporated together, under the name of the constitutional troops, or the militia of Great Britain. On the expediency of many of his regulations, we must leave professional men to decide: but the reader who possesses little knowledge of military tactics may readily perceive, that others of them suggest improvements that are highly desirable,

able, and which merit the attention of every person who wishes to maintain the honour, and to preserve the independency of his country.

Of Mr. Nichols' "Methods proposed for decreasing the Consumption of Timber in the Navy, by Means of prolonging the Duration of our Ships of War," with his "General Remarks on the present timbered State of the Kingdom, &c." we can only say, that it appears to contain the observations of a person who is intimately acquainted with the subjects on which he writes; and who has collected a number of important facts and opinions, which deserve the serious notice of government, and of the public at large.

Among the Law publications of the year we find "Report of Cases adjudged in the Court of King's Bench, during the Reigns of Charles II. James II. and William III. by Sir Bartholomew Showers, Knight, in 2 Vols. a new Edition, with additional Remarks by T. Leach, Esq." "The new Natura Brevium of the most reverend Judge Mr. Anthony Fitzherbert, to which is added a Commentary, supposed to have been written by the late Lord Chief Justice Hale, in 2 Vols. a new Edition;" "Noy's Grounds and Maxims, also Analysis of the English Law, to which is added a Treatise of Estates, by Sir John Doddridge, Knight, &c. a new Edition, with Notes and References, by Charles Barton, Esq.;" "Hawkins's Pleas of the Crown; a new Edition, in 4 Vols. by T. Leach, Esq.;" "The Statutes at large," for last Sessions, both of Pickering and Ruffhead's editions; "Term Reports in the Court of King's Bench, from Michaelmas Term, 26 Geo. III. to Easter Term, 27 Geo. III. by Charles Durnford, and Edward Hyde East, Esq.;" "A Treatise of Equity, with the Addition of marginal References and Notes, by J. Fonblanque, Esq. Vol. II.;" "A Collection of Cases on the Annuity Act, with an Epitome of the Practice relative to the Enrolment of Memorials, by W. Hunt, A. M. of Lincoln's Inn;" "The Laws relative to the Duty and Office of a Justice of Peace, Vol. II. III. IV. by W. Williams, Esq.;" "The Law of Tythes, by T. H. Shaw, Gent."; "A Treatise on the Law of Partnerships, by William Watson, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq.;" "An Analysis of the Practice of the Court of Chancery, by Wilmot Parker, Solicitor;" "The modern Pleader, containing the several Forms of Declarations in all Actions, with Notes, &c. by J. Impey;" "the Solicitor's Guide to the Practice of the Office of Pleas in his Majesty's Court of Exchequer at Westminster, &c. by Richard Edmunds, one of the Attornies of the said Office;" "The Practice of the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, Part II. by Baker John Sellon, Esq.;" "The Practice of the Court of King's Bench, in Personal Actions, Part II. by William Tidd, of the Inner Temple;" and "An Index to Pickering's Statutes, from the 1st. to the 32nd. of Geo. III."

In our list of Mathematical productions, we have to insert a valuable work in 2 Vols. 4to. for which the scientific world is indebted to the industry, care, and liberality of baron Maseres. It is entitled, "Scriptores Logarithmici; or a Collection of several curious Tracts, on the Nature and Construction of Logarithms, mentioned in Dr. Hutton's Historical Introduction to his new Edition of Sherwin's Mathematical

matical Tables: together with some Tracts on the Binomial Theorem, and other Subjects connected with the Doctrine of Logarithms." The mathematical reader will be sufficiently apprized, from the title of this work, of the great obligations that he is under to baron Maseres as an editor. But he has, likewise, enriched these volumes with many tracts of his own composition, which will be found of the greatest importance and use in the discussion of many abstruse and difficult mathematical questions. From the preface we are led to expect the appearance of a third volume, which will complete the Editor's plan. This work which we have but lately met with, is marked in the title-page as a publication of the year 1791.

The "Tables of Logarithms of all Numbers, from 1 to 101,000, and of the Sines and Tangents to every second of the Quadrant, by Michael Taylor: with a Preface and Precepts for the Explanation and Use of the same, by Nevil Maskelyne, F. R. S. Astronomer Royal," is a work which the well known science, and indefatigable industry of the late author, and the extent to which his computations are carried, render of the greatest importance; especially in determining questions when equations for second and third differences are wanted, when those differences are very irregular, and the utmost accuracy is required. To supply what before this publication was a desideratum in logarithmic science, "Mr. Taylor undertook the laborious work of computing the logarithmic sines and tangents to every second of the quadrant, by interpolating Vlacq's logarithmic sines and tangents, whereby he obtained a table to every second, consisting of ten decimal places of figures, as Vlacq's did, which he then abridged to only seven decimal places besides the index, taking particular care to make the last figure true to the nearest figure over or under, a circumstance that will be found very conducive to exactness in such cases, where an unit in the last place is of consequence, and where several logarithms are added together. Nor did the author use less care and diligence in supervising the press, and correcting its errors." Dr. Maskelyne has described very particularly the extraordinary care and attention which Mr. Taylor bestowed, in order to render his work faultless. Under these labours, however, he sunk, and died, when five pages only of the Tables remained unfinished. For the completion of these the public are indebted to the learned editor, who, in a masterly preface, has given an explanation of the general nature and properties of logarithms, and full instructions for the use of the logarithmic tables, which he has illustrated by the solution of fifteen useful problems. These parts of the work reflect the greatest honour on the abilities, industry, and zeal in the cause of useful science, by which the astronomer royal is distinguished.

"The New Royal Road to Geometry, and familiar Introduction to the Mathematics, by Thomas Malton, sen. in two Parts," is the republication of a work which first appeared some years before the commencement of our periodical labours. The first part is divided into eight books, containing the elements of geometry, with an Appendix on the theory of mensuration. The second part consists of the problems of Euclid, together with

with many other useful ones selected from different writers; and an Appendix, in which is given the construction of ellipses, proportional scales, and the line of chords, with problems illustrating their use. How far the separating of the theorems and problems of Euclid from each other, and the different disposition which the author adopts in the order of the propositions, can be of advantage to the learner, we will not take upon ourselves to determine. He is, however, entitled to the merit of clearness and perspicuity in his demonstrations: and had he paid a little more attention to brevity in his notes, his work would have been rendered still more deserving than it is, of similar patronage with that by which the former edition was favoured.

The "Treatise on the Conic Sections, in five Books, by G. Walker, F. R. S. of Nottingham, Book I." is part of a work which promises to be a very extensive, and we should do the author great injustice if we were not at the same time to add, very complete elucidation of this branch of the pure mathematics. The method of deducing the properties of conic sections which the author adopts, is founded on the consideration of the 24th proposition of Newton's Arithmetica Universalis, and is that of taking a property which is common to all the sections. This property which is the basis of his system, is that of the focal distance of a point in a conic section, being to its perpendicular distance from the directrix, in a given ratio. Such a purely geometrical method he conceives, and we think justly, to possess much greater advantages in point of ease and elegance, than the algebraical, or geometrico-algebraical processes. Of the general excellence of this work, as a first-rate scientific production, it would not, perhaps, be easy to speak in too high terms. The only objection which we think can be made to it is, that from the plan which Mr. Walker has prescribed to himself, it is in danger of becoming too large for general use. For in the present book, after sixteen introductory lemmas, he is chiefly employed in demonstrating the principal properties, both of the sections in common, and of each in particular. To complete his design he proposes to publish four books more; in which he is to treat on the properties which are common to two sections; on the properties which are peculiar to two sections; on the problems relating to the conic sections; and on the loci of the conic sections, or those problems of which the conic sections are loci. The numerous plates which accompany this work are executed, in general, with accuracy and neatness.

The "Short Treatise on the Conic Sections, in which the three Curves are derived from a general Description on a Plane, and the most useful Properties of each are deduced from a common Principle, by the Rev. T. Newton, M. A." is a pleasing and useful elementary work, in which the student will meet with a concise and clear demonstration, on geometrical principles, of those properties of the cone, of which a previous knowledge is necessary to their initiation into the Newtonian philosophy. As such we think it well calculated to prevent their having recourse to the algebraical system, when an attention to larger and more complete treatises might threaten to engage a greater portion of their time, than could be spared from other objects

objects of academical pursuit. Mr. Newton has built his system on the elements of Boscovich, from whose method, however, he has freely departed when it appeared to throw needless embarrassments into the way of the young mathematician.

The "Arithmetical and Mathematical Repository, being a new improved System of Practical Arithmetic, &c. by John Eadon, Vol. I." is part of a work which is intended to be completed in four volumes. That before us is divided into three books. The first treats of the arithmetic of whole numbers, with its application to mercantile business. The second contains the principles of vulgar and decimal fractions, the explanation and use of logarithms, the extraction of roots, and their application to a variety of subjects. The third book contains the practical application of scientific rules to different branches of mechanic philosophy; and a number of questions on useful, instructive, and entertaining subjects. This work deserves to be recommended among the useful elementary treatises which the different candidates for public favour are continually offering to the world, to many of which, in point of variety of matter, as well as arrangement, it is certainly much superior.

The "Military Miscellany: Extracts from Colonel Tempelhoffe's History of the Seven Years War, &c. by the Hon. Colin Lindsay, Lieutenant Colonel of the 46th Regiment, in 2 Vols." is a work which will prove peculiarly acceptable to gentlemen of the army. It was colonel Lindsay's original design to publish the whole of colonel Tempelhoffe's history, with accurate plans of the different battles, &c. But the circumstances of the great expence that would have attended such a publication, and, we are sorry to add, the want of proper support when he proposed a subscription, obliged him to relinquish his grand plan. The progress which he had made, however, determined him to lay before the public such detached parts of his original, as he thought were particularly interesting and instructive: to these he has added scientific remarks and observations from other authorities, together with original discussions of his own. Of the particular subjects that are illustrated in these volumes our military readers will be able to form some idea, from the following summary of their contents. 1. An Introduction, in which several Military Questions are discussed. 2. The Duke of Marlborough's March to the Danube. 3. Extracts from the German of Col. Tempelhoffe, consisting of Remarks on General Lloyd's History of the Campaigns of 1756, 1757 and part of 1758; and Considerations on Subsistence, and on the March of Convoys. 4. A Treatise on Winter Posts, translated from the German of C. F. Lindenau, Captain in the Prussian service. 5. Narrative of the Events at St. Lucie, in the Years 1779 and 1780. 6. Some Account of the Assault on Gibraltar in 1782. 7. Of the Swedes, and the Square.

The "Observations on the Duke of Richmond's extensive Plan of Fortifications, and the new Works he has been carrying on since these were set aside by the House of Commons in 1786," we notice in this place, on account of the profound scientific abilities which the author displays on the subject of engineering, and his perspicuous and satisfactory demonstration of the modes of defence which are best adapted to

to the situation of this island. The system to which his Grace has shewn himself so firmly attached, he has completely demolished; and he has exhibited a number of enormous abuses in the application of the sums granted for the service of the ordnance, which merit the serious attention of the legislature. Independently of his claims to science, the author's observations prove him to be a well-informed and elegant scholar, and zealously devoted to the true interests of British liberty.

In our Register for the year 1790, we embraced the opportunity of congratulating the lovers of the fine arts on the high gratification which was afforded them by the publication of the second volume of "The Antiquities of Athens delineated," by Messrs. Stuart and Revett. In that article we expressed our hope, that the widow of Mr. Stuart would meet with that assistance which would enable her to present the public with a third volume, the materials for which were left by her husband in a considerable state of forwardness. That assistance has been afforded, and the third volume published, by Mr. Reveley, whose abilities and fine taste are well known in the scientific world, and who has himself attentively examined the objects which Mr. Stuart has delineated. In his Preface, Mr. Reveley accurately distinguishes between the original work of Mr. Stuart, both in the descriptions and the drawings, and what has been added from his own observations to render it more complete. The remains of antiquity treated of in this volume are, the Temple of Theseus; the Temple of Jupiter Olympius; the Arch of Theseus, or of Adrian; the Ionic Frontispiece of the Aqueduct erected by Adrian at the Recevoir dug at the foot of Mount Anchesmus; the Monument of Philopappus, king of Commagene, and others of his Family; a Doric Temple at Corinth, of a prior date to the time of Pericles; three Arches of the Bridge over the Ilissus, and the remains of the Stadium Partheniacum; the Odeum, built by Herodes Atticus, in honour of his wife Regilla; the Incantada at Salonica; a Doric Temple of Apollo, and the Portico of Philip king of Macedon, in the Island of Delos; an Ionic Colonnade near the Lantern of Demosthenes; and other less considerable antiquities. These remains of the stately monuments of public magnificence, or private luxury, are illustrated by a great variety of accurate maps, and elegant engravings, that must render them a desirable acquisition to the dilettante, as well as to the artist.

In giving our annual account of such publications as mark the progress of science, we have been accustomed to pay our first respects to the Transactions of our own Royal Society. And as we had only seen the first part of their volume for the year 1793, when the Literary History in our last Register was prepared for the press, our present list shall commence with a short notice of the most important papers in mixed mathematics and natural philosophy, which compose the second part of that work. —In this number Dr. Herschel's observations on the planet Venus are peculiarly interesting, as they lead to deductions which prove the accounts which former astronomers have given of that planet to be erroneous. For after the most sedulous repeated attention, in which he employed the various powers of his wonderful optical apparatus, he is obliged to conclude that the period of the diurnal rotation of Venus

nus is uncertain; that the position of its axis is still more so; that there are no mountains in it which can be discovered by his best instruments; and that this planet is somewhat larger than the earth. Mr. Wollaston's description of a transit circle, for determining the place of celestial objects as they pass the meridian, gives a particular and minute account of the construction and properties of a new instrument, which promises to prove highly important and advantageous to the astronomer. This part of the Transactions also contains Mr. Rennell's valuable observations on a current that often prevails to the westward of Scilly, which was inserted among the philosophical papers in our last volume; curious observations on vision, by Thomas Young; and other papers in hydrostatics and meteorology.

In the Transactions of the Royal Society for the Year 1794, the reader will find (besides the articles which occur in our present volume, under the heads of Philosophical Papers and Antiquities,) an account of Dr. Herschel's Observations on the Planet Saturn, during 154 revolutions of its equator, by which he has determined the precise period of its rotation; and of some remarkable appearances observed by him during a late eclipse of the sun, from which he has formed a curious conjectural estimate of the height of mountains in the moon. He will also find among the philosophical papers, an ingenious and plausible theory of vision, by Dr. Hosack; and a very interesting account of a method of measuring the comparative intensities of the light emitted by luminous bodies, by lieut. general sir Benjamin Thompson, Count of Rumford. Of the communications in pure mathematics and mechanics, the most important are, observations on the fundamental properties of the lever, with a concise and perspicuous proof of the principle assumed by Archimedes in his demonstration, by the rev. S. Vince; the method of determining, from the real probabilities of life, the value of contingent reversions, in which three lives are involved in the survivorship, by William Morgan, Esq; investigations founded on the theory of motion, for determining the time of vibration of watch balances, by George Atwood, Esq; and very comprehensive and accurate tables for reducing the quantities by weight, in any mixture of pure spirit and water to those by measure, and for determining the proportion by measure of each of the two substances in such mixtures, by Mr. George Gilpin, Clerk to the Royal Society.

During the present year, the Royal Society of Edinburgh have published the third volume of their Transactions. This publication contains the History of the Society, with biographical accounts of deceased members, and various papers distributed into physical and literary classes; specimens of which appear in different departments of our present volume. Among the most valuable of the physical class, we must rank experiments and observations on the unequal refrangibility of light, by Dr. Robert Blair; an analysis of the waters of some hot springs in Iceland, by Dr. Black; different accounts of hot springs in Iceland, by John Thomas Stanley, Esq; and observations on the muscles, by Dr. Alexander Munro.

During the year 1795, the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester published the first part of the fourth volume of their "Memoirs."

moirs." Of this work we enabled our readers to form some judgment, by the selections in the literary and philosophical departments in our last year's Register. As, however, it had not fallen into the hands of the writer in this department of our work, when his manuscript was sent to our printer, we think it proper formally to announce its publication, to preserve the regularity of our literary history. Besides the papers which we selected, this volume contains some useful articles in chemistry, by Mr. Thomas Willis, and Mr. Peter Henry; a very valuable and curious collection of meteorological observations made on different parts of the western coasts of Great Britain, arranged by T. Garnett, M. D; an argument against materialism, drawn from a number of cases of injury of the brain, which shew that the whole of its structure has been materially changed, without affecting the exercise of the rational faculties, by John Ferriar, M. D; comments on Sterne, which detect his numerous and gross plagiarisms, by the same gentleman; an ingenious and liberal disquisition on the uses of classical learning, by G. Gregory, D. D; and some antiquarian researches.

To contribute to the more general diffusion of useful science, a new work has been published, which from the manner in which it is executed deserves, and we hope will meet with, liberal encouragement. It is entitled "Memoirs of Science and the Arts; or an Abridgment of the Transactions published by the principal learned and economical Societies established in Europe, Asia, and America." Of this work vol. I. and the first part of vol. II. with numerous plates, have already made their appearance. The editor's plan is to notice every article in all the principal publications of the kind throughout the learned world; to give analyses of them proportioned to their consequence; and to print at large such as are at the same time interesting and incapable of abridgment. Another important work which we cannot better introduce than in this place, is "The Repertory of Arts and Manufactures, consisting of original Communications, Specifications of Patent Inventions, and Selections of useful practical Papers, from the Transactions of the Philosophical Societies of all Nations, vol. I." The design of this work is to establish a vehicle, by means of which new discoveries and experiments in philosophy, chemistry, and especially the useful arts and manufactures, may be transmitted to the public; particularly to artists, manufacturers, and others, who might, otherwise, have but little chance of ever being acquainted with them. We need not say how commendable such an undertaking is, and how highly it deserves the patronage of the public. The present volume contains a great variety of interesting articles, accompanied by 25 copper plates.

With the laudable design of rendering the useful and important truths discovered by natural and experimental philosophy, familiar and easy; of bringing together that knowledge which is dispersed through many volumes, and of concentering in one work the labours of the wise men of different countries and ages; Mr. George Adams has published "Lectures on Natural and Experimental Philosophy, considered in its present State of Improvement, &c. in five vols." the fifth consisting of plates and an index. This is a judicious and pleasing

pleasing elementary work, worthy of the reputation which the author has acquired by his former productions, and of the numerous and respectable list of subscribers who have patronized it. The "Lectures on Electricity, by G. C. Morgan, in two vols." are the production of an ingenious and industrious experimentalist, who wishes to revive the attention of the philosophical world to a branch of science which has of late been too much neglected, and to throw new light on its phenomena. Whatever may be thought of some parts of his theory, in which he differs from the ablest preceding writers, (the truth and importance of which can only be ascertained by repeated and cautious experiments), the candid reader will award him the praise of considerable originality, and acknowledge his illustrations of generally received principles to be highly interesting, and his directions well calculated to assist the student in this branch of philosophy. The "Meteorological Observations and Essays, by John Dalton, Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy, at the New College, Manchester," contain the result of many years study and experience of a well-informed and accurate observer of nature, and furnish many useful hints for explaining the phenomena of the atmosphere. The "View of Nature, in Letters to a Traveller among the Alps, &c. by Richard Joseph Sullivan, Esq. F. R. S. and F. S. A. in six vols." consists of a rich variety of materials, partly metaphysical and theological, but principally selected during the author's extensive course of reading on subjects of natural knowledge, which are arranged by him in a manner that is judiciously and pleasingly adapted to excite in the mind the love of science. The form which he has chosen, is the epistolary and narrative, containing scientific discussions, diversified by strokes of pleasantry and flights of fancy. And what greatly redounds to his praise is the care which he has uniformly taken to intermix instruction with entertainment, and to direct the attention of his reader from nature's works to nature's God, and to subjects the dearest and most interesting to human beings.

Dr. Priestley's "Heads of Lectures on a Course of Experimental Philosophy, particularly including Chemistry, delivered at the New College, Hackney," deserve to be recommended on account of the judicious abstract which they contain of chemical knowledge, in its present advanced state. The antiphlogistians, however, will object both to principles and terms which occur in them. Dr. Harrington's "Chemical Essays" contain what modern chemists will pronounce to be a very unsatisfactory defence of the singular hypotheses which he has at different times laid before the public; together with observations and strictures upon Drs. Priestley's, Fordyce's, and Beddoes' late papers in the Philosophical Transactions, and an answer to the reviewers. From the verdict of his countrymen, who have decried his theory, he now appeals to foreign philosophical chemists. Mrs. Fulhame's "Essay on Combustion, with a View to a new art of Dying and Painting," contains a lively and spirited attack on the principles of the phlogistians and antiphlogistians, by which they explain the theory of combustion; and recites a number of curious experiments from which she concludes the possibility of fixing gold, silver, and other metals, in

in the fibres of silk, &c. as colours are fixed in the common process of dying. This lady is unquestionably entitled to the praise of industry and ingenuity, and to the encouragement which is due to scientific projectors, whatever opinion the chemical reader may form of the truth and utility of her system. The "Synopsis of Mineralogy, exhibiting at one View, and rendering easy and familiar, the whole System of that delightful and most useful Science, by James Millar, Esquire, Professor of Chemistry to the College, New Windsor, Nova Scotia," is from its nature a compilation, in which the author professes to have consulted all the most approved modern writers from whom he might expect to derive information, and to follow the classification of H. Magellan's last edition of Cronstedt's system of mineralogy. This work consists of thirteen large folio sheets, which are so contrived as to be pasted together, and framed in one whole, eight feet wide and six feet deep, or to be bound in the form of an atlas.

In Natural History, the first publication which arrests our notice, is the second volume of the "Transactions of the Linnæan Society." Of the contents of the numerous, valuable, and curious papers which compose this volume, our limits will not permit us to lay an abstract before our readers. We can only say, that the articles are thirty-six in number, many of them by gentlemen of high and acknowledged merit in natural science; and that the most important subjects which are discussed in them, are illustrated by numerous accurate and beautiful plates. For Dr. Falconar's "Miscellaneous Tracts and Collections relating to Natural History, selected from the principal Writers of Antiquity on that Subject," the lover of classical literature and philosophical science will conceive himself much indebted to the learning and patient diligence of that gentleman. They contain different ancient calendars, and bring together, in a connected series, and within a narrow compass, many interesting particulars that are scattered about in Greek and Roman writers, accompanied with illustrative extracts from modern authors; and will be found of considerable use to those who are engaged in physical speculations. The volume entitled "Indigenous Botany, or Habitations of English Plants, containing the result of several Botanical Excursions, &c. by Colin Milne, LL. D. and Alexander Gordon, Reader of Botany, in London," though not a complete, or very judicious work, will afford useful instruction, as well as entertainment to the young herbarist, in his botanical walks through some of the counties near the metropolis. The young student of nature may also derive many useful hints from Mr. Donovan's "Instructions for collecting and preserving various subjects of Natural History, as Animals, Birds, Reptiles, Shells, Corals, Plants, &c. selected from the best authorities."

Among the publications of the year which have for their object the Improvement of Agriculture, and Rural Economy, the twelfth volume of "The Transactions of the Society instituted at London, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce," claim our first attention. From this volume the public are presented with additional proofs of the utility of that institution, in the great proportion of valuable articles which it

it contains in economics; and of the increasing exertions of the society to render these still more numerous, in the greater number of premiums, honorary or pecuniary, which they offer to those who shall make discoveries or improvements that shall be beneficial to the community. The articles under the heads of Chemistry, and Colonies and Trade, evince also the increasing value of the communications which are called forth by this patriotic plan. Mr. Monk's "Agricultural Dictionary, consisting of Extracts from the most celebrated Authors and Papers, in Three Volumes," contains a great variety of valuable materials, which will prove of considerable use to landlords and farmers. His arrangement of particulars, however, might be much improved; and we cannot omit observing, that the want of an index, or table of contents, when information relative to the same subject must, from the nature of such a compilation, necessarily be scattered abroad under different heads, is a blameable omission. Mr. Hodskinson's "Plain and Useful Instructions to Farmers, or an Improved Method of Management of Arable Lands, with some Hints upon Drainage, Fences, &c." contain no new or important information for those who are acquainted with the improvements of modern husbandry. On the less informed class of cultivators who have not yet shaken off the trammels imposed on them by the practice of their forefathers, if they can be induced to read and attend to what the author writes, it may produce good effects. Dr. Anderson's "Practical Treatise on Peat Moss, considered as in its Natural State fitted for affording Fuel, or as susceptible of being converted into Mold, capable of yielding abundant Crops of useful Produce, &c." offers much scientific and valuable information, which does credit to the author as an experienced agriculturist, and promises very considerable advantages to the community, and to the possessors of large tracts of land which now lie waste. In Scotland, to which part of our island his instructions are more particularly applicable, we hope that the public spirit of some individuals will give them a fair trial. The "Account of the different Kinds of Sheep found in the Russian Dominions, and among the Tartar Hordes of Asia, by Dr. Pallas, illustrated with six Plates, and five Appendixes tending to illustrate the Natural and Economical History of Sheep," by Dr. Anderson, is an interesting and valuable work. It contains a fund of curious information respecting the sheep; and many sensible remarks and notes by the editor, which in this country, where so much depends upon the propagation and proper management of that profitable animal, merit particular attention. Mr. M'Phail's "Treatise on the Culture of the Cucumber, &c." supplies many useful hints for the proper cultivation of that vegetable, which appear to be the result of long experience, and patient attention. A considerable part of his work is intended to display the author's acquaintance with agriculture; for which he does not seem so well qualified as for the direction of the kitchen garden.

The next publications which call for our notice are such as belong to the head of Anatomy, Surgery, and Medicine. To this department of our work we must refer "Zoonomia, or The Laws of Organic Life, by Erasmus Darwin, M. D. F. R. S. Vol. I." The purport

port of this elaborate and ingenious treatise is, "an endeavour to reduce the facts belonging to animal life into classes, orders, genera, and species; and, by comparing them with each other, to unravel the theory of diseases." Without expressing any opinion with respect to the legitimacy of Dr. Darwin's conclusions, from the immense number of scattered facts of medical and philosophical knowledge which he has brought together, we must bestow on his work the praise of uncommon originality with respect both to matter and arrangement, profoundness of disquisition, extensive information, and also livelliness of fancy. For the author, as in his notes to the Botanic Garden, has contrived judiciously to blend with the result of his severer studies, a large fund of entertainment, in curious and sprightly narratives, and pleasing dissertations on the most interesting phenomena of animated nature. The "Brief View of the Anatomical Arguments for the Doctrine of Materialism, by William Tattersal, M. D." was written in answer to Dr. Ferriar's argument against that doctrine, which we noticed in a preceding article. It displays great ability and ingenuity. But of the author's success in deciding the controversy, those readers who are interested in the subject, will form very different opinions according to the system which they have embraced. Mr. Bell's "Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints," is a work which deserves highly to be commended. It is distinguished by accuracy of information, perspicuity of description, and judicious and useful physiological and pathological remarks. It is "free and general in the explanations, not redundant, and yet not too brief." On these accounts, a better elementary work, as far as it extends, cannot be recommended to the anatomical student. Dr. Baillie's "Morbid Anatomy of some of the most important Parts of the Human Body" is, likewise, a publication that richly merits the attention of the student. It contains a minute account of the morbid changes of structure which take place in the thoracic and abdominal viscera, in the organs of generation in both sexes, and in the brain. Dr. Baillie's situation, as physician of St. George's Hospital, gave him the opportunity of extensive and reiterated observation; and he has been commendably employed in communicating the result of his experience, with a strict attention to accuracy, and in unaffected and pleasing language. Mr. Pugh's "Treatise on the Science of Muscular Action" is worthy of the attention of the public, on account of the rational principles which it inculcates, and the appeals the author is able to make to numerous facts in support of them. His object is to shew, that as strength, vigour, and activity, are to be given to the muscular system by general exercise; so partial exercise will relieve and remove local complaints, and, in recent cases of debility and injury, restore the limbs to the performance of their proper functions. His reasonings on this subject are illustrated by a set of bold and well executed plates, which express either the cause of some defect in motion, or the proper method of removing it by counteraction.

The "Treatise on the Blood, Inflammation, and Gun Shot Wounds, by the late John Hunter," was prepared for the press, and a great part of it printed,

during the life of that celebrated physiologist. The leading principle for which he contends is, that the blood is composed of the same materials that compose the body, and that it is endued with the same living powers. This principle he supports by strong arguments, and numerous striking experiments; and afterwards applies it with great ingenuity to the theory of inflammation. His observations on gunshot wounds, and the management of them, contain much information on a subject to which the greater part of surgeons have had but little opportunity of paying attention. To the work is prefixed a short account of the author's life, by his brother-in-law, Everard Home, which will gratify the curiosity of the reader. Mr. Latta's "Practical System of Surgery, illustrated with Cases on many of the Subjects, and with Copper Plates, in three vols. Vol. I." contains much valuable information, compiled from the voluminous works of some of our best authors in this science, together with accounts of operations, which from the neat and compressed form in which they are detailed, will be useful to the young practitioner. Mr. Ford's "Observations on the Disease of the Hip Joint" are the production of an enlightened and experienced surgeon, whose exact description of the disease and its progress, enumeration of cases illustrative of its several stages, and scientific account of the mode of treament which he has found most successful for its removal, cannot fail of being acceptable to his brethren. His treatise contains also useful incidental observations on the white swelling of the knee, the caries of the joint of the wrist, and other similar complaints, the whole illustrated by engravings taken from the diseased parts. Mr. Weldon's "Observations, Physiological and Chirurgical, on Compound Fractures," contain much judicious advice, in a small compass, which will be useful to those surgeons who have not had the advantage of much experience. Mr. Bell's "Treatise on the Hydrocele, on Sarcocele or Cancer, and other Diseases of the Testes," is a judicious and important work; but is chiefly a republication of what has already appeared in his system of surgery. Mr. Bell is a decided enemy to the mode of curing the hydrocele by injection; and recommends a method of dressing, when incision is practised, which he has found so successful, that not one patient out of 165 on whom he operated in that mode, has died or even been in danger. Dr. Ewart's "History of Two Cases of Ulcerated Cancer of the Mamma, one of which has been cured, the other much relieved by a new method of applying Carbonic Acid Air," is a very interesting publication. For, if he was not mistaken in the symptoms of the disease, and if it shall appear from subsequent repeated experiments that the remedy which he made use of can effect a permanent cure, or afford considerable relief in cases that are clearly and unquestionably cancerous, the Dr. will deserve well of his species for his antidote against one of the most horrible and loathsome disorders by which they can be affected. Dr. Bland, in his "Observations on Human and Comparative Parturition," controverts the doctrines maintained in Dr. Osborn's "Essays on the Practice of Midwifery," with considerable shrewdness and ability. Which of the gentlemen is

is in the right, must be decided by those who are well versed in the obstetric art.

Dr. Rowley's "Rational Practice of Physic, in four vols." is chiefly a republication of treatises which have at different periods been offered to the world, and, many of them, received with much approbation. They are the productions of a man of ability, and extensive knowledge, and afford much useful instruction. Dr. Withers' "Treatise on the Errors and Defects of Medical Education" may appear hackneyed and trifling to the experienced physician. To the medical student, however, it offers advice and assistance from which he may derive essential benefit. Dr. Penrose's "Essays, Physiological and Practical, founded on the Modern Chemistry of Lavoisier, Fourcroy, &c." with a view to the improvement of the practice of physic, do not appear to possess that originality, and accurate discrimination which can contribute to the extension of medical knowledge. Dr. Rush's "Account of the Bilious Remitting Yellow Fever, as it appeared in the city of Philadelphia, in 1793," is a very interesting publication, and does great credit to the author as an accurate observer, and as a judicious and successful practitioner in an uncommonly arduous and trying situation. How far his theory of the origin and nature of the disease indicates his accurate acquaintance with pathology, we must leave the medical reader to decide from the characteristic symptoms which he has described. The various modes which he adopted in treating the fever, and the distresses of his mind at the appearances which it assumed of nearly all the acute and chronic diseases, are related with great candour. For the particulars we must refer to the work itself. Dr. Fordyce's "Dissertation on Simple Fever, or on Fever consisting of one Paroxysm only," from the well known abilities and experience of the author, may justly be expected to hold out useful information in nosology. In a future dissertation he proposes to point out the manner in which simple fever is repeated so as to produce all the varieties of the disease. Dr. Alexander's "Treatise on the Nature and Cure of the Cynanche Trachealis, commonly called the Croup," describes the progress and phenomena of that disease with considerable accuracy, and points out means of removing it, which appear to be sanctioned by extensive and successful practice; and Mr. Clutterbuck's "Account of a New and Successful Method of Treating those Affections which arise from the Poison of Lead," contains observations which merit the attention of the faculty.

The few remaining articles which we have to notice in this department of our work, belong to Medical Chemistry and Pharmacy. The first of these is Dr. Pearson's "Short Account of the Nature of Airs, so far as relates to their Medicinal Use, intended as an Introduction to the Pneumatic Method of treating Diseases, &c." In this treatise the author defends the analogical reasonings of Dr. Beddoes, in favour of the use of factitious airs in various diseases; and mentions some singular instances of their salutary effects in consumptive cases. We are glad to learn that this theory is likely soon to be brought to the test of experiment, on a grand scale. Dr. Crumpe's "Enquiry into the Nature and Properties of Opium,

wherein its Component Principles, Mode of Operation, and Use in particular Diseases, are experimentally investigated, &c." is an elaborate and well written performance. And if it does not offer much that is new to those who are acquainted with the numerous authors who have treated upon the subject, it contains much useful information for those whose reading has been more confined; and practical observations on its use and abuse in particular diseases, that are often judicious and important. Dr. Alderson's "Essay on the Rhus Toxicodendron, Pubescent Poison Oak, or Sumach, with Cases shewing its Efficacy in the Cure of Paralysis, and other Diseases of extreme Debility," is a commendable attempt to increase the number of useful remedies, and deserves the attention of the faculty. If, on repeated trials, this vegetable should maintain the character here ascribed to it, it will be a valuable addition to the Materia Medica. Dr. Relph, in his sensible and accurate "Enquiry into the Medicinal Efficacy of a New Species of Peruvian Bark, lately imported into this Country, under the Name of Yellow Bark," and Dr. O'Ryan, in a "Letter" on the same subject, addressed to Dr. Relph, contend for the superiority of the yellow bark over every other species of cinchona; and relate a number of pharmaceutical experiments on that drug, and testimonies to its efficacy which seem to justify the ardour with which they recommend it. What they have written is at least sufficient to induce the faculty to give this remedy a fair trial.

Among the Historical productions of the year, the first which claims our attention is "Ferishta's History of Dekkan, from the first Mahummedan Conquest: with a Continuation, from other Native Writers, of the Events in that Part of India, to the Reduction of its last Monarchy, by the Emperor Aulumgeer Aurungzebe. &c." translated by captain Jonathan Scott. This is a very important and interesting work, and will be highly valued by those who wish for accurate information respecting Oriental history. Ferishta is one of the most esteemed writers in Hindoostan, and was of noble rank, and high in office at the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah, of Beejapore, one of the sultans of Dekkan. Besides the history of the Dheli emperors, and this of Dekkan, Ferishta compiled one of every province in India; and many complete copies of his works have been brought home by English gentlemen. The work before us consists of six parts. The first and second parts, which form the first volume, abound in information, which, in a considerable degree, is novel to Europeans. They contain the eventful and entertaining history of the Bhamenee, or Bramincal dynasty of Dekkan sovereigns, and of the Adil Shahee dynasty of Beejapore sovereigns: to which the translator has prefixed, by way of introduction, a brief sketch of the geographical divisions of that part of India, which by English writers is called the peninsula, and the traditionary alterations in its government, prior to the period when this history commences. In the second volume, which contains the remainder of the work, we are presented with a view of the rise and fall of the several monarchies that sprung up on the ruins of the Bhamenee house; an account of Aulumgeer's exploits in the Dekkan;

kan; the origin of the Mahratta empire; the history of Aurungzebe's successors in the empire of Hindoostan, to the present day; and the history of Bengal, from the accession of Aliverdee Khan, to the year 1780. To the text of the whole, captain Scott has added a variety of notes, which contain useful comments on his original. The style of this work is uniformly perspicuous, forcible, and elegant; and the translator has shewn great judgment in "curtailing some of the numerous hyperbolical epithets, and too frequent conjunctions," which would be hurtful to the sense in our language, and in introducing into it, in a pleasing and unaffected manner, the beauties of oriental imagery.

The next work which we have to announce to our readers, is a second edition of "The Natural History of Aleppo: containing a Description of the City, and the principal Natural Productions in its Neighbourhood; together with an Account of the Climate, Inhabitants, &c. by Alexander Russell, M. D.; revised, enlarged, and illustrated with Notes, by Pat. Russell, M. D." in two volumes. This edition is so greatly changed from the former, in its form and construction, as well as the splendor of its appearance; and it contains, at the same time, so much additional information of the historic kind, that it is entitled to more particular notice than we generally pay to publications which are not entirely original. We shall say nothing, however, of the claims of the late Dr. Russell, and of the present editor, as he modestly styles himself, to a very respectable rank in the list of modern instructive and entertaining writers. On these points the public have already sufficiently decided. We shall only endeavour to convey to our readers, a general idea of the arrangement, under which they will meet with those materials which they here receive in a new form, and of the additions which have been supplied from papers bequeathed to the editor by his deceased brother, or from his own stock. And we cannot do this better than in his own words. "The various topics which were dispersed through the first book of the former edition, have been collected and arranged under separate chapters: a deviation from the miscellaneous mode formerly adopted, which rendered it necessary to make numerous additions to the text. But care has been taken in the insertion of these, to assimilate them as nearly as possible with the ideas of the author; keeping in view his primary intention of rendering the introduction subservient to the medical part of his work. In a few instances, where it was thought he had been misinformed, or where some material corrections of the text had been admitted, an explanatory note is either subjoined at the bottom of the page, or placed in the notes at the end of the volume. The present work is divided into six books. The first book contains a description of the city and its environs; of the seasons, agriculture, and gardens. The second contains a general account of the inhabitants; a more particular description of the manners and customs of the Mohammedans; of the interior of the Turkish harem; and a sketch of the government of the city. The third contains an account of the European inhabitants, of the native Christians and Jews, and of the present state of Arab literature in Syria. The fourth book is wholly employed on the remaining branches of natural history, and treats of indi-

genous quadrupeds, birds, fishes, insects, and plants. The fifth contains meteorological observations; with an account of the epidemical diseases at Aleppo, during the author's residence there. The sixth and last book treats solely of the plague, and the method pursued by Europeans for their preservation. To each volume are added notes and illustrations, with an Appendix."

The "Epitome of History, or a concise View of the most important Revolutions and Events, which are recorded in the Histories of the principal Empires, Kingdoms, States, and Republics, now subsisting in the World, &c. by John Payne, in 2 vols." is a work which is ushered before the public with modest pretensions, and is deserving of a favourable reception. The author does not aim at the praise of deep research, and philosophical reflection; but wishes to afford young persons, and those who have not leisure for extensive enquiries, a compendious and useful view, from the best authorities, of the principal facts in the political, geographical, and religious history of the civil governments which subsist in the world, accompanied with such observations as may inspire them with liberal and worthy sentiments. This plan he has conducted in a judicious and able manner, and in a style "free from hardness, embarrassment, and verbosity." The first volume is confined to Europe: the second is devoted to the other quarters of the globe.

"The History of Great Britain, connected with the Chronology of Europe, with Notes, &c. containing Anecdotes of the Times, Lives of the Learned, and Specimens of their Works, vol. I. from Cæsar's Invasion, to the Deposition of Richard II. by James Petit Andrews, F. A. S." is conducted upon a new plan. The object of the author is, "to reduce the most interesting occurrences relative to modern Europe, within a reasonable compass; and, by arranging them in such chronological order, that the events of each year shall face a corresponding epoch of Britain, tempt those to acquire a knowledge of universal history, who had hitherto been contented, at most, with that of their own country." He does not pretend to the merit of originality. "He aspires at no higher praise than that of a faithful historian; and to this should it be added, that he has selected with judgment, and abridged with accuracy, his utmost ambition will be gratified." To this praise the most fastidious critic must allow, that he has considerable claims. As a work of information and reference, with respect to the most material and interesting transactions, which have taken place in the History of England, and the other European states, it affords evidences of commendable industry, of a studied attention to conciseness and brevity, and of accuracy and correctness in general, in the narrative as well as the style and language in which it is clothed. The notes which accompany it, contain a great variety of curious and amusing particulars, which have been collected from the writings of numerous authors, with whom the generality of readers are but little acquainted. And to each of the three books, of which the present volume consists, the author has added two appendixes. In these are introduced relations of such incidents as he could not properly throw into the notes; biographical sketches of distin-

guished

guished British writers, with specimens of their works, if poetical; and an analysis of the times, under the heads of religion, government, manners, arts, sciences, language, commerce, coin, &c. These appendixes are followed by an index which may be considered as a complete abridgment of his work, and a table of chronology, as well as reference. On the whole, we think that our author's plan, and his manner of executing it, will prove useful and acceptable to a numerous class of readers, who are desirous of obtaining information and entertainment at a small expence of time: and we shall be glad to accompany him through the more modern periods of domestic and foreign history.

"The History of England, from the Earliest Dawn of Record, to the Peace of 1783, by Charles Coote, LL. D." vols. I. II. III. is part of a work intended to consist of ten volumes. In his preface the author takes a view of his predecessors in this department, and explains his reasons for engaging in such an undertaking. The want of candour and impartiality in Hume, and above all, his insidious and artful endeavours to sap the fabric of religion, and undermine the dearest interests of society; the numerous errors, want of animation, and injudicious use of his materials which Rapin discovers; the superstitious prejudices and prepossessions of Carte; the evident want of attention, and the inaccuracies and misrepresentations displayed by Guthrie and Smollett; the too narrow and confined plan adopted by Goldsmith; and the detached and disjointed method of the accurate and judicious Henry; these circumstances have induced Dr. Coote to throw himself on the patronage of his countrymen, by offering them a new work on this popular subject, comprized within moderate limits, and untinctured by the rancour of party, or the biass of prejudice. And we must acknowledge that, from the progress he has made, he bids fair to present the public with a work, in which great care shall be taken to be free from the defects which he has freely pointed out in preceding writers, and to entitle the author to the applause of a judicious and impartial historian, whose pages abound in useful, liberal, and animated reflections. The volumes before us are divided into books and chapters. The first volume, besides a preliminary discourse on the origin of the Britons, their persons, dress, character, manners, government, religion, &c. contains the history of the country from Cæsar's British expeditions, to the period of the Norman Conquest, in 1066. The second extends to the death of John, in 1216; and the third to the death of Richard II. in 1399. With respect to his style and language, Dr. Coote has evidently bestowed great attention in avoiding "that affectation of profuse ornament, those meretricious embellishments of speech, which are better adapted to the florid page of the rhetorician, than to the graceful and manly dignity of the historian; and in preserving that chaste simplicity, and nervous perspicuity of diction, which the most esteemed critics in all ages have recommended as the most proper for historic composition." In our next volume we shall have an opportunity of renewing our attention to this work.

Mr. Heron's "New General History of Scotland from the Earliest Times, to the Æra of the Abolition of the Hereditary Jurisdictions

tions of Subjects in Scotland, in the year 1748, vol. I." is divided into two books. The first reaches from the earliest times to the accession of king Malcolm Canmore, in the year 1001. The second continues the narrative from the last-mentioned period, to the death of Alexander III. in the year 1281. Each of these books is divided into two parts; in the former of which, the author records the public transactions, and in the latter, the local circumstances, labours, knowledge, and employments of the inhabitants of Scotland, in each period. As far as Mr. Heron has proceeded, he appears in the light of an ingenious and entertaining author, whose industry and perseverance in a course of dry and tedious researches is highly to be commended, and who is not a stranger to the graces of good writing. And his labours promise to afford desirable aid to the enquirer, who would wish to obtain a probable knowledge of the events and manners in the dark periods of the Scottish history. For he must be very sanguine who expects to attain to more than probability on topics, respecting which any small remains of evidence which sober criticism can claim to be authentic, are buried in an immense chaos of fiction.

Sir John Sinclair, during the present year, has greatly added to our stock of local knowledge, as well as general history, by publishing the VIIIth, IXth, Xth, XIth, XIIth, and XIIIth, volumes of "the Statistical History of Scotland, drawn up from the Communications of the Ministers of the different Parishes." Of the form and value of this voluminous work our readers have been too frequently apprized, to render it necessary for us to enlarge upon them in this place. We shall only observe, that for useful information, and interesting details, the volumes before us are not inferior to those which have preceded them.

"The History of the Reign of George III. King of Great Britain, &c. from the Conclusion of the sixth Session of the fourteenth Parliament, in 1780, to the End of the seventh Session of the sixteenth Parliament of Great Britain, in 1790, vol. III," is the continuation of a work which was noticed by us with approbation, in our Register for the year 1782. It is the production of a judicious, intelligent, and elegant writer, who details the events of the period with clearness and perspicuity; delivers important and interesting observations on the principal political questions which were agitated; and delineates the characters of the chief actors on the scene, with a bold and masterly pencil. He is uniformly an advocate for those principles which are the glory and pride of consistent Englishmen; and execrates, in terms of proper indignation, the fatal policy which plunged this country into the war with America, and gave rise to the disgraces and calamities of a later period, than it falls within his present province to describe.

The "Short History of the British Empire, during the last twenty Months, viz. from May 1792, to the close of the Year 1793, by Francis Plowden, LL. D." is partly political, and partly historical. In the political part the author shews himself to be warmly attached to the principles of the British Constitution, while he assails, in severe and pointed terms, the language and conduct of administration and of their principal abet-

tors,

tors, particularly of Mr. Burke. And, if we except what he says on the subject of the slave-trade, and the too indiscriminate condemnation which he passes on the first constituent assembly of France, he writes on the subject of liberty in general, and of religious liberty in particular, with great liberality and candour. The narrative and historical part of this work is drawn up in an interesting and entertaining manner, in easy, perspicuous, and nervous language. What our opinion is respecting the authenticity of the sources whence Dr. Plowden has derived his information, and the weight of the observations and reflections which he has introduced into his history, our readers will find no difficulty in ascertaining from the repeated references which we made to it in the historical part of our last volume.

Mr. Stedman's "History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War, in 2 vols." is the production of a gentleman who served in the British army in America, during our unfortunate contest with that country. From his situation, therefore, he possessed considerable advantages for collecting materials for such a work, which he appears to have industriously improved. From his situation, likewise, and the sentiments by which he was led into it, it will naturally be imagined that his partiality is towards the English: and that the American reader will not entirely acquit him of admitting prejudices against his countrymen, which prevented his doing them complete justice. We think, however, with the exception of some instances in which we may concur with the American reader, that he is entitled to considerable credit on the ground of candour and impartiality; and that he will be found to agree in the representation of most facts of importance, with Dr. Ramsay, the favourite historian of the new world. In the first volume, Mr. Stedman carries on his History from the commencement of hostilities, to the resignation and return of sir William Howe; to which he has prefixed an extensive Introduction, in which he traces the origin and progress of the settlements in North America, the character of the inhabitants in the several states, and the circumstances which led to the revolution, that great event which is "a wonder to the present, and an example to all future ages." The second vol. commences with an account of the bills brought into the parliament of Great Britain for effecting a reconciliation with the Americans, and concludes with the termination of the war. This work is principally valuable as a particular and minute detail of the military operations which took place during the American war; in which light it is greatly superior to any of the publications which have preceded it. In this light, likewise, Mr. Stedman, as the relator, has established considerable claims to impartiality, by freely pointing out and censuring the errors and blunders in the conduct of our commanders, while he has embraced frequent opportunities of doing justice to the character and military talents of their ultimately successful opponents. In point of composition, the History before us is to be commended for perspicuity in the arrangement, and for correctness and elegance in the style and language. It is illustrated by maps and plans, which are well executed, and appear

appear alſo to poſſeſs the merit of fidelity.

Lieutenant Moor's "Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment, and of the Mahratta Army commanded by Purſeram Bhow, during the late Confederacy in India, againſt the Nawab Tippoo Sultan Bahadur," is a work from which readers of different deſcriptions will receive much information as well as entertainment. To military men, the author's account of the proceedings of the army to which he was attached, and of the peculiar ſyſtem of tactics followed by the Mahrattas, will be curious and intereſting. And his incidental ſtrictures on the military eſtabliſhment of the India Company, are ſuch as merit the ſerious attention of the directors of that body. But Mr. Moor's Narrative recommends itſelf, likewiſe, to the geographer and the hiſtorian, by the variety of information which it contains, in the body of the work and in numerous notes and illuſtrations, relative to different countries with which Europeans have been very imperfectly acquainted. Among other topics which agreeably relieve the military detail, and include much new matter, will be found anecdotes of the court of Hydrabad; ſketches of the character of Tippoo Sultan; hiſtorical and deſcriptive particulars of Canara and the Canareſe; the domeſtic government, character, and cuſtoms of the Mahrattas, and of different Malabar Tribes, Braminical and Mohammedan; an ample account of the once proud city of Bejapoor, or Viſiapour, and of the extenſive and elegant ſtructures in that place; intereſting articles of natural hiſtory; and curious information relative to the coinage of Tippoo, and the zodiacal rupees. The language of this Narrative is unaffected, lively, and perſpicuous.

The "Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultaun, or a Detail of Military Operations from the Commencement of Hoſtilities at the Lines of Travancore in December 1789, until the Peace concluded before Seringapatam in February 1792, by Lieutenant Roderick Mackenzie, in 2 vols. vol. I." is chiefly confined to a profeſſional deſcription of the events of the war, which appear to be recorded with fidelity and impartiality, and accompanied by every neceſſary voucher. In this view it is valuable as a book of reference for the future hiſtorian, notwithſtanding that it may not prove very intereſting to general readers. We cannot avoid noticing, however, that among the incidental reflections which occur in it, we meet with the moſt ſevere and indiſcriminate invectives againſt the character of the Hindoos, who have been proverbial for their innocence and honeſty. How far he is to be juſtified in drawing a picture ſo odious, and ſo totally different from the greater part of thoſe which Europeans have tranſmitted from the eaſt, we will leave his readers to determine from the evidence on which he builds his aſſertions, and the counter-evidence ſupplied by the able writings of ſuch of his contemporaries as have attentively ſtudied the genius and manners of that people.

"The Hiſtory of the Campaign of 1792, between the Armies of France under Generals Dumourier, Valence, &c. and the Allies under the Duke of Brunſwick, &c. by J. Money, Maréchal de Camp in the

the Service of Louis XVI." is the production of a gentleman who is a lieutenant colonel on the English establishment, and who was led to offer his services to France, at the commencement of the rupture with Austria, from a desire of improving himself in his profession. His abilities and experience as an officer procured him the rank above-mentioned, under general Dillon, who commanded the advanced guard of Dumourier's army in the celebrated actions which terminated in the retreat and disgrace of the duke of Brunswick. From his situation, therefore, he had the best opportunities of becoming accurately acquainted with the circumstances of that memorable campaign, which he relates with impartiality and frankness, in an easy and unembarrassed style. To military gentlemen, and to the historian, colonel Money's history will afford much gratification; while it will supply readers in general with important information relative to a very interesting period, and with curious anecdotes of the French soldiery, and of the most conspicuous characters in the scene which he delineates.

Of the merit of the "Impartial History of the late Revolution in France, from its Commencement to the Death of the Queen, and the Execution of the Deputies of the Gironde Party, in two volumes," it would be highly improper in us to express any opinion, as a considerable portion of it has already appeared in our British and Foreign History for the years 1791, 1792, and 1793. We may, however, without the smallest offence against decorum, mention from the advertisement, that those pages were originally written with a view to a separate publication; that the history in the present volumes appears in an improved and corrected state; that the causes of the revolution are also developed in an introductory chapter; that the narrative is continued to the present time, as well as the scattered and imperfect materials which have latterly reached this country from France would permit; and that its claims to impartiality are founded on the authors not being able to charge themselves with feeling the smallest biass to any party but that of truth and liberty, and on the readiness with which they will be found to have marked in its proper colours, every censurable action, whoever were the authors or actors.

The "Historical and Moral View of the Origin and Progress of the French Revolution, and the Effect it has produced in Europe, by Mary Wollstonecraft, vol. I." is the production of a writer who possesses a vigorous and well informed mind, habituated to reflection, and to entertain liberal and comprehensive views of policy and morals. It commences with introductory observations on the progress of society, and the necessity of political discussion to correct the errors of former times; and on the causes which in France have lately concurred to awaken an attention to the philosophy of government, and to dispose the minds of the people to throw off the yoke of despotism. After these observations, Mrs. Wollstonecraft enters on the reign of Louis XVI; developes the causes of the misfortunes of that prince; and selects such circumstances and events as present a just and striking picture of the grievances which subsisted in France prior to the revolution. The reader is afterwards presented with animated and interesting

ing representations of the various efforts of rising freedom, and the struggles of expiring tyranny, from the commencement of the national assembly, to the removal of the assembly and king to Paris; with observations on the occurrences which took place during that period, and strictures on the acts and decrees of the constituent body. These subjects of history and discussion our author examines with a calm and philosophic eye; and suggests, as she goes along, a variety of important reflections which merit the attention of politicians of every party, and statesmen of every country. The style of this work, with the exception of some obscurities occasioned by the too frequent recurrence of metaphorical and figurative language, is peculiarly energetic and impressive.

"The History of the Clergy during the French Revolution, by the Abbé Barruel," is employed in an endeavour to excite the indignation of the English, to whom it is addressed, against the persons in power in France, by drawing a shocking picture of the horrors that have been perpetrated in that country, and by detailing the severities which have been exercised against the nonjuring priests, whom the author holds out in the light of confessors, martyrs, and saints. Many of the stories which he has collected are, probably, true, though related with every circumstance of aggravation. Others of them are so wonderful and extraordinary, and at the same time so entirely unsupported by any shadow of rational proof, that we can class them only with the legendary miracles of the church of Rome. Those unenlightened catholics who yet retain a sufficient portion of credulity to believe the latter, may swallow the former; but by consistent protestants they will be pronounced equally inadmissible.

The "Domestic Anecdotes of the French Nation, during the last thirty years, indicative of the French Revolution," are curious and interesting. The object of them is, to point out the secret causes which have led to that memorable epocha in the annals of the world, by holding up to view some of the most striking features of the philosophers, the clergy, and the court, and in the manners and literature of the country; in which may be traced the gradual rise and insensible operation of a system which, to persons unaccustomed to close research, and extensive speculation, appeared to burst into instantaneous existence. To accomplish this object, the compilers profess to have given into an excentric course of reading, not only of printed books, but of manuscripts, whence they derived materials which, they presume, are very little known to the public; to have examined the multifarious memoirs of the day, with which the French nation abounds; and to be themselves so well acquainted with the greater part of the anecdotes which they bring forward, as to have sometimes corrected the notices they collected, while they have added some original information. Had they established the authenticity of their anecdotes, by specifying their particular authorities, they would have done essential service to the cause of truth and liberty, to which they avow their attachment. But in their present anonymous and unauthenticated form, however striking they may be in themselves, and however appropriate

propriate to the object of the work, a considerable part of their utility is loſt, as they cannot be appealed to by the political ſpeculatiſt, or quoted by the hiſtorian of the times.

"The Hiſtory of the Puritans, &c. by Daniel Neal, M. A. a New Edition, reviſed, corrected, and enlarged, by Joſhua Toulmin, A. M. Vol. I." is part of a republication which is peculiarly acceptable, on account of the intrinſic merit and ſcarcity of the original, and the well known qualifications of the editor for the taſk which he has undertaken. Mr. Toulmin "has taken no other liberty with the original text, than to caſt into notes ſome papers and liſts of names, which appeared to him too much to interrupt the narrative. This alteration in its form promiſes to render it more pleaſing to the eye, and more agreeable to the peruſal. He has, where he could procure the works quoted, which in moſt inſtances he has been able to do, examined and corrected the references, and ſo aſcertained the fairneſs and accuracy of the authorities. He has reviewed the animadverſions of biſhops Maddox and Warburton, and Dr. Grey, and given the reſult of his ſcrutiny in notes; by which the credit of the author is eventually eſtabliſhed. He has not ſuppreſſed ſtrictures of his own, where he conceived there was occaſion for them. It has been his aim, in conducting this work through the preſs, to ſupport the character of the diligent, accurate, impartial editor." To this character we think he has an indiſputable claim. Prefixed to this volume, we find Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Neal, drawn up from his funeral ſermon, preached by Dr. Jennings, and a manuſcript account of him and his works by his ſon Nathaniel Neal Eſq.

"The Hiſtory of the Church of Chriſt, vol. I. containing the Three Firſt Centuries, by Joſeph Milner, M. A." is written on a new plan. The author means not to enter with any nicety into an account of the rites and ceremonies and forms of government of the ancient Chriſtian churches, much leſs into their ſecular hiſtory. "No doubt," ſays he, "ſome more ancient voluminous church hiſtorians, as well as Moſheim in his Compendium, have given us much uſeful information; and if one can look on them as *civil* hiſtorians altogether, they are not to be blamed. Had they incorporated into their ſecular narratives, an account of the progreſs of godlineſs itſelf, I ſhould not have dared to reprehend them as eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians." It is the hiſtory of the men who have been *real*, not merely *nominal* Chriſtians, that the author propoſes to write, and to admit nothing into it but what belongs to Chriſt's kingdom, and to celebrate genuine piety alone. Such a work muſt neceſſarily be partial and defective. And however uſeful and valuable it may be thought by the pious Chriſtian who embraces the ſentiments of high orthodoxy, it will afford little information to the ſtudent in the hiſtory of mankind, and the enquirer after truth, who wiſhes to become acquainted with the riſe and progreſs of Chriſtianity, and to trace the corruptions which were gradually incorporated into it from the dogmas of paganiſm, and its connexion with the civil power. When the author occaſionally digreſſes from his plan, he adopts the intemperate language of ſome of the ancient eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, and credits the anecdotes

dotes to which their prejudice or malignity gave rise, in order to hold out to detestation some of those characters who have been branded with the opprobrious name of Heretics.

The "History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America, in three Parts, by George Henry Loskiel, translated from the German, by Christian Ignatius La Trobe." is a work which will be chiefly interesting to the society of which the author is a member. At least we may venture to pronounce this opinion on the second and third parts of the work, which are immediately devoted to the history of the Mission, and describe the hardships, dangers, and persecutions to which individuals have submitted, in endeavouring to proselyte the Indians to the faith of the Unitas Fratrum. But, like Crantz's History of the Mission to Greenland, it contains information which is valuable to the public at large. This will be principally found in the first part, which is introductory, and presents us with an enquiry concerning the origin of the Indian nations; a geographical view of the country; an account of the general character of the people, their language, their acquaintance with the arts, their religious ceremonies and superstitions, their dress, habitations, and manner of living, their food and agriculture, their method of hunting and fishing, their trade, their mode of travelling, dancing, and other amusements, their diseases and remedies, their funerals and mourning, particulars in natural history; a narrative of the Indian nations since the arrival of the Europeans; a description of the political institutions of the Delawares and Iroquois; and an account of their manner of entering upon, and conducting war, and making peace. Mr. La Trobe's translation is executed with simplicity, and apparent fidelity, and is accompanied by a map of North America, between the 35th and 45th degrees of latitude, and a copious Index.

The "Chronological History of the European States, with their Discoveries and Settlements, from the Treaty of Nimeguen in 1678, to the close of the Year 1792, &c. also Biographical Sketches of the Sovereigns who have reigned during that Period, and of those Persons who have been principally interested, &c. by Charles Mayo, LL. B." is a work on which the author has employed uncommon diligence, and great ingenuity; and it will be found highly useful to the student in modern history. From errors and inaccuracies, it is not entirely free; but they are not so numerous, or of such consequence, as greatly to detract from its general merit. The author's plan divides each page, which contains the general occurrences of one year, into columns, and appropriates one of these to each state in which any thing memorable has happened, and adjusts the constituent events of each civil transaction, and military or naval operation, in a series which has a reference to a scale of months in the upper margin; by which means a distinct outline is given of the history of each country. By disposing, likewise, the columns in a parallel order, the histories of the several states are concentrated in one point of view. By this plan, he comprises every material transaction and event, in ecclesiastical, political, military, and commercial History; and arranges them in such a manner, as to enable the reader to discover

cover the causes in which the several revolutions, wars, &c. have originated, the consequences with which they have been attended, and their relation to other contemporary events. The biographical sketches are concise, and well digested, and drawn up, like the rest of the work, in perspicuous and pleasing language.

In Biography, the first work which attracts our notice, is "the Life of Sir Charles Linnæus, Knight of the Swedish Order of the Polar Star, &c. &c. by D. H. Stoever, Ph. D. translated from the Original German, by Joseph Trapp, A. M." The original of this work, we are informed, has been read upon the continent, with an avidity bordering upon enthusiasm. And it must be acknowledged that the author has exercised the most indefatigable literary diligence, to render it worthy of such a favourable reception. Besides a careful and minute examination of upwards of thirty biographical treatises respecting the Swedish luminary, Dr. Stoever was supplied with much original information, by many persons of considerable literary eminence, to whom he makes due acknowledgments; and he was, likewise, so fortunate as to collect from the surviving pupils of Linnæus, many valuable facts, which would, in all probability, otherwise have been lost. With these materials he has composed a work which, by tracing that extraordinary character through the several circumstances of his life, and the regular advances which he made in science, and literary reputation, will gratify the curiosity of a great number of readers, and be particularly acceptable to the lovers of natural history. To this narrative are added biographical particulars of the life of professor Charles Linnæus jun. who succeeded his father in the academical chair, but was prematurely snatched away when promising to open his career with splendor. Dr. Stoever has also annexed a curious history of the sale of the Linnæan collection, from a letter of Dr. Smith, the president of the Linnæan society of London, who was the fortunate purchaser; and a list of the writings of Linnæus, which he has spared no pains or labour to render as complete and satisfactory as possible. We cannot bestow any great share of praise upon the translation, with respect either to elegance, or accuracy.

The next work which calls for our attention, is "the Life of Thomas Ruddiman, A. M. to which are subjoined New Anecdotes of Buchanan, by George Chalmers, F. R. S. S. A." In this production, the author has agreeably intermixed with the incidents of Ruddiman's life, a history of the progress of grammatical learning in Scotland, from the earliest accounts; a curious history of newspapers, from the time of queen Elizabeth to the year 1792; antiquarian researches relative to the history of Scotland; and biographical notices of Ruddiman's friends, and literary connexions. On these different topics, he has supplied the curious reader with much information and entertainment. The new anecdotes of Buchanan, which Mr. Chalmers has subjoined, are intended to defend Ruddiman against the censures which have been passed by different writers, on the preface and notes to his edition of Buchanan's works; and to hold out the Scottish historian in the most odious points of view, as the seditious instigator to anarchy, and guilty of ingratitude,

ingratitude, meanness, falsehood, and forgery. In this part of his work our author appears to be influenced by the strongest prejudices against Buchanan's political principles, and an evident predilection for those doctrines of Jacobitism, which are becoming fashionable among the professed friends to the Brunswick dynasty. The reader, therefore, will find it, as he may probably suspect, wanting in that candour and impartiality of which the historian and biographer should never lose sight: he will also find it written in that style of bitterness and asperity, which is injurious to truth, and disgraceful to criticism.

In our last volume, we gave an account of the "Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, translated from the Italian original, by the Rev. Joseph Berington;" which we recommended as containing a collection of facts, highly interesting to the ecclesiastical historian. We likewise expressed our warm approbation of the candour and liberality discovered by the translator, in communicating them to the public, and in the remarks and sentiments which he conveyed in his Introduction and Supplement. This candour and liberality, as we surmized would be the case, have excited the indignation of the bigotted Roman Catholics against that gentleman; one of whom, the Rev. Charles Plowden, has published "Remarks on a Book, entitled Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, preceded by an Address to the Rev. Joseph Berington." These remarks are by no means destitute of ingenuity and shrewdness; although we think that they contribute very little to invalidate the arguments produced in support of the authenticity of the materials made use of in the Memoirs. But the address by which they are preceded is acrimonious and virulent in the extreme. Mr. Plowden, in the exuberance of his zeal for the papal cause, is not sparing of the opprobrious epithets which he bestows on Mr. Berington, whom he represents to be "a daring innovator, who has insulted spiritual authority, especially in its source, the head of the church; who has reviled the Jesuits; and who has been guided by the demon of independence, and run wild with the lust of singularity." He, likewise, more than insinuates his suspicion, that he has designedly imposed upon the world a contemptible piece of pretended history, or that he has forged the memoirs, or fraudulently garbled them. Such treatment those enlightened Catholics must expect to meet with, who refuse to yield that universal and implicit subjection to the see of Rome, which they conceive to be inconsistent with the true genius of the Christian religion, and the legitimate claims of the church.

Mr. Henry John Todd, in his "Account of the Deans of Canterbury, from the New Foundation of that Church, by Henry VIII. to the present Time," among notices of many unimportant characters who have few or no pretensions to biographical record, offers brief memoirs of dignitaries of the church who have been eminent in their day, as scholars, or divines: such as Wotton, Godwin, Tillotson, Sharp, Hooper, Stanhope, and Horne. For a considerable part of his materials he is indebted to the Biographia Britannica, and the General Dictionary; excepting in the instance of Dr. Horne, whose decease has been too recent to have admitted the insertion of his name in the past impressions of those works,

works. The manner in which he has compiled these sketches is, in general, simple and pleasing, and accompanied with pertinent remarks. To the whole Mr. Todd has added a catalogue of the manuscripts in the library, which will be principally of service to the officers in the church of Canterbury.

"The Life of John Hunter, by Jesse Foot, Surgeon," contains a critique on the character and works of that celebrated anatomist, by one of the profession who boldly attacked some of his leading opinions during his life-time; and now publishes this work to "enlighten the blind admiration of those who never having read a single line he has written, believed him to have been the first surgeon of his time; and to inform the implicit, but zealous pupil, who relying on the truth and integrity of his master, without consulting his own understanding, was persuaded, that the latest discoveries and newest opinions of John Hunter could not be found already registered in former authors." This work is divided into four parts. The first part commences with his studying in the school of anatomy, under his brother, and includes an account of the controversies with professor Monro, and Mr. Pott, and the other transactions of his life to the year 1760. The second part contains an account of his extrance into the army, with consequent transactions to the year 1770, and a catalogue of all Mr. Hunter's publications. The third part consists of explanatory remarks on all his various productions in natural history, anatomy, and surgery. In the fourth part we are presented with the series of transactions from the year 1770, to the close of Mr. Hunter's life; an account of the progress and arrangement of his museum; and anecdotes of the author, with a short sketch of his character. On the justice and merit of the greater part of the strictures and criticisms in this work, we must leave professional men to decide. We cannot help observing, however, that Mr. Foot's narrative appears throughout to be tinctured by a degree of prejudice against Mr. Hunter, which should seem to have disqualified him for the office of an impartial biographer. His abilities and virtues must indeed have been very "thin and shadowy," if he was not entitled to higher encomiums than will be found in the volume before us. Mr. Foot's performance is, upon the whole, well written, notwithstanding that it is occasionally obscure and inaccurate.

The "Memoirs of General Dumourier, written by himself, translated by John Fenwick, Parts I. and II." constitute a publication which cannot but be highly interesting, on account of the talents which that celebrated character has displayed in the cabinet and in the field, and his subsequent change of circumstances; which arrested the attention of all Europe. To these memoirs is prefixed a brief account of his life, extracted from a letter to a friend. The body of the work contains, in twenty-nine chapters, a view of the state of things in France, particularly with respect to the armies; an account of the different parties in the convention, with the characters of the principal members; the measures pursued by him to counteract the plans of the Jacobins, and to serve the king; his endeavours to preserve peace with England and Holland; his account of the different campaigns in which he was

engaged, particularly that of 1793, with the arrest of the commissioners; and much other matter of which the outlines are too multifarious to be analyzed by us. Dumourier's object in this work is to prove, that he had always fixed principles and a determined character; to convince men of elevated and upright minds, that he was influenced in all his transactions by a sincere regard to the constitution of 1789, and a wish to serve his country, and insure general tranquillity to Europe; and that any apparent inconsistencies in his conduct are to be resolved into his uniform opposition to republicans and royalists. Notwithstanding that we cannot avoid being sceptical with respect to the purity of his motives, and consider his history as holding out an instructive lesson to those whose predominant passions are ambition and vanity; we are nevertheless ready to acknowledge, that he has employed great ingenuity in vindication of his character and conduct. As a collection of striking facts, relative not only to the hero of the story, but to a very important and eventful period in the history of the present war, these Memoirs merit the serious attention of the politician and historian, and will, doubtless, be appealed to by posterity. How far they will enable posterity to decide on the comparative guilt of the French and of the allies, in being the causes of the complicated horrors which have covered the face of Europe, we will leave the dispassionate reader to judge. Mr. Fenwick's translation, though upon the whole faithful to the sense of the original, bears marks of inattention and precipitancy.

"The Life of J. P. Brissot, Deputy from Eure and Loire, to the National Convention, written by himself, and translated from the French," is an interesting publication, and is recommended by every internal evidence of authenticity. It contains an ingenious and spirited defence of one of the ablest and best characters who were engaged in planning and bringing about the French revolution, against the attacks of his enemies, who accused him of being corrupted by foreign powers; and shews, that in the whole course of his life he had been uniformly influenced by principles of pure morality, and genuine patriotism. It throws much light, likewise, on the views of the different parties who have by turns succeeded to the possession of power in France. On these accounts it is well worthy of attention; and more especially, as the conspicuous part which Brissot acted on the scene, subsequently to its publication, has attached considerable celebrity to his name in the public annals of his country.

The "New Biographical Dictionary, or Pocket Compendium, containing a brief Account of the Lives and Writings of the most eminent Persons in every Age and Nation," is a comprehensive little work, drawn up with much candour, and in a pleasing style. We recommend it to those readers who have little opportunity for consulting larger biographical treatises, and who wish to obtain some general information concerning the most conspicuous characters, who from their stations or talents have commanded the attention of the world, and whose names frequently occur in the page of history.

Among the publications of the year which are to be referred to the head of Antiquities, we find a continua-

continuation of Mr. Maurice's curious work entitled "Indian Antiquities," which was announced by us in our last volume. This continuation is divided into three parts, or volumes, numbered, III, IV. V. In the third volume our author proceeds with the subject of his second dissertation, and endeavours to illustrate the oriental theology by a comparison and explanation of the sacred edifices of Hindostan and Egypt; in which he takes Tavernier, Norden, Pococke, Greaves, Volney, and Savary, for his guides, interspersing their accounts with ingenious observations of his own, and introducing a curious disquisition on the origin and progress of architecture, considered with reference to the astronomical and mythological notions of the ancients, and on the earliest species of oriental architecture. We cannot but remark, however, that Mr. Maurice grows more inattentive to arrangement and order, and betrays a greater disposition to indulge to conjecture and hypothesis, as he proceeds in his work. The former fault he will doubtless correct in a new edition, which we hope the encouragement of the public will soon demand. The latter seems to have taken such firm possession of his mind, and is so connected with what now appears to be an essential part of his plan, viz. to shew that the symbols of the Christian religion were immemorially used among the idolatries of Asia, that we despair of seeing his work so modelled as to meet with our entire approbation. That we do not lightly make this remark, and that it does not proceed from any opinion of our own with respect to the commonly received doctrine, we think those dispassionate readers will admit, who attend to the species of proofs which he adduces for the truth of the doctrine of the Trinity, drawn from the sephiroth or three superior splendors of the Jewish Cabala; from the dogmas of Oriental theology which were held above a thousand years before Plato was born; and from the monstrous superstition of the Hindoos. These proofs occupy the whole of the IVth and a considerable part of the Vth volumes, and abound in assertion and declamation; but are very defective in point of rational argument. We are indeed ready to acknowledge ourselves to be of the number of those "timid Christians." who should have been surprised, if from such sources we could have traced any principles of pure Christian theology. Independently, however, of the tedious discussion in which his fondness for hypothesis involves our author, these volumes will afford information and entertainment to the reader; in the accounts which they contain of the doctrines and superstitious rites of the Brahmins, and the progress of the candidates through the different degrees of Hindoo probation; the mysteries of Mithras, and the severities exercised on those who were initiated into them; and the horrible penances voluntarily submitted to by the devotees of India. From the close of our author's preface we are led to expect soon a sixth volume of this work, which is to contain distinct and extensive dissertations on the celebrated code of laws, the most ancient form of government, and the literature of Hindostan. In these dissertations we expect that we shall accompany the author with more unmixed pleasure than the present volumes have afforded us, and that we shall find greater reason to express our

unqualified applause of the result of his learned and ingenious labours.

"The Course of Hannibal over the Alps ascertained, by John Whitaker, B. D." in 2 vols. is a performance in which the author has employed much ingenuity, in order to correct the misconceptions of ancients and moderns respecting the track which the celebrated African pursued, in his march from Gaul to Italy. In a variety of discussions, and digressions, in which he has given his known learning, antiquarian skill, and imagination full play, he conducts his hero from Lauriol, in Dauphiné, where he passes the Rhone, to Lyons; from Lyons, to Geneva; from Geneva, to Martigny; and from Martigny, over the Alps, by the great St. Bernard, to Turin, where he leaves him. He then triumphantly exclaims, "I have thus conducted Hannibal from Lauriol on the Rhone in Dauphiné, to Turin on the Po in Piedmont. I have taken him stage by stage, and step by step, through this long labyrinth of nations; as the concurring narratives of Polybius and Livy have held out the clue. Geography has united with history; the present nature of the ground with the ancient descriptions of the sites, and the Itinerary of Rome with the traditions of the Romans, to confirm *their* narrative, and *my* account. I have pointed out all the grand reasons, that actuated the mind of Hannibal, and directed the movements of the Carthaginians under him. I have thus thrown a new and strong light, I presume, upon this important portion of history. I have particularly fixed the line in which he crossed the Alps, for the *first* time in a *single* part of his course, and for the *last*, I trust, in *every* part of it." We must leave his readers to determine how far he is entitled to that merit which he so confidently claims. But we cannot avoid noticing with strong disapprobation the air of self-importance which pervades every part of these volumes; and the coarse and intemperate language in which he condemns the opinions of Livy, and Polybius, and Strabo, and the modern authors who have treated on the same subject, when they differ from his own. Nor can we conceal the disgust which we felt, when we found him introducing the invidious and abusive distinctions of modern politics, into a literary work. With many of his other digressions, historical, and critical, we have been highly entertained. The style of Mr. Whitaker sometimes is turgid, and sometimes sinks into the other extreme; but its general characteristics are vigor and vivacity.

The "Defence of the Scots Highlanders in general, &c. with a New and satisfactory Account of the Picts, Scots, Fingal, Ossian, &c. and several other particulars respecting the high Antiquities of Scotland, by the Rev. John Lanne Buchanan," is designed to controvert several positions in Mr. Pinkerton's Enquiry into the History of Scotland: particularly, that the Picts spake the Gothic tongue, and not the Gaelic; that no Druids ever dwelled northward of Wales; and those which assert the tardy conversion of the Picts to Christianity. Whatever be the truth on these points, we cannot say that our author is a formidable antagonist to Mr. Pinkerton. To argument he has few pretensions; and still fewer to candour and urbanity. When Mr. Pinkerton's work made its appearance, we freely expressed our

our disapprobation of the language of self-importance and of acrimony, which disgraced several of his ingenious and learned pages. The virulence, however, which we met with in Mr. Buchanan's work, united to equal confidence, and very little that can afford instruction or amusement, excited sensations that we will not attempt to describe in adequate terms.

The "Enquiry into the Origin and Progress of the Science of Heraldry in England, with Explanatory Observations on Armorial Ensigns, by James Dallaway, A M." is a publication which will afford much entertainment to the curious and intelligent antiquary, from the ingenious researches which it contains, and the classical as well as historical and general literature, which the author has made subservient to the illustration of his favourite studies. It is, likewise, the most accurate, perspicuous, and elegant production which we have seen on the subject; and the best adapted to the information and amusement of the young student in English antiquities. Of its contents we shall endeavour to give our readers a general idea, by mentioning the leading subjects in the seven sections into which it is divided. These are, the origin of heraldry, or of bearing armorial distinctions; tilts and tournaments; the establishment of the college of heralds, with their perquisites of office, visitations, &c. &c; literary history of heraldry during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, with biographical accounts of the persons who have written on the science of heraldry; origin of surnames, the state of heraldry under Charles I. and an account of the decline of the courts of chivalry; investiture of heralds; the compilation of pedigrees, modes of marshalling arms, cognizances, crests, &c. &c. &c. The author has also added to these sections an Appendix, containing additional explanations of the subjects on which he has treated in the body of his work; which is farther illustrated and recommended by numerous plates and vignettes, and great typographical elegance.

The "Two Letters on the Origin, Antiquity, and History of Norman Tiles, stained with Armorial Bearings, &c. by John Henniker Major, Esq. M. A. F. R. S. S. A." will be esteemed curious by the adepts in heraldic lore; but we do not perceive to what important or interesting object the author can apply the subjects of his investigations. The utmost that we can learn from these letters is, that the tiles which they describe once formed part of the pavement of one of the halls of the convent of St. Stephen, in the capital of lower Normandy, and that they were probably the armorial bearings of some of the superstitious noblemen, who assisted in founding or endowing that religious house.

The next publication which calls for our notice is, a continuation of the Bibliotheca Typographica Britannica, entitled "Miscellaneous Antiquities," Nos. I. and II. The first of these numbers is entitled "Mandnessedum Romanorum, being the History and Antiquities of the Parish of Manceter, including the Hamlets of Hartshill, Oldbury, and Atherstone, and also of the adjacent parish of Ansley in the County of Warwick." This work was left in an incomplete state by the late Benjamin Bartlett, Esq. F. A. S. who had for many years devoted to it his leisure hours; and comes before the public enlarged, and carried on under the inspection of several

veral gentlemen resident on the spot. It contains such information and entertainment as cannot fail of being acceptable to the lovers of topographical history; and biographical notices of Obadiah Grew, D. D. who was ejected from the church of St. Michael, in Coventry, by the act of uniformity, and of his son Nehemiah Grew, M. D. who was well known in London, where he resided many years, as a physician and an author. No. II. is a pleasing, but short "Sketch of the History and Antiquities of Hawkhurst, Kent," written on a plan suggested some years ago in the Gentleman's Magazine, for procuring parochial histories from every part of the kingdom.

"The Ancient and Modern State of the parish of Cramond, to which are added Biographical and Genealogical Collections, respecting some of the most considerable Families and Individuals connected with that District," is a well written, and elegant work, for which the public are indebted to the pen of John Philip Wood, Esq. It is divided into two parts. The first part is topographical, and presents us with the situation, extent, Roman history, antiquities, population, manners, state of agriculture, manufactures, &c. of the parish of Cramond, in which the reader will meet with many curious and interesting particulars. The second part, which is biographical and genealogical, abounds also in information and amusement. It contains accounts of sir George Mackenzie of Roystoun, first earl of Cromarty; of the family of Hope, of which Charles Hope, of Hopetoun, was raised to the peerage in 1703; and of John Law, of Lawriston, which has already appeared as a separate publication, and was noticed by us in our Register for the year 1791.

"The History and Antiquities of the Abbey and Borough of Evesham, compiled chiefly from MSS. in the British Museum, by Wm. Tindal, M. A." consists of nine chapters. The first five chapters are devoted to accounts of the foundation of the abbey; of the abbots; of the revenue and endowments; of the customs and internal regulations; and of the site and remaining antiquities of that ancient monastery. The remaining part of the volume describes the vale of Evesham; the rise of the town from the abbey; its favourable situation, present state, soil, air, &c; public edifices; the eminent persons who have been born or resided there; and the decisive battle of Evesham which proved fatal to the power of the famous Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester. With these chapters are connected two Appendixes, one in the body of the work, consisting of charters and references to public papers that relate to the abbey; and the other containing lists of the representatives in parliament and of the mayors, and other papers illustrative of the constitution and history of the borough. Notwithstanding that in our perusal of this work we met with opportunities in which criticism might convict the author of inaccuracies, and the injudicious introduction of matter foreign to the proper design of an antiquarian and topographer, we think him, on the whole, to be entitled to praise for the attention and industry with which he has compiled it. The plates accompanying it, which are seven in number, are well executed.

The volume of "Select Views in Leicestershire, from Original Drawings,

Drawings, containing Seats of the Nobility and Gentry, Town Views, and Ruins, accompanied with Descriptive and Historical Relations, by J. Throsby," appears to have been published, chiefly, with the design of introducing to notice the numerous pleasing engravings with which it is enriched. These are upwards of sixty in number, and exhibit the remains of castles and religious houses, and the "dwellings of the rich and opulent," beginning with those of the highest rank of nobility, and ending with the seats of private gentlemen. In the relations and descriptions which accompany them, readers of different descriptions will find entertainment.

The "Supplementary Volume to the Leicestershire Views, containing a Series of Excursions in the Year 1790, to the Villages and Places of Note in the County," by the same author, is presented to the public as an expression of gratitude to those who had been voluntary patrons of his former work. It contains a greater portion of description and narrative, and a greater variety of anecdotes than were to be met with in that volume; and will prove not an unpleasing companion to the traveller who wishes to frequent the rural scenes, and learn the village history of Leicestershire. This volume is illustrated by sixteen engravings, principally relating to the remains of antiquity.

The "Account of a rich Illuminated Missal, executed for John Duke of Bedford, Regent of France under Henry VI. and afterwards in the Possession of the late Duchess of Portland," brings the reader acquainted with a very curious and splendid monument of the arts in the fifteenth century. This Missal contains fifty-nine large miniatures, and above a thousand small ones, displayed in brilliant borders of golden foliage, with variegated flowers, &c. and with explanations of each in lines of blue and gold letters at the bottom of every page. The subjects are, symbols of the twelve months, historical paintings from the scripture, portraits of the duke and duchess of Bedford, with various paintings, designed as compliments to the noble owners of the book. At the sale of the late Duchess of Portland's effects in 1786, this missal was purchased, by Mr. Edwards, bookseller, of Pall Mall, for the large sum of £131. 3s.

Among the books of Travels which were published during the year 1794, we meet with "The Rhine, or a Journey from Utrecht to Frankfort, &c. described in a Series of Letters, written from Holland to a Friend in England in the Years 1791, and 1792, by Thomas Cogan, M. D. in 2 vols." These volumes are the productions of a well-informed and judicious observer, who with taste and discrimination has selected the most striking objects that offered themselves to his view, or excited his reflections during his tour, and penned his descriptions and sentiments with that unrestrained ease and freedom which are so interesting in epistolary correspondence. And, what renders his work more valuable and entertaining than the greater part of travels and voyages which are continually issuing from the press is the circumstance, that a very considerable share of his attention has been bestowed on the different views of human nature which presented themselves to him in his progress, and the customs, manners, and characters of the persons

persons whom he met with, which he has contrived to explain and develope with a happy mixture of good sense and vivacity. Dr. Cogan is an uniform friend to truth, virtue and liberty; and has ingeniously introduced anecdotes into his work, to illustrate the value of those blessings. The principal places in the first volume, at which the Dr. arrests the progress of the reader for any considerable time, are Cleves, Dusseldorff, and Cologne; at which places he has opportunities of affording unaffected displays of his knowledge and good taste, of the warmth and energy with which he can commend noble and generous actions, and of the good-humoured satire he can make use of in exposing the superstition and follies of mankind. In the second volume he conducts us to Bonn, Coblentz, Mentz, and Frankfort. At Mentz he is engaged in a curious disquisition on the invention of printing, the honour of which he awards to Laurence Coster of Haarlem; and at Frankfort, in a description of the ceremonies observed at the coronation of the emperor, and a very entertaining account of that part of the annual fair which relates to the interests and history of literature in Germany. The rest of this volume is employed in a detail of the author's passage down the Rhine, which abounds in animated descriptions, just remarks, and genuine pleasantry. This work is ornamented with twenty-four acquatinta views of the most picturesque scenery on the banks of the Rhine.

The "Letters during a Tour through Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, in the Years 1791 and 1792; with Reflections on the Manners, Literature, and Religion of those Countries, by Robert Gray, A. M." are the productions of an author already well known to the public as a learned divine, and who is careful to preserve the dignity becoming that character while he claims their acquaintance as a traveller. Those who travel with him, will "find him at least harmless; picking up no scraps of infidelity, collecting no trash of foreign politics. If he advert to the light and empty notions which bubbled up in the societies which he saw, it is only to point out their frivolous and transient nature. He has wished to direct curiosity to interesting objects, and to enliven the vacant hours of life by inoffensive if not instructive communications." By such observations in the preface the reader is prepared, when he opens this volume, to sit down to a calm and sober entertainment, from which he may derive instruction and improvement, if he should not be charmed by beauties of description, or provoked to merriment and laughter, by lively sallies, sprightly anecdotes, and convivial gaiety. And in such an expectation he will not be disappointed. Mr. Gray, in passing over scenes which have often been described by intelligent travellers, selects such objects as are more particularly interesting to a literary and religious character, on which he makes useful remarks and reflections; or he endeavours to draw from the records of history, particulars which have escaped their attention; or to give an unhacknied illustration of those circumstances in the general manners of the countries he visited, which appeared most interesting to himself, and which may furnish subject for the amusement of a few leisure hours. The style in which these letters are written, is perf;-

perspicuous, and the language simple and easy.

The "Ramble through Holland, France, and Italy, in 2 vols." is a work that has not much pretension to information and novelty. It is rendered entertaining, however, by the interesting nature of many of the subjects which the author has selected for his remarks, and the free sprightly manner in which they are made: and as it is written in the light epistolary style, it will be acceptable to a numerous class of readers.

The "Two Voyages to Sierra Leone, during the Years 1791, 1792, and 1793, in a Series of Letters, by Anna Maria Falconbridge," are written in a lively and pleasing manner, and, as far as we can judge from internal evidence, with a rigid adherence to truth. They describe the incidents and occurrences which the authoress met with in her voyages, and excursions in Africa; the manners, customs, &c. of the people inhabiting the places she visited; their situations and qualities; a brief history of the peninsula of Sierra Leone, and its environs, which it was her intention to have considerably enlarged, had not her design been anticipated by the publication of lieutenant Matthews's Voyage to that country; and the transactions and progress of the colony established in that place. With respect to the complaints to which Mrs. Falconbridge freely indulges against the directors of the Sierra Leone company, it does not fall within our province to give any opinion.

Mr. Montefiore's "Authentic Account of the late Expedition to Bulam, on the Coast of Africa, with a Description of the present Settlement of Sierra Leone, and the Adjacent Country," gives an affecting detail of the unfortunate circumstances which terminated in the disappointment and ruin of some of the first persons who engaged in a plan for colonizing one of the islands in the Rio Grande. From this account it appears, that the plan was hastily conceived, and attempted to be put in practice, to say the least, very injudiciously. For without any previous ceremony of purchasing Bulam from the neighbouring natives who occasionally occupied it, they endeavoured to establish their right by taking possession, and hoisting the British flag. The consequence was, that some of the settlers were soon afterwards cut off by the inhabitants of a neighbouring island, and the rest obliged to take refuge in a settlement belonging to the Portuguese. Our author's account of the settlement of Sierra Leone, agrees in most circumstances with that in the last mentioned article.

Mr. Johansen's "Account of Bulam," or Bulama, according to his orthography, "with Observations on its Climate, Productions, &c. and an Account of the Formation and Progress of the Bulam Association, and of the Colony itself," is of a later date than the preceding. From this account it appears, that several of the colonists whose fears were not sufficiently powerful to engage them to abandon their design, profiting from experience, entered into a negociation with the Canabacs, who claimed Bulam as their property, and who made a formal and friendly cession of it for a satisfactory consideration. Subsequently to that event a settlement has been established on the island, which, with proper support, gives flattering promises of final success to the undertaking,

dertaking. Every friend to the interests of humanity, and of his country, must wish that the hopes of the colonists may not prove to have been too sanguine, as their object is "to people those fertile territories, despoiled of their inhabitants by the slave trade, to rear the productions of the climes between the tropics, by the assistance of freemen, and to extend the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain." Mr. Johansen's treatise gives a complete and authentic detail of the formation and progress of the association, and a description of the settlement itself, including a variety of facts and observations relative to its climate and productions. The materials from which it has been drawn up are, the letters, communications, and dispatches of Philip Beaver, Esq. a lieutenant of the royal navy, who has resided nearly two years as chief of the settlement; the information of different colonists since their return to Europe; and the records of the society.

"Slavery and Famine, Punishments for Sedition, or an Account of the Miseries and Starvation of Botany Bay, by George Thompson, who sailed in the Royal Admiral, May 1792, with preliminary Remarks by G. Dyer, B. A." is a publication which gives an interesting, but very unpromising account of the settlement which the wisdom of our government has established for convicts, in New South Wales. Many of the facts which are here adduced will lead the reader to question the policy of the establishment itself, and to condemn the severity with which punishment has frequently been inflicted for very slight offences. The accounts which the editor has introduced of Messrs. Muir, Palmer, and Skirving, and his reflections on their peculiarly hard lot, in being sent to such a country, and to such associations, on account of their political opinions, will excite the sympathy of every friend of humanity and constitutional freedom.

The treatise entitled "Some Information respecting America, collected by Thomas Cooper, late of Manchester," contains many important facts, which deserve the serious consideration of those who wish to emigrate to the transatlantic regions. It is written in the form of letters to a friend. The first letter presents us with a comparative estimate of the advantages likely to be derived from settling in any of the different situations to which an emigrant is most likely to direct his wishes. The second consists of miscellaneous information. The third offers a variety of facts relative to the purchase of land, labour, and produce. The fourth contains an interesting account of a journey from Philadelphia towards the state of New York. The last letter is entitled A Letter of Scraps. One conclusion which will be drawn from the facts which this able and observing writer has collected is this, that unless to those Englishmen who are habituated to agricultural pursuits, and who can personally undergo the labours of the field, or who have been instructed in some one of the mechanic arts, emigration to America must prove an object that should very deliberately be reflected upon before it be embraced. The government of that country is certainly wise and equitable; and the industrious poor enjoy a degree of independence and comfort in it, to which the greater part of that class are entire

entire strangers on this side of the Atlantic. But the inconvenience and the expences to which persons not accustomed to labour must be exposed, and the differences in the habits and associations in the old and new worlds are so great, that nothing but oppression or persecution, or the fear of being materially affected by the convulsed state of things in Europe, can engage persons of much property to exchange countries.

The "Letters on a Tour through various Parts of Scotland, in the Year 1792, by J. Lettice, B. D." is a publication from which we have received more information and entertainment, than from any recent account which we have seen of travels into the northern part of this island. Mr. Lettice entered upon his excursion on the 24th of August, in company with some friends, from Carlisle, by Gretna Green, Annandale, Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock to the Isle of Bute; whence he pursued his route by Dunbarton, Inverary, Glenorchy, Glenco, Forts William, Augustus and George, Inverness, along the north coast to Elgin and Castle Gordon; and thence by Huntley, Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, Kinross, Stirling, the late Mr. Bruce's of Kinnaird, and Linlithgow to Edinburgh, which he reached on the 25th of September. In passing over this extensive tract of country, our author has examined the various objects of nature and of art which presented themselves to him, with an intelligent and inquisitive eye. His descriptions of the scenes of grandeur which arrested his attention, are animated and poetical. His observations on the language and manners of the inhabitants, population, manufactures, trade, and political economy, are sensible and interesting, and are intermixed with amusing anecdotes, as well as judicious and pertinent reflections. The language in which his narrative is written, is lively and pleasing.

The "Picture of the Isle of Wight, delineated on the Spot, in the Year 1793, by Henry Penruddocke Wyndham," is the production of a man of observation and taste, and will be found of signal use to those who may visit that charming island. The author was induced to draw it, from the want which he himself felt, on his first acquaintance with the Isle of Wight, of proper instructions, "which might point out the beautiful varieties of its little district, or which might connect them in such a manner, as to make them accessible to the best advantage." The parties, therefore, who hereafter shall visit it, by consulting this pleasing and lively guide, "may be previously prepared for what they may expect to see, and, consequently, may contract or lengthen their journey, according to the time they may have allotted to their ramble, or as the descriptions may be suitable to their respective tastes and inclinations." With the addition of a map, it would be still more valuable.

The "History of the principal Rivers of Great Britain, vol. I," is part of a magnificent and splendid work, which, from the specimen before us, promises to be greatly superior to any thing of a similar nature which has been attempted in this country, and to unite those excellences of composition, typography, and engraving, which shall prove honourable testimonies to the advanced state of literature, and of the fine arts at the present period.

riod. This first volume is devoted to the history of the river Thames, and the description of its course from the spring head, in the parish of Cotes, in the county of Gloucester, to Kingston, in the county of Surry. It includes, likewise, the history of its various tributary streams, from the Churn to the Mole. The intention of the author in presenting the public with the history of this, as well as the other principal rivers of the kingdom is, to give the history "of whatever appears on its banks; from metropolitan magnificence, to village simplicity; from the habitations of kings, to the huts of fishermen; from the woody brow, which is the pride of the landscape, to the secret plant that is visible only to the eye of the botanist: not to content himself with existing circumstances, but to relate the past, as well as to describe the present; and while he gives the history, or represents the antiquities connected with the scenes before him, to delineate the scenes themselves: to throw upon the same page, historical narration, and antiquarian research; the criticism of modern taste, and the sketch of landscape beauty." The manner in which the present volume is executed, does ample justice to this comprehensive design. In the literary part, the reader will meet with that information and entertainment, which he would expect to receive from a writer possessed of an extensive acquaintance with history, antiquities, and topography, of a classical and correct taste, and lively powers of description. The engravings which embellish the work, are the productions of Mr. Farrington, and are forty-six in number. They are executed in acqua tinta, on an etched outline, and stained in imitation of drawings. Of their particular excellences we must leave the cognoscenti to judge. To us they appear highly pleasing and beautiful; and from their exact representation of some of the striking scenes which we have frequently contemplated with delightful emotions, we should conceive them, in general, to be fair and accurate transcripts from nature.

The "Select Views in the South of France, with Topographical and Historical Descriptions, by the Author of the Rhœtian Alps," consist of fifteen exquisitely beautiful engravings, from the drawings of Mr. Beaumont, with whose judgment and taste the public are well acquainted, and executed in acqua tinta by Apostool. The subjects of them are, the Harbour of Antibes; the Town and Harbour; Toulon; the Harbour of Toulon; a Triumphal Arch near St. Remi; the Harbour and City of Marseilles; the Entrance of the Canal of Orgon; the Entrance of the Bay of Toulon; the Temple of Caius and Lucius Cæsar, or the Maison Carrée at Nismes; the Amphitheatre at Nismes; Antiquities; the Tourmagne, on a hill near Nismes; the Pont du Gard; the Triumphal Arch at Orange; and a Pyramid near Vienne, in Dauphiny. The descriptions which accompany the plates are amusing and instructive; and the typography singularly elegant.

Such also is the character, at least as far as respects the plates, of "A Picturesque Tour from Geneva to the Pennine Alps, translated from the French." This is the translation of a work of Mr. Beaumont, which was published at Geneva, in the year 1787: but, what is very unaccountable, and certainly

certainly very unhandsome towards that gentleman, it appears in English without the most distant acknowledgment of his being the author. The engravings are twelve in number, and coloured from nature to imitate drawings. The descriptive part appears, on the whole, to be faithfully translated.

With respect to the Political publications of the year, we must follow our usual practice of briefly noticing a few of the most important, and barely announcing others which have been thought more deserving of attention than the mass of such temporary productions.

The principal subjects which called forth the exertions of political writers, were the war with France, and the conduct of men in power. Among the publications which arraigned the present system, and the principles on which it is supported, the "Letters to the Peers of Scotland, by the Earl of Lauderdale," attracted considerable notice. In these letters the noble author, in energetic and pointed language, condemns the folly of our interference in the affairs of France; exposes the versatile and ruinous politics of government, and those intrigues for power which produced the disgraceful schism in the whig party; and ably defends his own political actions, and those of the men who join with him in opposing the ministerial measures, against the attacks of calumny and misrepresentation. The "Considerations on the Causes and alarming Consequences of the present War, and the Necessity of an immediate Peace, by a Graduate of the University of Cambridge," expose, likewise, in animated language, and with nervous arguments, the reasonings or fears of those who vindicate the origin of the war, or who are for protracting hostilities on the principle that this country cannot securely treat with France, till she re-adopt the monarchical form of government. Dr. Plowden's "Friendly and constitutional Address to the People of Great Britain," maintains similar principles, and in keen terms condemns their politics who wish to throw a veil over the science of government, to propagate the doctrines of indefeasible and hereditary right, and to hold out to public odium the advocates for parliamentary reform. Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, in his "Remarks on the General Orders of the Duke of York to his Army, on July 7, 1794," while he condemns, in indignant language, the atrocities which have been committed in France, traces those atrocities to the machinations of the combined powers; and on principles of humanity as well as religion, eloquently declaims against the criminality of the present war, and severely lashes its supporters. Mr. William Fox, in his treatises "on Jacobinism," "on Peace," and his "Defence of the War against France," shews himself to be an able auxiliary on the same side of the question, and in plain but impressive language, and a keen strain of political satire, urges many home truths on the understandings and common sense of his fellow citizens. Mr. Bigge's "Considerations on the State of Parties, and the Means of effecting a Reconciliation between them," is also a publication which engaged and deserved much notice. Those who are convinced of the excellence of our constitution in theory, and wish to diminish the number of its enemies, by a timely reform of the abuses which have crept

crept into its administration, will find the author an able advocate for their system.

On the other side, likewise, considerable ingenuity and abilities have been called forth to justify the measures of administration, to persuade the public of the necessity and policy of continuing the war, and to inspire them with confidence in their power and resources for that purpose. Among others, Mr. George Chalmers prefixed to a new edition of his "Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain," a very long dedication to Dr. James Currie, the reputed author of "Jasper Wilson's Letter;" in which with a mixture of satire and bold assertion he attacks the advocates for peace and reform, and justifies the measures adopted by government, both with respect to foreign powers, and the internal state of this country. Mr. Hunter also, in his "Considerations on the Causes and Effects of the present War, and the Necessity of continuing it, till a Regular Government is established in France," uses much ingenuity to prove that the present contest is a war of prudence, necessity, and self defence, on the part of Great Britain; that the enthusiasm by which the French have been actuated is just expiring; that the brave armies of the allies, fired with the noblest ardour, and emulous to display their heroism, assure us of speedy success against anarchy and atheism: and many other points which late events have shewn to be speculative deceptions. "The necessity of continuing the War, and the Dangers of immediate Peace, from the French of Le Comte de Montgaillard," is employed in shewing that present peace with France would be attended with ruin to all Europe; and that the establishment of a republic in that country, must necessarily prove the downfall of every existing government. He, however, recommends a total change of the nature and system of the war: advice which was disregarded till it was too late to carry it into effect. M. de Montgaillard published also "The State of France in the Month of May 1794," in which he greatly interested the public attention, by a most ingenious chain of conclusions drawn from a statement of facts which, if authentic, would seem to justify the most sanguine hopes of the allies, and to announce their speedy triumph over that devoted country. The result of the last campaign has shewn how baseless was the fabric which he constructed. In "A continuation" of the same work, the author brings forward numerous additional facts, from which he argues with the same ability, but, as events have shewn, from equally erroneous information, or an equal deficiency in political sagacity. The accuracy of his statements, and the conclusiveness of his reasoning were soon attacked with great force and spirit, in a treatise entitled "Rassurez-Vous, &c." the author of which is, nevertheless, a warm advocate for continuing the war, and for restoring the princes of the house of Bourbon to their estates and power; which restoration he pronounces to be the only possible pledge of a lasting peace, and the only security for the payment of the *Indemnifications which it may please the allies to fix and demand.*

A variety of other publications appeared on both sides of the questions agitated in the abovementioned works, among which were, "Considerations on the French War,

War, by a British merchant;" "A Short Exposition of the Advantages to Great Britain from the War;" "Dangers which threaten Europe, translated from the French of Mallet du Pan;" "Considerations on the present internal and external Condition of France;" "the Retrospect, or the State of Religion and Politics in France and Great Britain, by J. Owen, A. M.;" "Peace with the Jacobins impossible, by W. Playfair;" "War with France the only Security of Britain;" "the Prospect before us, in Reply to Comte de Montgaillard;" "A Letter to Earl Stanhope, from Mr. Mills;" "Information concerning the Strength, &c. of the Powers at War, by R. Heron;" "Reflections submitted to the combined Powers, by J. Bowles, Esqr." "Considerations for those who have subscribed towards the Increase of the Military, and illuminated for the Victory of Lord Howe;" "Better Late than Never: a Review of Mr. Pitt's Administration;" "Dialogue between a Reformer and antirevolutionist;" "A Refutation of Mr. Pitt's Assertion, that unless the Monarchy of France be restored, the Monarchy of England will be lost for ever;" "A Letter on public Affairs, by Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart." "the State of the Country in November 1794, by Abraham Jones;" "Good Sense," and a "first" and "second Peal of the Tocsin of Britannia, or Alarm Bell of Britons, by John Stewart, the Traveller;" "Pig's Meat, or Lessons for the Swinish Multitude, vol. I;" "Observations on Mr. Fox, and his Opposition in the last Session, by a Suffolk Freeholder;" "Considerations on false and real Alarms, by Colonel Norman Macleod;" "a Vindication of Daniel Holt, the Printer of the Newark Herald;" "Dialogue between a corrupt Burgess, and a patriotic Knight;" "Thoughts on the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act;" and "a Lecture on the Moral Tendency of a System of Spies and Informers, by J. Thelwall."

On the subject of Indian Politics we meet with "British India analysed," a voluminous work in 3 vols; "Observations on the present State of Bombay;" "Strictures on the Mocurrery System of landed Property in Bengal;" "an Answer to Mr. Princep's Observations on the Mocurrery System, by T. Law, Esqr;" "Address to the East India Proprietors, on their addressing the King;" "Sketches of the Debate, and the adjourned Debate, on the same Subject, by W. Woodfall;" Speech against the Directors trading to India, by Mr. Twining;" "an Answer to Mr. Twining's Speech, by Mr. Tolfrey;" and "an Account of the Method and Expence of cultivating Sugar in Bengal."

The following publications are of a highly interesting nature, and necessary to be read by every person who would acquire an accurate knowledge of the state of political parties in this country, or develope the causes of the very extraordinary prosecutions which have been carried on, during the present year, by the servants of the crown: "a Review of some of the political Events at Manchester during the last five Years, &c, by Thomas Walker:" "a Narrative of Facts, relating to a Prosecution for High Treason, &c. by Thomas Holcroft;" and the "Account of his Arrest for treasonable Practices, his Examination before the Privy Council,

Council, his Commitment to the Tower, and subsequent Treatment, &c. by Jeremiah Joyce."

From the region of politics we now turn our attention to such publications of the year as belong to the head of Critical, Classical, and Polite Literature. And in this list, the first work in point of order that calls for our notice is "Hebraicæ Grammatices Rudimenta, in usum Scholæ Westmonasteriensis diligenter recognita. &c." by Thomas Abraham Salmon, M. A. In this work Mr. Salmon takes as his foundation Busby's Grammar, to which he has made considerable additions from Buxtorf, Bythner, Leusden, and other eminent grammarians, whose rules he has endeavoured to compress, and illustrate in such a manner, as to facilitate the acquaintance of the young student with the rudiments of the Hebrew tongue. 'Neque omnia, neque nihil' is his motto. Whether in keeping the former part of this motto in view, he has not sometimes been too concise, especially in ascertaining the power of the different letters in pronunciation, and in illustrating the different conjugations of the verbs, will admit of some dispute. In other instances, where his grammatical ideas are evidently founded on the structure of the Latin tongue, although we cannot see the advantage of his method when applied to the simplest and easiest of all languages, yet we must acknowledge that he is supported in it by high authorities. We cannot, however, pass this article, without bestowing our warm applause on the learned author, for his design, and the labour he has bestowed upon it; and we wish that it may tend to revive in our first seminaries the study of a language which, on account of its being the medium through which the earliest records of the world are conveyed, must be allowed to be of importance to every man of letters.

The next work which we have to announce will give employment to the learning and ingenuity of those grammarians who take a pleasure in investigating the origin of languages. It is entitled "the Origination of the Greek Verb, an Hypothesis," and comes from the pen of Dr. Vincent. His Hypothesis is, that all the inflexions of the Greek verbs are formed from one original verb Ε Ω, in the sense of *to do*, or *to exist*, by adding that verb to the primitive indeclinable word, signifying the action to be denoted. Thus γραφ, speak, πειθ, *persuade*, by the addition of ω, become γραφ-ω, write *I do*, λεγ-ω, *speak I do*, πειθ-ω *persuade I do*. This scheme is applied by the doctor to the formation of all the verbs, in all their parts, with the aid of such contractions of syllables, and omissions of letters, as are consistent with the genius of the Greek language. Those who wish for a particular explanation of this hypothesis, and of the manner in which it is supported, we must refer to the work itself; observing only, that with respect to its truth and importance, the future and sedulous enquiries of learned grammarians must decide.

To the editor of "Q. Horatii Flacci Opera, cum Variis Lectionibus, Notis Variorum, et Indice locupletissimo," in 2 vols. the classical scholar owes his grateful acknowledgments, as such a performance has long been a desideratum in literature. Dr. Combe,

whose name it bears, appears to have had considerable assistance in collecting and arranging the materials of this work, from the late Mr. Henry Homer: but he has not specified how far his obligations to that gentleman extend. In the preface to this work he informs us, that in this edition care has been taken to assist the studies of scholars, and to adorn the libraries of collectors by the introduction of such notes as are approved for their utility by learned judges; that Baxter's edition, republished by Gesner, has been preferred by him in the choice of his text, on account of its accuracy; that the notes which he has selected, illustrative and critical, have been chiefly taken from the writings of Bentley, Cuningham, Baxter, Gesner, Klotzius, Janus, Waddelus, Wakefield, and others, of whom a complete catalogue is subjoined; and that in order to render it more perfect he carefully examined seven manuscripts, for the use of which he was indebted to the politeness of the curators of the British Museum. After the abovementioned catalogue, we meet with four different lives of Horace: one, that generally ascribed to Suetonius, and accompanied with copious notes; another, taken from the Basil edition of 1527; and the others from editions which he has not particularised. To these lives succeed a small tract de Amicis Horatii; two odes published sometime ago from a manuscript in the Vatican, and inserted in our Register for the year 1789, which Dr. Combe rejects as unworthy of Horace; Testimonia antiqua de Horatio; a tract of Aldus Manutius de undeviginti Generibus Metrorum Horatii; and the Metra Horatiana, by Christopher Wase. Such is the information which the editor's preface, and a cursory view, enable us to lay before our readers, with respect to the contents of these volumes. That Dr. Combe is entitled to a very considerable share of praise for the industry and learning which he has employed in preparing this work for the public, cannot be denied; and that it exhibits a vast collection of valuable information and useful criticisms, no person will entertain a doubt who casts his eye on the numerous notes which it contains, and the names of the authors from whom they have been selected. How far these selections have been made with judgment, and the editor is entitled to the praise of accuracy in his collations and quotations, can be fairly determined only by those who have the opportunity of comparing the materials of which these volumes consist, with the original works from which they have been taken. The paper and typography of this edition of Horace, are in a high degree elegant and splendid.

The classical scholar will also receive with much pleasure, a very beautiful pocket edition of the same interesting poet, in two volumes, by Mr. Gilbert Wakefield. This gentleman, as well as Dr. Combe, has taken Baxter's edition republished by Gesner for his text; which he has endeavoured to render as pure and correct as possible by emendations from Dr. Bentley, and Mr. Markland, and conjectures of his own. These emendations and conjectures will, in general, highly approve themselves to the admirers of the poet, as they tend to throw considerable light on the sense and beauties of particular passages which, as they stand in the commonly receiv-

ed copies, are evident corruptions of the original. The few notes accompanying them, are intended to vindicate the readings which our editor adopts. These volumes are printed on elegant paper of a larger and a smaller size, with beautiful types, and are ornamented with two vignettes, well designed and executed, and heads of Horace and Mæcenas. It is Mr. Wakefield's intention, if this work is favourably received, to superintend editions of other poets, both Greek and Latin, with the same recommendations in point of accuracy, and typographical excellence; and to publish Virgil next. We shall with great pleasure announce the successive publications, which we hope he will be encouraged speedily to undertake, by the support he will meet with from the literary world.

"The Constitution of the Athenians, &c. translated from the Greek, with a Preface and Notes, by James Morris," and "Xenophon's Defence of the Athenian Democracy, translated from the Greek" by an anonymous writer, are faithful versions of the same Treatise, in which that celebrated author urges a variety of ingenious arguments in favour of the democratic form of government which was the choice of the Athenian people. Both of the versions appear to have originated in the wishes of the translators to accompany them with such notes and observations as should tend to shew the superiority of the mixed form of government which exists under the British constitution, over the republican; at least the ancient republican forms, for neither of them discuss the comparative advantages or defects of representative democracy. In these parts of their respective publications, the authors prove themselves to be very loyal Englishmen, in the sense in which those words are generally applied by the enemies "to innovations, however delicately managed."

"Hiero, or the Condition of Royalty, a Conversation, from the Greek of Xenophon, by the Translator of Antoninus's Meditations," is a neat and pleasing version of a valuable ancient treatise, which is intended to shew the real difference, in regard to happiness or misery, between a private station and the condition of kings. The result of the conversation holds out those as objects of true compassion, whom the false opinion of the world too commonly exalts into objects of admiration and envy. This translation is accompanied with useful notes.

"Polyænus's Stratagems of War, translated from the Original Greek, by R. Shepherd, F. R. S." is the first English version which has appeared of a work abounding in entertainment for the general reader, and containing a detail of facts from which military men may derive much information. Polyænus, who had passed the early part of his life in arms, was honoured by a civil appointment of trust and dignity, by the emperors Antoninus and Verus. The leisure hours which he could spare from the duties of his situation were devoted to this collection; which was undertaken by him to contribute to the improvement of the profession he had quitted, and the gratification of his patrons. As it has reached our times, however, it is incomplete; and the text of what is handed down to us is, to a very great degree, mutilated and corrupted. These circumstances, together with the author's studied attention to brevity, occasioned the task of the translator to be attended with

with no small difficulties. His object has been "every where to explain the stratagem, as well as to translate it; and rather to give the author's meaning, than a literal version of his words; whenever the one did not clearly and fully convey the other, or where he has suspected the text to have been corrupted. And, rude and unadorned as the original is, the conciseness the author observes in his relation of facts, has in some instances induced the translator a little to deviate from the form of narration which occurs in the original, in order to avoid as far as might be an apparent poverty of diction, and to give as much ease and variety to the style, as matter so fettered up is capable of receiving." On the whole, Mr. Shepherd is entitled to a considerable share of praise for the labour which he has taken to bring the English reader acquainted with this agreeable author, and for the appearance which he wears in his new dress.

"Antipolemus, or the Plea of Reason, Religion, and Humanity, against War, a Fragment, translated from Erasmus, and addressed to Aggressors," is a liberal and paraphrastic, and at the same time masterly version of one of the most excellent remains of that bright ornament of the human species, whose name will be ever dear to the friends of goodness, learning, and liberty. He "led the way both to the revival of learning, and the restoration of religion. Taste and polite letters are no less indebted to him than rational theology. Liberty acknowledges him as one of her noblest assertors. Had he not appeared and fought on the side of humanity, with the spear of truth, and the lash of ridicule, Europe, instead of enjoying or contending for freedom at this hour, might perhaps have been still sunk in the dead repose of servitude, or galled with the iron hand of civil tyrants, allied, for mutual aid, in a villainous confederacy, with the despotism of ecclesiastics." His rational, liberal, and philanthropic sentiments in the pamphlet before us, are delivered with an energy and flow of eloquence, that render them peculiarly impressive; and the picture which he draws of the wretchedness and wickedness of war, is distinguished by an animation and strength of colouring, that must excite the horror of every undebauched mind at a practice "which it is proper uniformly to explode, which it is incumbent on every man, by every lawful means, to avoid, to deprecate, to oppose." In an appendix we are presented with several letters of Erasmus to the king of France, to the king of Poland, to the prime minister of Poland, to the king of Hungary and Bohemia, and to the abbot Bergis on the subject of this treatise; and a series of quotations, chiefly classical, relative to war, peace, and universal philanthropy. The sentiments and reflections of the translator are perfectly congenial with those of Erasmus, and are delivered with a freedom and energy which do him honour, and render his publication, at the present crisis, peculiarly seasonable and important. This translation is generally attributed to a divine of the church of England, who has been long distinguished by his elegant literary productions, and who was last year persecuted by some military heroes at Brighton, for preaching the christian doctrine of peace and good will.

"De Legione Manliana, Quæstio è Livio desumpta, et Rei Militaris Romanæ

Romanæ studiosis proposita, Auctore Gulielmo Vincent," contains an ingenious hypothesis by which the author endeavours to solve a difficult passage in Livy, in which that historian disagrees with Polybius and other writers on the Roman army; a passage at which some of the most skilful critics have stumbled. For the particulars of the difficulty, and the plan which Dr. Vincent offers for their removal, we must refer our classical readers to the work itself. And it will perhaps excite their curiosity to be informed, that the author has corresponded with the celebrated Heyne on the subject of this question, who has expressed his approbation of the greater part of what he has advanced.

The "Specimens of Hindoo Literature, containing Translations from the Tamoul Language, &c. with Explanatory Notes, by N. E. Kindersley, Esq. in the honourable East India Company's Civil Service on their Madras Establishment," form a curious and interesting publication, and will be found of considerable service in introducing the reader to an acquaintance with the religion and manners of the east. It may be divided into four parts. The first part contains a concise and methodical abstract of Hindoo mythology; for the substance of which the author acknowledges himself indebted to the Rev. Mr. Gericke, protestant missionary at Madras, who gave it to him as the result of many years investigation, on the part of himself and of his colleagues. The second part consists of extracts from the Tereo-Vaulaver-Thuddul, or the Ocean of Wisdom, a beautiful didactic poem, in the manner of the Proverbs of Solomon, and supposed to be above fourteen hundred years old. The third part, which occupies a considerable share of the volume, is the History of the Nella-Rajah, a Hindoo romance, composed in the extravagance of eastern imagery, and intended to represent the pernicious effects of gaming. The fourth part is an explanation of some beautiful engravings which ornament the volume, and which represent mythological sculptures on granite pillars belonging to a magnificent choultry, or appendage to the temple at Madura. In the body of the work is also inserted a plate of Mamooden, the Hindoo Cupid; who is represented as a child mounted on a parrot, and armed with a sugar-cane bow, and arrows ornamented with flowers. We hope that the ingenious author, who, from the attention which he has paid to the language and manners of the country appears well qualified for such an undertaking, will continue to employ his leisure hours in selecting fresh beauties from the stores of oriental literature.

"British Synonymy, or an Attempt at regulating the Choice of Words in familiar Conversation, by Hester Lynch Piozzi, in two volumes," was composed for the use of foreigners, to assist them in clearing up difficulties in the use of words nearly alike in their signification, and in the choice of proper expressions in conversation. Her method is, to combine such words in the same sentence or paragraph, introducing each in that connection in which it most frequently occurs in colloquial language. In pursuing this object, Mrs. Piozzi has not imitated that logical and philosophical precision, and that elegant discrimination, which distinguish the Synonymes

François

François of the celebrated abbé Girard; but has aimed more at ease and sprightliness of illustration, than philological acuteness, and critical definition. In this light it is often instructive, and frequently entertaining. It contains much display of invention and ingenuity, as well as of a considerable extent of reading and knowledge, with a fund of amusing anecdotes, sallies of a lively fancy, and well drawn pictures of life and manners. We cannot conceal, however, that in reading it, we met with inaccuracies and inelegancies which greatly lessen its merits as a classical guide to the English language; and proofs of political and theological bigotry, which are disgraceful to a literary performance.

The "Literary and Critical Remarks on sundry eminent Divines and Philosophers of the last and present Age," are the productions of a person who appears to be well acquainted with the works of our best writers on theological, moral, critical, and political subjects. But though they are sometimes judicious, and frequently entertaining, the author can found no pretensions on them to literary and critical excellence.

"The Plays of Lear and Cymbeline, by William Shakspear, in two Volumes, with the Notes and Illustrations of various Commentators, to which are added, Remarks by the Editor," are offered to the public as a specimen of a more complete edition of the favourite plays of our bard, than has hitherto appeared. The principal object of the editor, for the execution of which he must remain solely responsible, is "to mark with clearness the progression of the fable, and trace the connection of its several parts with, and dependence upon each other, so as that they may appear to constitute one consistent whole, and that chiefly with a reference to the circumstance of time and place" For he conceives "that it may be affirmed, that in this species of composition, not the brightest local beauties, neither the most affecting strokes of passion, the wisest maxims of morality, nor the justest and most animating descriptions, whether derived from the productions of nature or of art, can avoid having their effect weakened, whenever they are no longer considered in their subordinate relation to one coherent system, some rational adjusted plan." Of the manner in which he has executed this task, we cannot convey an adequate idea within the limits to which we are necessarily confined; and must refer the curious reader to the work itself. We can state, however, that he has not been sparing of labour and industry in examining early editions, and the criticisms of the numerous commentators on Shakspeare; and that the volumes before us are distinguished by their neatness and accuracy.

"The Looker-on, a Periodical Paper, in three Volumes," with the exception of a few contributions, which are acknowledged in the last number, is the production of the Rev. William Roberts, A. M. F. A. S. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. His design has been "to substitute the forsaken topics of morality, literature, and taste, in the room of shallow politics, and news-paper philosophy, and to betray men, under the mask of amusement, into serious and manly thought." Of the numerous papers of which these volumes consist, a few are devoted to reli-

gious topics, and contain a succession of judicious and well written pieces on the subject of analogy, as applied to the principles of natural and revealed religion. Whenever the author introduces political discussions, he appears in the character of a zealous admirer of the British constitution, and as advocate, at the same time, for the temperate and peaceable correction of such abuses as have crept into its administration. The critical papers are chiefly confined to the rules and principles of taste, translation, and the vicious styles of writing affected by modern novelists, historians, and biographers. The moral papers are many of them excellent. But the most valuable and entertaining are those in which the author in a vein, sometimes of serious satire, and sometimes of lively humour, ridicules folly and absurdity. The reader who is conversant with compositions of this species will perceive, that many of the author's ideas, and especially those on which some of his fictions are built, are not wholly new. He deserves commendation, however, for having done so much to entitle himself to the claims of excellence and originality, in a line of writing, in which he has been preceded by such a number of authors of established reputation, who had endeavoured to exhaust the topics adapted to such periodical works. Mr. Addison has evidently been his model; especially in his humourous papers, and those intended to promote the interests of virtue. The style of the Looker-on is perspicuous, correct, and pleasing.

"The Peripatetic, or Sketches of the Heart, of Nature, and Society, in a Series of Politico-Sentimental Journals, in Verse and Prose, of the Eccentric Excursions of Sylvanus Theophrastus," in three volumes, by J. Thelwall, contains many sensible and just observations, intermingled with the excentricities of a lively imagination, which are adapted to impress the minds of his readers with humane and benevolent sentiments, at the same time that they are amusing and entertaining. We know not how we can better characterise the form and construction of these volumes, than by observing, that they partake of the qualities of the novel, the Sentimental Journey, and the collection of miscellaneous essays, and are written in easy and familiar language.

The "Essay on the Picturesque, as compared with the Sublime and Beautiful, and on the Use of studying Pictures, for the Purpose of improving real Landscape, by Uvedale Price, Esq." is a work distinguished by uncommon proofs of genius, learning, and critical skill. The author's object is distinctly to define the properties, and to point out the boundaries of the picturesque, in contradistinction to the beautiful and sublime. The reasonings and observations to which the prosecution of this design gives rise, will afford much gratification to the man of taste, and the critic in the art of painting; and establish the author's claim to a high rank among connoisseurs and dilettanti. In the application of his principles we do not think him uniformly happy. And we find ourselves particularly obliged to except to his observations on the method of laying out pleasure grounds, on a small and confined scale in which the abilities of the [illegible] Mr. Brown were so eminently conspicuous.

The "Letter to Uvedale Price, Esq.

Esq. by H. Repton," is intended to vindicate Mr. Brown's principles of improvement, against Mr. Price's attack; which we think it does in the most convincing and satisfactory manner; while it affords abundant evidence of the author's candour as a gentleman, and of his knowledge and taste as an artist.

The "Graphic Illustrations of Hogarth, from Pictures, Drawings, and scarce Prints, in the Possession of Samuel Ireland, Author of this Work, &c." were undertaken with the view of rescuing from oblivion, any genuine and authentic traces of our great moral painter. "The volume consists of sixty engravings; those which are from original prints, are either unique, or so very rare, as to leave a presumption, from the great price they have drawn from the pockets of individuals, that they have some claim to the attention of the public." Such is the account of Mr. Ireland: and notwithstanding that we must differ from him so far as to think that his enthusiastic admiration of Hogarth has induced him to admit of some articles into this collection, that are frivolous and contemptible; we must acknowledge the great merit which others of them possess, and the credit which is due to our artist for the method which he has taken to preserve them. He is to be commended, likewise, for the entertainment which he has afforded to readers of different descriptions, by his illustrations, remarks, and numerous anecdotes.

Among the publications of the year, which belong to the department of Poetical Translation and Poetry, we find "The Æneid of Virgil, translated into Blank Verse, by James Beresford, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford." In this version, Mr. Beresford has given sufficient proofs of his perfect acquaintance with the sense of his original. He has, likewise, shewn himself to possess no mean pretensions to poetic taste and judgment, by the fire and animation which he occasionally displays, and the variety, and frequent harmony of his periods. But, however highly we were pleased with many parts of his work, in others we met with that harshness, and stiffness, to which translators who endeavour, in this species of versification, faithfully to preserve the peculiarities of their originals, seem particularly liable.

"The Thymbriad, (from Xenophon's Cyropædia) by Lady Burrell," is a pleasing and interesting tale, in blank verse, built on the story of Panthea and Abradates, which Xenophon has related with inimitable simplicity and pathos. The incidents and sentiments in the original are carefully preserved by lady Burrell, with which she has intermixed much additional matter, descriptive, and illustrative, dictated by her fancy and feelings; the whole cloathed in easy and pleasing versification. It is almost needless to add, that this story exhibits one of the most beautiful pictures of conjugal affection, which we meet with in any of the writings of the ancients.

"Telemachus," by the same lady, is a charming love tale, in rhyme, taken from that part of the poem of Fenelon, which describes the passion of Calypso for the son of Ulysses, and his amour with the nymph Eucharis; with additional incidents, descriptive imagery, and pleasing sentiments, supplied by the imagination and powers

ers of the fair writer. Its characteristics are pathos, ease, and melody.

The two volumes of "Scottish Songs," by Mr. Ritson, contain such pieces as are already known to collectors of ancient ballads, neatly printed, and accompanied with the music. His principal motive in this publication seems to have been, to present these songs in the precise state in which they existed in old manuscripts and copies, before they received any alterations from modern editors. In performing this task he has scrupulously avoided any shadow of approach to innovation, even in the admission of a presumptive syllable, or letter, when the original was expressed by a contraction. In perusing Mr. Ritson's preface, his historical essay on Scotish song, his notes, and his glossary, the reader will find many opportunities of being dissatisfied with him: some on account of his deficiencies in the information and previous knowledge necessary to the editor of such a publication, and others on account of his manifest want of candour and modesty.

"The Poetical Works of John Milton, vol. I." folio, is part of a magnificent and splendid edition of the labours of our immortal poet, in which the excellencies of paper, typography, and engraving, are worthily employed in honouring some of the noblest productions of English genius. This volume contains the first six books of Paradise Lost, ornamented with elegant frontispieces engraven by Simon, Earlom, and Schiavonetti, from designs by Westall; to which is prefixed the Life of Milton, by Mr. Hayley, accompanied by three fine portraits. Mr. Hayley's Life of Milton is an extensive and interesting piece of biography, written in an easy and perspicuous style; and completely vindicates him from the illiberal aspersions which have been cast on his character in his domestic relations, and as a man of private virtue and public integrity.

"The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq. with Remarks and Illustrations, by Gilbert Wakefield, B. A." vol. I. is the commencement of a correct and elegant edition of that poet, from which the acknowledged learning and critical talents of the annotator will lead his admirers to promise themselves much gratification. His notes are intended "to recommend Mr. Pope as an English classic to men of taste and elegance; and they pretend to no subtleties of investigation, no profundities of criticism, no grand discoveries of refined argumentation and curious coherence." It has been his "resolution to present to the world as much originality as possible." The manner in which he has conducted the volume before us, accords with what these quotations state respecting his design. In his remarks and illustrations, Mr. Wakefield carefully points out the beauties and defects of his author, and introduces a variety of similar passages from English and Latin poets. It is but justice to say, that his extensive reading, ingenuity, and judgment, are equally conspicuous in these criticisms and elucidations, and that they may be perused with pleasure and advantage, by the classical as well as English scholar. This volume is printed from the text of bishop Warburton, for whose talents and penetration Mr. Wakefield professes the highest reverence. It contains Mr. Pope's elegant Preface; his Discourse

Discourse on Pastoral Poetry; his Juvenile Poems, including his Pastorals, and Windsor Forest; the Ode on St. Cecilia's Day; the Chorus to the Tragedy of Brutus; the Essay on Criticism; the Elegy to the Memory of an unfortunate Lady; the Epistle of Eloisa to Abelard; the Epistles to several Persons; and Epitaphs, &c.

"The English Anthology," vols. I. II. III. consists of a number of poems and extracts, not injudiciously selected, from the works of Chaucer, Langelande, Spencer, Shakspeare, Milton, Dryden, Otway, Pope, &c. which are in the libraries of every student of taste, unless they are established on a small and circumscribed scale. To those persons, however, whose collections are of the above-mentioned description, it will be an acceptable present, on account of the variety of good pieces which it includes, and its typographical elegance and beauty.

"The Poetical Farrago, being a Miscellaneous Assemblage of Epigrams, and other Jeux d'Esprit, selected from the most approved Writers, in 2 volumes," has been collected with industry, and not without taste, from the whole family of our major and minor poets. And notwithstanding that many of the selections might have been omitted, without any injury to the general merits of the work, it deserves to be recommended as affording a source of considerable amusement in the hours of heaviness and lassitude.

"The Poems of Anna Maria" were printed at Calcutta, under the patronage of a respectable list of subscribers, of whose applause the poetess speaks in high terms of gratitude, and self-congratulation. And notwithstanding that in reading them, we met with some stiff and affected expressions, and passages too sublime and incomprehensible for our plain understanding, we cannot pronounce her undeserving of the praise which she received on the banks of the Ganges. The pieces in this little volume are of the lyric and elegiac kind; and are distinguished by great tenderness of sentiment, harmony of numbers, and pleasing poetic imagery. It appears that several of them were first published in the Asiatic Mirror, and Calcutta Morning Post; and that they are reprinted with corrections and additions, in their present elegant form.

Mr. Jephson's "Roman Portraits, a Poem, in Heroic Verse, with Historical Remarks and Illustrations," consists of a number of separate sections, descriptive of some of the most striking circumstances and extraordinary characters in the history of Rome, from the foundation of the city to the Augustan age. On its merits as a poem, considered either with respect to plan, or execution, we cannot bestow any liberal share of commendation. Sometimes the author writes with considerable energy and spirit, and is very happy in his classical imitations; but his lines are too frequently incorrect, unharmonious, and prosaic. Mr. Jephson appears to have undertaken the employment of drawing these portraits, with the design of depreciating the government and virtues of the ancient Romans; of shewing his "real admiration of, and reverence for, the most excellent constitution, and the happiest form of government, that ever regulated human affections and conduct;" and, more especially, of expressing his detesta-

tion

tion of the French revolution, and of the principles and conduct of its supporters, the atheists and regicides, who "dissolved, with the ancient form of government, every bond upon conscience, and every obligation to virtue." In the historical remarks and illustrations, the reader will meet with an abundant quantity of this extraneous matter, which does no honour to the author's judgment, or candour; but which will, nevertheless, meet with admirers at a period, when invective and declamation against the Gallic republicans constitute some of the most fashionable topics of discourse and writing. This work is printed in the best manner, upon excellent vellum paper, and is ornamented with elegant engravings of heads taken from antique gems and statues.

"The Poetical Works of William Preston, Esq." in 2 volumes, consist of different pieces which have mostly been published in separate forms, and are now reprinted with corrections, and critical observations by the author. The first volume contains a number of satirical, and mock heroic poems, miscellaneous sonnets, translations from Anacreon and others, and love elegies. These poems possess unequal merit: but many of them are distinguished by genuine humour, beautiful allusions, and poetic animation. The second volume consists of irregular odes, and short poems, with three historical tragedies, founded on stories taken from the annals of the Saxons, of Greece, and of Lombardy. The former contain many sublime and pathetic passages; and the latter present us with several well wrought and interesting scenes. Mr. Preston's language is, in general, correct and pleasing; his numbers smooth and harmonious; and his critical observations shew him to be a man of learning, and good taste. The typographical execution of these volumes is an honourable specimen of the correctness and elegance of the Dublin press.

The two volumes of "Poems, Lyric and Pastoral, by Edward Williams," will prove highly gratifying to the curiosity of those readers who are informed, that they are the productions of an uneducated Welsh bard, whose situation in life is that of a working stone mason. By the strength of his genius, however, he has surmounted the disadvantages of his obscure and humble lot, and from his observations and feelings, been enabled to compose a variety of pastorals, songs, descriptive pieces, and odes, which abound in beautiful imagery, harmonious versification, and noble and exalted sentiments. To borrow the language of one of the bardic aphorisms with which he concludes his volumes: he has shewn that he possesses "the three primary requisites of poetical genius; an eye that can see nature, a heart that can feel nature, and a resolution that dares to follow nature." Some of his pieces are translations from his own Welsh, and a few from the remains of the ancient Welsh bards. We hope that the encouragement of the public will rescue our poet from the drudgery of his occupation, for which it appears that he is but ill qualified by his state of health, and that he may be enabled to apply with spirit and vigour to his favourite studies.

"The volume of "Poems, by John Blake, B. A." consists of a variety of pieces, in different walks of poetry,

poetry, arranged under their proper heads. The first and principal poem is allegorical, and is entitled "The Progress of Poetry, Painting, and Music." In this poem Genius is married to Fancy; and their three daughters, mentioned in the title, contract alliances with Art, Industry, and Necessity. The object of the poem is to describe the effects of these unions, and to draw the characters of the future favourites and votaries of the sister arts. In pursuing this difficult plan, if Mr. Bidlake sometimes exposes himself to the attacks of severe criticism, from his inattentions to propriety, and his inequalities, he discovers, notwithstanding, considerable vigour of conception, boldness of imagery, and justness of sentiment. The remainder of the volume consists of sacred poems on scriptural subjects, elegies, odes, sonnets, miscellaneous verses, and songs. In these various pieces we find much to admire, although we cannot pronounce them faultless productions. They discover blameable negligences in point of language, and harmony; which the author's taste must have pointed out on a close and attentive revision, and his abilities have enabled him to correct. On the whole, however, they entitle him to the character of a pleasing, and interesting poet, and, what is greatly to the author's credit, are uniformly favourable to the interests of religion and virtue.

The collection of "Select Odes and Miscellaneous Poems, accompanied with Notes critical, historical, and explanatory, by the Rev. William Tasker, A. B." in three volumes, with different dates, consists of translations of several of the odes of Pindar, and the Carmen Seculare of Horace; original odes, elegies, historical poems, &c. and a series of letters on literary, anatomical, and medical subjects. The translations and the other poems are chiefly republications of pieces of acknowledged merit; some of which have been so favourably received, as to have occasioned a demand for repeated impressions, in separate forms. The additional poems have pretensions to similar excellence; and the letters on literary and classical subjects, afford testimonies to the author's learning and ingenuity. On the accuracy and extent of his medical and anatomical knowledge, the faculty must decide.

Mr. Hurdis's "Tears of Affection, a Poem, occasioned by the death of a sister tenderly beloved," is the first of the author's productions to which he has affixed his name. The public, however, have been repeatedly charmed by the offspring of his muse; and particularly, by the "Village Curate" "Adriano," and a volume of "Poems," which he now acknowledges. The poem before us is distinguished by the same excellences with those admired pieces. It breathes, in strains that speak a feeling and a pious heart, sentiments suited to the occasion on which it was written, that irresistibly excite our sympathy; and describes the charms of the country in spring, summer, and autumn, in a succession of scenes that are highly beautiful and interesting. To the principal poem which gives the name to this publication, the author has added several others, some in rhyme, and some in blank verse, partly descriptive, and partly sportive, in which the reader will find numerous marks of genius, and a cultivated taste.

"The Landscape, a didactic Poem, in three Books, by R. P. Knight,"

Knight," considered with respect to its merits as a poetical work, is entitled to no small share of praise. It shews the author to be possessed of learning, genius, and taste; and presents us with many happy instances of the exercise of his powers of description, and satire. But as a didactic performance we think it highly injudicious and romantic. Mr. Knight's ideas of decorating parks, lawns, and the approaches to family mansions, if they were reducible to practice, would change the beautiful scenes which are created by the system of modern English gardening, to desert wildness, or its opposite extreme, "the labyrinth's perplexing maze." Errors and defects there may be in modern taste; but not any which militate so strongly against what we conceive to be the principles of harmony, grace, and utility, as the standard which our author would set up. His attack upon Mr. Brown and his disciples may be accused of unwarrantable acrimony, if not of illiberality.

The author of "a Sketch from the Landscape, a Didactic Poem, addressed to R. P. Knight, Esq. with Notes, Illustrations, and a Postscript," in a strain of laughable and good humoured satire, successfully attacks the precepts contained in the last mentioned article, while he pays due respect to the learning and taste of Mr. Knight. In his Postscript he ably defends Mr. Brown, and his followers, from the critical censures of Mr. Uvedale Price, in his essay upon the picturesque as compared with the sublime and beautiful, and on the use of studying pictures for the purpose of improving real landscape.

Mr. Whitehouse's "Odes, moral and descriptive," are ten in number. The titles of them are, to Enthusiasm; to Ambition; two to Sleep; to War; to Horror; on the Death of a favourite Parrot; to Beauty; to Truth to Justice. In these different pieces the most fastidious critic will find much to commend, and applaud, notwithstanding that he may be able to point out occasional redundancies, the recurrence of similar images, some harsh expressions, and unharmonious lines. It must, however, in justice be acknowledged, that these faults but seldom appear; and that the author discovers in them a vigorous conception, great animation and strength of language, and noble generous sentiments. With a little more attention to the limæ labor, Mr. Whitehouse promises to rise to distinguished excellence as a poet.

The "Walks in a Forest, or Poems descriptive of Scenery and Incidents characteristic of a Forest, at different Seasons of the Year," are written in blank verse, and describe the appearances of nature in the vegetable and animal world, with that propriety of language, and minuteness of accuracy, which will render them highly gratifying to the student of nature. In poetical animation, and the happy introduction of philosophical and moral reflections, the author certainly cannot be compared with Thomson, whom he endeavours to resemble, but without servile imitation. Excepting that poet, however, we know not his rival in this species of poetry.

"The Pursuits of Literature, or what you will, a Satirical Poem in Dialogue," is the production of a shrewd and keen satirist, who in easy verses, and notes which shew that he has not been inattentive to the different branches of literature, endeavours severely to lash political and theological reformers, and some of the first wits and critics of modern times. We leave him to their indignation,

dignation, if his sportive raillery should not disarm them of the resentment which his occasional illiberality and rancorous expressions may excite.

"The present State of Manners, Arts, and Politics of France and Italy, in a series of Poetical Epistles from Paris, Rome, and Naples, in 1792, and 1793, by J. Courteney, Esq. M.P." is written in Ansteyan verse. From the author's well known felicity in using the weapons of good humoured satire, and in introducing comic anecdotes into his poetic effusions, the reader will expect to meet with much entertainment in these epistles; and we can assure him that he will not be disappointed.

Mr. Moser, in his "Adventures of Timothy Twigg, Esq." in two volumes, amuses the reader by humourous descriptions, and laughable stories, written chiefly in the same familiar kind of poetry. The follies of fashion in the metropolis, in dress, modes of living, public amusements, gaming, &c. are the objects of his satire, which is always entertaining, without transgressing the bounds of decorum, or good nature. Part of this work is sentimental, and relates tender love tales in different kinds of verse. But Mr. Moser's talents appear to greatest advantage, when he employs himself in exciting innocent pleasantry.

Of the following articles we can only insert the titles: "Celebration, or the Academic Procession to St. James's, an Ode, by Peter Pindar, Esq;"—"Ethic Epistles to the Earl of Carnarvon, on the Mind and its Operations, as bearing generally on the Events of the World, and particularly on those of France;" "Ode for the Encænia, at Oxford, July 1793, for the reception of his Grace the Duke of Portland, Chancellor of the University, by R. Holmes, D.D. Professor of Poetry;" "Farewell Ode on a distant Prospect of Cambridge;"—"Monody to the Memory of the late Queen of France, by Mrs. Robinson;" "Lines on the Murder of the Queen of France, by T. Fitzgerald, Esq;" "Carmen Seculare, an Ode, inscribed to the President and Members of the Royal Academy, by a Muse more loyal than Peter Pindar's;"—"The Pindaric Disaster, a Tale, by Paul Pungent, Esq;" "The Barbers, or the Road to Riches, by W. Hutton, F.A.S.S.;" "Essay on Novels, a poetical Epistle, addressed to an ancient and to a modern Bishop, by A. Thomson, Esq. author of Whist, a Poem, &c.;"—"Occasional Poems, by the Rev. William Hett, A. M.;" "Beauty an Ode, by Taliessen de Monmouth;"—"The Tears of the Muse, to the Memory of the Countess of Westmoreland, by P. Allen, Esq;"—"Poems, by the late Mr. Samuel Marsh Oram;"—"Edwy and Edilda, a Tale, by the Rev. Thomas Sedgwick Whalley, embellished with six fine engravings;" "The Garden of Isleworth, a Sketch, inscribed to R. B. Sheridan, Esq;"—"Llangunnor Hill, a loco-descriptive Poem, with notes;" "The solitary Frenchman on the Banks of the Thames, to his Friend in Switzerland, a Poem, translated by the Rev. John Gregg;"—"Selico, an African Tale, translated into English verse, from the French prose of M. de Florian;"—"The Infant Vision of Shakspeare, an Apostrophe to the immortal Bard, and other Poems, by Mr. Harrison;" "Hymen, a Poem;"—"Adelaide and Antonine, or the Emigrant, a Tale, by Mary Julia Young;" "The Maid of the Castle, a legendary Tale, by Jemima Maria Stratton;"—"Poetical Chronology of Ancient,

Ancient, and English History, with historical and explanatory Notes;" "The Golden Age, a Poetical Epistle from Erasmus D—n, M. D. to Thomas Beddoes, M. D."—"A Crying Epistle from Britannia to Colonel Mack, by A. Pasquin;" "The Volunteer Laureate, or Fall of Peter Pindar, by Archilochus junior;"—"The Coffee House, a characteristic Poem;"—"The Times, a satirical Rhapsody, by James Jennings;"—"Verses on the late unanimous Resolutions to support the Constitution, by Samuel Egerton Brydges, Esq;"—"War, a Poem;" "The Hero, a poetical Epistle, respectfully dedicated to the Marquis Cornwallis;"—"Britannia, a Poem, in three Cantos, on the late brilliant Naval Successes;"—"The Calamities of Winter, and of War, an Ode;"—"Investigation, or Monarchy and Republicanism analyzed, a Poem;" and "Three Pindaric Essays, Fitzwelter, the Birth of Democracy, and the Calamities of France."

The Dramatic publications of the year were, "The Captive Monarch, a Tragedy, by Richard Hey, of the Middle Temple, Esq;"—"The Siege of Meaux, a Tragedy, by Henry James Pye, Esq;"—"The Maid of Normandy, or the Death of the Queen of France, a Tragedy, by Edmund John Eyre;"—"The Count de Villeroi, or the Fate of Patriotism, a Tragedy;"—"Fontainville Forest, a Play, in five acts, (founded on the Romance of the Forest), by James Boaden, of the honourable Society of the Middle Temple;"—"The Jew, a Comedy, by Richard Cumberland, Esq;"—"The Box Lobby Challenge, a Comedy, by the same;" "Love's Frailties, a Comedy, by T. Holcroft;"—"Wild Oats, or the strolling Gentlemen, a Comedy, by John O'Keeffe, Esq;"—"Consequences, or the School for Prejudice, a Comedy, by E. J. Eyre;" "Heigh-ho for a Husband, a Comedy;"—"The Wedding Day, a Comedy, in two Acts, by Mrs. Inchbald;"—"The Coalition, or the Opera rehearsed, a Comedy, by the Editor of the Spiritual Quixote;" "Lodoiska, an Opera, by J. P. Kemble;"—"The Castle of Andalusia, a Comic Opera, by John O'Keeffe, Esq;"—"The Travellers in Switzerland, a Comic Opera, by Mr. Bate Dudley;"—"The Prodigal, a Dramatic Piece;"—"The Sicilian Romance, an Opera, by H. Siddons;"—"Netley Abbey, an operatic Farce, by Mr. Pearce;" "Arrived at Portsmouth, an operatic Drama, by the same;"—"Britain's Glory, or a Trip to Portsmouth, a musical Entertainment;" "The Apparition, a musical Dramatic Romance, by J. Cross;" and "The Purse, or the Benevolent Tar, by the same."

Among the few articles which we have reserved for our Miscellaneous List, is a fourth volume of that elegant and useful little work entitled, "Evenings at Home," which was announced by us in our last year's Register. Of this volume we shall only observe, that it is entitled to the same character with the preceding, and offers additional entertainment and information for young persons, conveyed in the most pleasing and interesting form.

The little work entitled "Evening Recreations, a Collection of original Stories for the Amusement of her young Friends, by a Lady," deserves also to be commended for its excellent tendency to impress young minds with humane and generous sentiments, and to excite in them a thirst for curious and useful knowledge. The style in which it is written is simple and easy, but not

not free from errors in point of correctness.

Mr. Mins' "Well-bred Scholar, or Practical Essays on the best Methods of improving Taste, and assisting the Exertions of Youth in their Literary Pursuits," is a well written production, and appears to be well calculated to introduce young persons, in the course of a school education, to an acquaintance with the different branches of English polite literature. In the course of reading to which he directs the student, he has selected, with judgment and taste, our best writers in poetry and prose, whether originals or translations, and arranged them under their proper heads; and he has illustrated his didactic observations by numerous apposite quotations, chiefly from the best English versions of the Greek and Roman classics.

The "Lounger's Common Place-Book, or alphabetical Anecdotes, &c." which was noticed by us in this department of our Literary catalogue for the year 1792, has been increased, during the present year, by the appearance of two additional volumes. These volumes, like the former, are frequently lively and entertaining; and sometimes, from the editor's want of judgment and candour, in his selections and satirical remarks, highly censurable.

The "Familiar Letters on a variety of subjects, addressed to a Friend, by the Revd. Edward Barry, M D," are not distinguished by any peculiar excellences, either in point of matter, or composition. Some of them, however, will afford amusement to the reader; and they are uniformly unexceptionable with respect to their moral tendency.

"The Crisis, a Collection of Essays, written in the years 1792, and 1793, upon Toleration, Public Credit, the Elective Franchise in in Ireland, the Emancipation of the Catholics, with other interesting miscellaneous Subjects," is the production of lord Mountmorres. Many of the papers of which it is composed, are distinguished by a spirit of good sense, liberality, and patriotism, and contain important and useful observations on religious, political and economical topics. But the noble writer is not always consistent in his principles, or the application of them. Our observation is intended particularly to apply to what he advances on the subject of the admission of Catholics into parliament in Ireland, and on the inteference of the confederacy against France in the internal concerns of that country.

Among the Novels of the year, the following deserve to be distinguished from the general mass, on account of their superior merits: "the Mysteries of Udolpho, in 4 Vols. by Mrs. Radcliffe;" "the Adventures of Hugh Trevor, in 3 Vols. by T. Holcroft;" "Things as they are, or the Adventures of Caleb Williams, in 3 Vols. by W. Godwin;" "Herman of Unna, translated from the German of Professor Kramer, in 3 Vols;"—"the Wanderings of Warwick, by Charlotte Smith;" "the Banished Man, in 4 Vols. by the same;" "the Royal Captives, a fragment, in 2 Vols. by Ann Yearsley;" "Sydney St. Aubyn, in 2 Vols; by Mrs. Robinson;" "the Widow, in 2 Vols, by the same;" and "Turkish Tales, a New Collection, in 2 Vols, by I. Moser."—To the same class of publications are we to refer "the Packet, in 4 Vols, by Miss Gunning;" "Lord Fitzhenry, in 3 Vols, by the same;" "Ellen, Countess of Castle Howell, in 4 Vols, by Mrs. Bennet;"

"the Medallion, in 3 Vols, by S. Pearson;" "Lucy, in 3 Vols, by Mrs. Parsons;" "Madeline, in 3 Vols, by Mrs. Kelly;" "the Shrine of Bertha, in 2 Vols, by Miss M. E. Robinson;" the Contrast, in 2 Vols, by Mrs. Gooch;" "the Maid of the Hamlet, in 2 Vols, by R. Maria Roche;" "Henry Stukeley, or the Effects of Dissipation, in 3 Vols, by W. Helme;" "Perplexities, or the Fortunate Elopement, in 3 Vols, by Mrs. Matthews;" "the Life and Adventures of W. Ramble, in 3 Vols;" "the Haunted Priory;" "the Emigrants, a Gallic Tale, in 2 Vols;" "the Baroness of Beaumont, in 2 Vols;" Angeline, or Sketches from Nature, in 3 Vols;" "the Victim of Passion, in 3 Vols;" "the Necromancer, in 2 Vols;" "Caroline Merton, in 2 Vols;" "Vicissitudes in genteel Life, in 4 Vols; "the Sheperdess of Aranville;" "Wonderful Travels of Prince Fan-Feredin;" "Caroline de Montmorency;" "Edward de Courcy, in 2 Vols;" "Ivy Castle, in 2 Vols;" "the Offspring of Russel, in 2 Vols;" "the Mouse-Trap, in 2 Vols;" "the Castle of Zittau, a German Tale, in 3 Vols;" "Count Roderic's Castle; in 2 Vols;" "the Weird Sisters, in 3 Vols;" "the Parisian, in 2 Vols;" and "the Mystic Cottager of Chamouny, in 2 Vols."

FOREIGN

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1794.

IN our catalogue of the Foreign productions of the year 1794, the number of articles belonging to the dominions of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, bears a smaller proportion than usual to that of the rest of Europe; notwithstanding the peculiarly unfavourable circumstances in which the greater part of the continent has been placed, for literary and scientific pursuits.—In the Russian dominions, the only theological treatise, of which we have received any account, is a "Dissertation on the Gift of Tongues at the first Christian Pentecost, by I. G. Herder," published at Riga. In this dissertation M. Herder endeavours to expose the commonly received opinion, that the apostles had suddenly and miraculously imparted to them a knowledge of foreign languages. To the question, what power did they receive at the feast of Pentecost? he answers, that they were inspired to speak of the great acts of God, the works of Providence for the salvation of mankind, in exclamations of rapture, which some of the Jews from all quarters of the world then dwelling at Jerusalem felt in unison with the feelings of their own minds, others ridiculed as extravagant, and others attributed to the fumes of wine. The wonder which they expressed, he contends, was occasioned by their hearing untutored Galileans, men from a country famous for its simplicity, uttering the sentiments and expressions of highly cultivated minds. In the lessons which he deduces from this explanation, be boldly and ably inculcates freedom of thinking and enquiry, as essential to the genius of the Christian religion.—At Petersburg, M. Wassily Sewergin, has published a translation into the Russian language, of Mr. Kirwan's "Elements of Mineralogy;" in which he has inserted the later discoveries in that science, together with the uses to which the several articles are applied, and the experiments which have been performed with them. The editor has also given the appellations of most minerals in the English, French, and German, as well as Russian, and Latin

tin languages. – At the ſame place have been publiſhed "New Memmoirs relative to Northern Diſcoveries, by M. Pallas." Theſe memoirs, beſides a curious account of a voyage undertaken at the command of the empreſs, to aſcertain whether there be any paſſage from the Northern Ocean into the ſea of Kamſchatka, contain a variety of intereſting particulars concerning the natural Hiſtory of the Northern parts of Aſia, and the cuſtoms of their inhabitants.—At the ſame place have appeared 2 volumes of "Travels through Ruſſia to Mount Caucaſus, by I. A. Guldenſted," edited by profeſſor Pallas; which are illuſtrated by a map, and ſeveral plates, and are reported by the foreign journaliſts to contain a vaſt collection of important and valuable materials.—At the ſame place, M. Oſeretzkowſky has publiſhed a volume of "Travels on the Coaſts of the Lakes of Ladoga, and Onega," which throw conſiderable light on the geographical, and economical hiſtories of thoſe portions of the Ruſſian empire.

In Swediſh literature, the firſt article which calls for our notice is "a brief Hiſtory of Agriculture in Sweden, by Magnus Blix," publiſhed at Stockholm. This is an able, and well written treatiſe, and delivers a number of economical hints which are of general importance. It particularly expoſes the cauſes which, in Sweden, have reduced the ſtate of agriculture to a much worſe ſituation than it was in when the country groaned under the rigour of the feudal ſyſtem. Theſe cauſes the author ſhews to be, the repeated wars into which it has unneceſſarily been plunged; the impolitic endeavours to promote commerce and manufactures at the expence of huſbandry; and the thirſt for titles and offices which has been created by the unwiſe and degrading diſtinctions eſtabliſhed between the moſt reſpectable cultivators of their paternal inheritance, and the meaneſt ſervants of the crown. – At the ſame place, and at Norrkoeping, Aſſeſſor Aken, and M. Nils Nyſtroem, have publiſhed "Accounts of Experiments on Subſtances capable of extinguiſhing Fire." The reſults of theſe expements are of very great importance in political economy, and deſerve the ſerious attention of the directors of our Engliſh fire-offices. We ſhould gladly inſert an abſtract of the ſtatements which the inventors laid before the Swediſh academy, of the ſubſtances which they uſed, as far as they have choſen to make them public, were we not prevented by the limits within which we are neceſſarily confined. We refer the Engliſh reader, for ſuch an account as will prove gratifying to his curioſity, to the Appendix to the fourteenth volume of the Monthly Review enlarged.—At Stockholm, M. Hallenberg, Hiſtoriographer of Sweden, has publiſhed the third part of his "Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Sweden, during the Reign of Guſtavus Adolphus, containing an Account of the moſt remarkable Events which took place between the Years 1613, and 1616." In this volume we are preſented with an account of a very intereſting period in the Swediſh annals, the tranſactions of which it relates in a manner that will reward the attention of the reader, and lead him to form very high expectations of the information and entertainment which he will receive from the author's continuation of his comprehenſive and well digeſted Hiſtory.—At Upſal, M. Fant, profeſſor of hiſtory, has publiſhed the

fifth

fifth part of his "Sketches of Lessons on universal History, from the beginning of the Sixteenth Century," which comprizes the space from the death of Gustavus Adolphus, in 1632, to the peace of Ryswick, in 1637; and at Stockholm, M. de Rosenstein has published "the Posthumous Works of Lidner," the Swedish poet, to which he has written a preface.

When we turn our attention to the Literature of the Danish dominions, we meet with "Philosophical Ideas on Religion, and the Spirit of pure Christianity, by C. H. G. Venturini," published at Altona. The object of this author is, to separate the pure and simple principles of the religion of Jesus Christ, from the corruptions which have at different periods been added to them by ecclesiastical corporations and establishments. This task he has performed in a manner that shews him to possess a well informed and liberal mind; and that will tend to rescue the Christianity of the Gospel from the well founded and unanswerable objections which the philosopher will urge against the Christianity of the schools, and of national churches. —At the same place, Mr. A Hennings, gentleman of the bed chamber to the king of Denmark, has published "an Historical and Moral Picture of the Influence of Courts on the Depravity of States, &c." which is a manly and spirited performance, and holds out useful lessons both to princes and nations. —At Copenhagen hath appeared the fourth volume of the very valuable "Mohammedan Annals of Abulfeda, in Arabic and Latin," which was prepared for the press, by the late professor Reiske, and is published by professor Adler, under the patronage of M. Suhm. Dr. Adler intimates his design of publishing another volume, containing some supplementary matter, and proper indexes.—At the same place, Dr. Christian Ulrich von Eggers has published "Memoirs of the French Revolution, with a particular View to general Politics, Vol. I." This work, which the character and abilities of the author cannot fail to render valuable, promises to be very extensive. For the volume before us, consisting of above five hundred pages, brings down the history only to the third meeting of the Notables. Much of it, however, is taken up by introductory matter, and the numerous documents which the doctor has given at length, in the original French, and translated into German. His plan is to embrace every thing connected with the revolution, whether influencing it, or influenced by it; and particularly the effects it has had on men of letters in France, England, and Germany, and through them on the public.—At the same place, M. Hagerup has published an interesting and entertaining biographical account "of Peter Tordenskiold, formerly Vice Admiral of the Danish Fleet," who attained that rank, from the lowest station, by his courage and conduct.—At the same place hath appeared a new edition, with additions and improvements, of professor Baden's "Lectures on the Danish Language, or rational Danish Grammar;" which is spoken of as the most complete system of instructions that can be recommended to those who are desirous of studying the Danish tongue.

The first work which calls for our notice among the literary productions of the United Provinces, is "the Book of Job, translated from the Hebrew, with annotations,

by Henry Albert Schultens, completed and publiſhed after his death by Herman Muntinghe," at Amſterdam. This is the production of the late profeſſor of Oriental languages in the Univerſity of Leyden, whoſe extenſive learning, critical ſkill, and liberality of ſentiment, peculiarly qualified him for the office of commentator on the ſacred writings. It will, therefore, be received with pleaſure by the biblical ſcholar. Profeſſor Schultens' annotations are, in general, conciſe, and chiefly employed in illuſtrating the figures and alluſions which occur in the poem. In an introductory diſſertation, he gives a ſhort view of what had been done by former critics, towards elucidating this ancient book; and in an appendix he diſcuſſes the various readings, the opinions of commentators, and other ſubjects which will be intereſting to thoſe who are converſant with the Oriental languages.—At the ſame place, and at Utrecht, Mr. Van Vloten has publiſhed the ſeventh volume of "the Bible, tranſlated, paraphraſed, and illuſtrated, with Annotations," which is repreſented by the foreign reviewers to be a work of very great merit in this department of literature. The volume before us contains the three books of Solomon, and the prophecy of Iſaiah.—At Haarlem, M. I. Konynenburg, profeſſor of theology and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory in the ſociety of remonſtrants at Amſterdam, has publiſhed "an Enquiry into the Nature of the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament relative to the Meſſiah;" to which the gold medal was adjudged by the directors of Teyler's Theological ſociety, notwithſtanding that it does not come into the world under their ſanction. This is a learned and ingenious [illegible]ch richly merited the diſtinction it has received, and throws conſiderable light on the ſubject which the author undertook to diſcuſs. But we muſt remark, that his ſentiments and reaſonings will not be entirely approved of by thoſe who maintain the plenary inſpiration of every paſſage in the Old and New Teſtaments. The objections of unbelievers, we conceive, will be moſt forcibly repelled by thoſe who adopt the ſame liberal line of interpretation with our author.—At Amſterdam, Dr. Dionyſius van de Wynperſſe, profeſſor of philoſophy, &c. at Leyden, has publiſhed a "Defence of the true and eternal Divinity of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, againſt modern Attacks;" to which was awarded a prize offered for the beſt diſſertation on that ſubject, by a ſociety for defending Chriſtianity, at the Hague. If this treatiſe was the beſt which the occaſion produced, either the cauſe of orthodoxy has but feeble ſupporters in the United Provinces, or the zeal of its advocates partakes much of the phlegm of the Dutch character.—At Utrecht, Dr. Brown, profeſſor of moral philoſophy and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, has publiſhed a ſermon, preached at Utrecht, March 26, 1794, the day of the general faſt, intitled "the Influence of the Divine Judgments, on the Reformation of the World;" which is a ſenſible and well written diſcourſe, and offers ſeaſonable advice to the people, to the clergy, and to the government. We wiſh that it may not be thrown away; for ſmall is their number who liſten to the voice of wiſdom in theſe delirious times.

The "Letters to Emma, concerning the Kantian Philoſophy, by I. L. Ewald, tranſlated from the German," publiſhed at Utrecht, contain

contain a candid and impartial examination of some of the leading principles of professor Kant's system, divested as much as possible of metaphysical terms; and a comparative view of his theory of morals and that of the Gospel. The author's intention is to shew, that the Kantian philosophy is obscure and unintelligible; that instead of assisting the mind in the acquisition of true science, it tends to sink it in doubt and scepticism; and that instead of improving human nature into the resemblance of the divine, it renders man a speculative and comfortless being, incapable of indulging to the most delightful affections, and of being impressed by the most powerful motives to virtue.—The "Essay on the Manners of the latter part of the eighteenth Century, by C. A. M. de N." published at the Hague, was sent to Lyons as an answer to the following question proposed by the academy of that city: in the present state of morals, what are the principles and sentiments which ought to be inculcated by philosophy and literature as most beneficial to mankind? It points out the true causes of the licentiousness and cruelties which have attended the political changes in France, and offers good advice to those who wish to advance the interests of the social and domestic virtues.—At Amsterdam, M. Jacob Kantelaar has published "a Discourse on the Influence of Intellectual and Moral improvement ont he Happiness of Women, and on Domestic Felicity, delivered in Amsterdam, at the general Meeting of the Society for promoting the public Welfare." This is an excellent treatise, and well worthy the attention of those parents who wish that their daughters should be rendered capable of conferring and enjoying happiness in the domestic relations, rather than be distinguished by frivolous and shewy accomplishments, which may create temporary admiration, but cannot excite rational esteem and affection, or secure lasting attachment.—At the same place hath appeared a translation from the German, of "an Essay on Patriotism, by Henry Christopher Albrecht, Vol. I." This work contains many just and valuable remarks on the principles of society, and the proper lines of discrimination between great and good actions. But it also contains many positions and reasonings which will not stand the test of a close and accurate investigation.—At Rotterdam, Mr. George Craufurd has published the first part of a work entitled "the Doctrine of Equivalents, or an Explanation of the Nature, the Value, and the Power of Money, together with their Application in organizing Public Finance." This treatise is intended more fully to explain the principles for which the author contended in an "Essay on the actual Resources for establishing the Finances of Great Britain," published at London, in the year 1785, which he complains were totally misunderstood; and also to refute the principles, respecting money, laid down by Mr. Harris, Mr. Hume, sir James Stuart, and Dr. Adam Smith. His observations and remarks shew him to be a man of close thought and reflection, who appears to be actuated by a disinterested desire of promoting the public good. How far his principles are well founded, we shall be better able to judge when they are more completely developed in what yet remains to be explained of his plan.

The thirtieth volume of "Memoirs

moirs by the Philosophical Society of Haarlem," consists of two dissertations on the principles of moral obligation, by professor Crass, and an anonymous author; and one medical article, by Dr. Pet. Stephen Kok, of Louvain, on the cure of the palsy of the loins and lower parts, by the rhus radicans, foliis terminatis, Linnæi. To professor Crass' Dissertation, a gold prize medal was awarded, by the philosophical society of Haarlem, who pronounced it to contain the best answer to the following question: "as philosophers have long sought a first and universal principle of moral obligation, whence all the more particular precepts of duty may be deduced; as the hypothesis which supposes what is called the moral sense to be such a principle, seems liable to some objections; and as that which professor Kant has proposed is, by many, deemed obscure, vague, and useless; the society have been induced to enquire whether the investigation of such universal principle be judicious, necessary, or useful; and, if so, what is this principle?" This is a truly ingenious and valuable performance, equally distinguished by philosophical precision, accuracy, and perspicuity. In adverting to preceding hypotheses, ancient as well as modern, professor Crass endeavours to shew, that they have been founded only on a contemplation of a part of our nature, instead of the whole. In his method of investigation an accurate view is taken of the whole of our nature and constitution; and different principles are established, founded in the affections of human nature, up to which the obligations of every moral precept may be regularly traced. The anonymous dissertation is a confused and unintelligible jargon, totally unworthy of the silver medal which was adjudged to the writer. —The Transactions of the Society established in Leyden for promoting Mathematical Knowledge," vol. I. consist of addresses to the society, and the candidates, at the annual distribution of the prizes bestowed on such as distinguished themselves by their progress in the several branches of mathematics, by M. P. Van Campen, and M. Johan Meerman, the presidents; and dissertations on the best method of removing that dislike to mathematics which many young persons conceive, and which prevents their pursuing those studies with that attention and perseverance which are necessary in order to make a considerable progress in them. The prize dissertation on this subject, by M. A. I. Deiman, student of law in the academical school of Amsterdam, is a sensible and judicious defence of the utility of mathematical studies, and suggests useful directions relative to the mode of teaching. Another dissertation on the same subject, by M. I. L. Kesmann, an officer in the service of the states, is also deserving of considerable praise.—At Leyden, the society for promoting the public welfare have published a very valuable and useful work entitled "Elements of Arithmetic for young Persons, by H. Aeneæ, A. L. M. Phil. Doctor, &c. in 2 vols." This work is written in the form of a plain and familiar dialogue between the teacher and learner; in which the ingenious author accommodates himself in a judicious and interesting manner to the capacities of the latter, and removes the difficulties which occur to a young person in acquiring the first principles of this science.—At Amsterdam, professor Nicholas

Nicholas Bondt, M.D. has published "an oration on the utility of the mode of study, adopted by modern botanists, delivered in the academical school at Amsterdam," which contains a judicious and elegant illustration of the advantages which arise to botany in particular, and to science in general, from the labours of Linnæus and his followers.

In our last volume we announced the publication of the first and second volumes of an interesting and entertaining work, entitled "some Account of the Prussian, Austrian, and Sicilian Monarchies, and of some of the adjacent States," published at the Hague. During the present year, the third and fourth volumes have made their appearance, and will highly gratify the reader by the author's detail of his tours from Trieste through Udine, Venice, Padua, Modena, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Naples, Sicily, and Malta; and the descriptions, observations, and anecdotes with which it is interspersed.--At Amsterdam the first volume of a work has been published, "entitled Sketches of the Revolution in France." This work is intended to contain a full account of the events which have accompanied the French revolution, illustrated by representations of the most striking scenes, copied by able artists from French engravings. The volume before us, which is recommended by ease and elegance of composition, carries the history of the revolution to the union of the three orders in the National Assembly, on the 27th July 1789.—The "Account of the Campaign of the Year 1792, under the Command of the Duke of Brunswick, in Letters Written by one who was an Eye Witness of the Facts related, in 3 vols." is an anonymous work, stated to be translated from the German of a subaltern officer in the Prussian service, and published in Holland. What credit is due to it the reader must judge for himself, from internal evidence, and its general correspondence with well authenticated statements. The author, who left Germany with the strongest prejudices against the French Revolution, altered his opinion very much after he had been some time in France. This change we are told was occasioned, partly by the contempt which the conduct of the emigrants excited, and partly by the resentment of the Prussians on account of the misrepresentations which had engaged them in this disastrous expedition. The manner in which this work is written, is very desultory and digressive.—At Amsterdam, a treatise has been published entitled "the Causes of the Ill Success of the Combined Powers in the late Campaigns, clearly pointed out to the Inhabitants of Europe, with their Resources for continuing the War with Success." The author's observations on the misconduct, ignorance, want of faith, and of plan, which have accompanied the whole progress of the allies, are founded on facts which cannot be denied, and which history will record to the eternal disgrace of the parties concerned. His projects for carrying on the war with success, and the arguments by which he endeavours to recommend them, are the reveries of a political quidnunc, who can easily effect that in the closet, which experience has shewn to be impracticable in the field.

At Amsterdam an anonymous work has appeared, entitled "a short Account of the Life of Muley Leizit, Emperor of Morocco," which,

which, if true, describes the horrors of savage despotism to which the people of Morocco, through whose favour he had been raised to the throne, were subjected during the short reign of one of the most unprincipled and inhuman monsters that ever disgraced humanity.—At the same place, M. Jacob Kantelaar has published "an Eulogy on Henry Albert Schultens, late Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Leyden;" which is an elegant and friendly tribute of respect to the memory of a great and good man, by whose premature death, the interests of literature and liberality in Holland have sustained a loss, the magnitude of which it is not possible to calculate.

Among the literary productions of Germany, the first which in point of order calls for our attention is professor Christian Theoph. Kuinvel's "Prophecy of Hosea, in Hebrew and Latin, with a perpetual Commentary," published at Leipsic. In this work the learned and ingenious author, whose talents eminently qualified him for such an undertaking, applies professor Heyne's method in elucidating the Old Testament writings.—At Nuremberg, professor G. L. Baur has proceeded as far as vol. VII. in his "Continuation of J. C. Fr. Schulz's Scholia on the Old Testament." This volume contains nine of the minor prophets, and gives abundant proofs of the judgment and diligence used by the editor, in selecting the best materials from the different exegetical writers on these parts of scripture.—At Leipsic, Dr. Rosenmüller has published the 2d and 3d sections of the third volume of his "Scholia on the Old Testament," which conclude the book of Isaiah.—At Jena, professor Paulus has published "a Philological Key to the Old Testament, for Schools and Universities. Isaiah." This work contains many valuable hints for correcting the present text, and excellent illustrations of the sense of the prophetic language. What most modern expositors render a sun dial, in ch. 38, verses 7, &c. our professor considers to be a flight of ten or more steps, which was for a time shaded, and on which the sun afterwards shone; and he imagines that Isaiah referred to it meerly as a type of the king's sickness and recovery, without any thing supernatural occuring respecting the sun's motion. —At Leipsic, the same author has published the fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of his "Memorabilia, a Philosophico-theological Magazine," in which the same learning and ingenuity are displayed by the professor and his coadjutors, as in the former volumes, and the biblical scholar is supplied with many curious and valuable critical disquisitions.—At Giessen, M. Hezel has published the 3d part of the IId volume of his "Investigator of Scripture," consisting of criticisms, paraphrastic translations, and polemical essays and dissertations; and at Konigsberg, professor I. G. Hasse, has published a volume of "Biblico-oriental Essays."—At Halle, M. I. A. Noesselt has published a "Criticism on Romans, 1 3—5," which gives an easy and natural meaning to the passage.—At Erfurt, M. J. I. Bellarman has published the third volume of his "Manual of Biblical Literature," which still continues to be interesting to the student, on account of the variety of information which it contains, selected from the best writers, on subjects which tend to elucidate the Jewish archæology, geography, history, physics, mythology, &c.—

At

At Leipsic, Dr. Rosenmüller has published the 1st volume of a new edition of "Bochart's Hierozoïcon, or Treatise on the Animals mentioned in Scripture," which he has enriched with the additional information supplied by writers on natural history, who have lived since the time of Bochart.—At Erlangen, Dr. Christ. Fred. Ammon has published the 1st part a "Christology of the Old Testament," in which his design is to discover the grounds it affords for the expectation of a Messiah. In conducting his plan, he pays more regard to the general scope of the religion of the patriarchs, and of the Mosaic dispensation, than to a few unimportant passages which, by forced constructions, have been made to predict trifling circumstances in the history of Jesus Christ. It is his intention to pursue his investigation through the apocryphal books.—At Vienna hath appeared "an Introduction to a fundamental Knowledge of the Christian Religion, for the Use of the Schools of the Members of the Augsburg Confession in the hereditary Dominions of the Emperor, composed by command, by I. G. Fock, of the Supreme Consistory, &c." In this work the author has endeavoured to deliver the doctrines of Jesus Christ in their natural purity and simplicity, without any arbitrary additions and interpretations. The form which he has adopted, is the aphoristic. His explanation of the formula of baptism, is the most liberal that we have seen from a member of the Lutheran church: "baptise," says he, "into the religion of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, that is into the religion which teaches us to know God, as the father of all men, made known to us by Jesus Christ, the son of God, and confirmed and propagated by the Holy Spirit."—At Leipsic, Dr. G. I. Planck, consistorial councellor, and professor of divinity at Gottingen, has published the first part of a valuable work entitled "an Introduction to the Science of Theology," which is calculated to afford much assistance to the theological student in prosecuting his enquiries, as well as to excite his industry, and his attention to the principal objects, and important design of this science.—At Erlangen, Dr. Rosenmüller has published "some Remarks on the Study of Theology," which is a judicious and instructive lecture, delivered by him on quitting the university of Erlangen for that of Giessen. To these remarks he has added an essay on some expressions of professor Kant respecting the interpretation of the Bible, in which he accuses him of reviving the old exploded allegorical method of exposition, which extorted from the words of the sacred writers mystical meanings, wholly foreign to their natural signification.—At Tubingen, professor Storr has published "some Theological Remarks on Kant's Philosophical Doctrine of Religion," which are an attack on that author's work entitled "Religion within the Limits of pure Reason, &c." by a divine of considerable eminence, and acknowledged learning. In these remarks, however, he only makes use of the old weapons by which orthodox divines have been accustomed to defend their cause.—At Halle, Dr. C. F. Bahrdt has published "a Catechism of Natural Religion, designed as the Basis of general Instruction in Religion and Morality," containing a judicious and perspicuous view of the principles of natural religion, and a pleasing

pleasing and impressive recommendation of them.—At Gorlitz, an interesting and well written treatise hath appeared, admirably calculated to disseminate liberality of sentiment, entitled "Socratic Dialogues, as an Introduction and Illustration of Bahrdt's Catechism of Natural Religion; being an Attempt to promote unprejudiced Reflection, among the Rational and well informed, of both Sexes, and of all Ages and Conditions."—At Ratisbon, a sensible work has been published "on the Knowledge of ourselves, the Obstacles to it, and the Advantages of it," which places in a striking light the necessity of self-examination, as an instrument of moral perfection.—At Vienna, M. Denis, who has been engaged for some time in compiling a catalogue raisonné of the MSS. preserved in the imperial library, discovered a collection of twenty-five inedited "Discourses of Augustine, Bishop of Hippo." These he has published in a form to correspond with the Benedictine edition of the fathers, and accompanied them with short critical and explanatory notes.—At Giessen, M. I. B. Müller has published a collection of "Sermons on Christian Morality," in six large 8vo. volumes, which he judiciously selected from the works of the most eminent German divines, who have treated on moral and practical topics. They are accompanied with a complete list of the sermons which have been published on these subjects in the German language. Such are the notices which the foreign Reviews supply, of the theological and moral publications of Germany during the last year.

Under the head of Government and Political Economy, we find "the Reciprocal Relations, between a State and its Servants, considered in a Moral, Political, and Judicial View, by I. M. Seuffert, Ph. and LL.D." published at Wirtzburg. This work may properly be called a systematic commentary on the edicts issued by the prince bishop of Wirtzburg; and affords a pleasing specimen of the liberality of sentiment, on subjects of government and policy, which is rapidly spreading in the German empire.—At Hamburg, a treatise has been published "on the late Ordinances respecting the Liberty of the Press in Denmark," containing an historical view of the different rescripts issued by the Danish government, on the subject of libellous and seditious publications, from Sept. 1770, when unlimited freedom of the press was declared, till Dec. 1799, when its abuses were finally subjected to the investigation of the public courts. To writers on the constitutions of government in the different European nations, it will afford useful information.—At Leipsic a work hath appeared entitled "Enquiries concerning the English Constitution, by Henry Christopher Albrecht." This work is intended to convince those who wish for the establishment of a constitution of government in Germany, on the principles of the British, that the object of their admiration, from the abuses which have been suffered to creep into it, stands in need of a revival and reconstruction; and that its ruling institutions should be studied by them as warnings rather than examples. Although there is too much ground for many of his severe reflections, yet the author does not appear to have possessed a sufficiency of knowledge, or impartiality, to have enabled him to do justice to the merits of the British con-

constitution.—At Hamburg a work has been published, entitled "the French Constitution corrected according to Justice, Reason, and Wisdom, under the direction of Messs. Delessart, Montmorin, Barnave, and De la Porte, by M. Pellenc, late secretary to Comte de Mirabeau; with the approbation of the queen Marie Antoinette: to which are added Reflections on the Representative System, by Comte de Clermont Tonnerre." This work, we are informed, was found among the papers of M. de la Porte, and published by order of the commissioners of the National Assembly appointed to examine the papers deposited in the civil list office. One principal design of the author was to shew, by deduction, that nothing was farther from the late king's thoughts, than to restore the ancient despotism, or to enter into the views of the emigrants; and that he was willing to give up many valuable prerogatives, in order to quiet the people, and to secure to them the enjoyment of rational liberty. Whether the statements which it contains are accurate, or otherwise, it is an object of considerable curiosity, if we attend to the plan of government which it recommends, or to its strictures on that adopted by the constituent assembly.—At the same place have appeared two volumes of a work entitled "the Political Interests of the several Courts of Europe, during the Reigns of Louis XV. and Louis XVI. consisting of MSS. found in the cabinet of Louis XVI." which contain some curious memoirs and state papers, interesting to the politician and the historian, and bearing strong internal marks of genuineness. They were noticed by us in our account of the Literature of France for the year 1793.—At Stutgard, a treatise has been published "on Commons, and the Management and Division of them," which points out in an able manner the advantages of the enclosing system; and at Leipsic a periodical work, called "a Journal of Manufactures, Trade, and Fashion," containing a number of important articles, interesting not only to the merchant and political economist, but to the man of literature, and lover of the fine arts.

Among the German productions belonging to the department of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, the "Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres at Berlin, for the years 1783 and 1789, with its History for the same period," demand our first attention. This volume contains some important papers in mathematics, by M. Director Von Castillon, M. Bode, M. Von Templehoff, M. Bernouilli, M. Burja, and M. Lhuilier. To the Philosophical department, Mr. Achard, M. Mayer, M. R. Forster, and M. Robert have been the contributors. Among the writers in Speculative Philosophy, and Belles Lettres, we find the respectable names of M. Formey, M. Schwab, Count Hertzberg, the Abbé Denina, and M. Erman. The History of the Academy gives, as usual, an account of the meetings, eulogies on deceased members, questions announced, and prizes awarded.—At Berlin, Mr. Abel Burja has published an "Introduction to Optics, Catoptrics and Dioptrics." This work, like the other scientific productions of it's respectable author, contains every thing of importance to the science on which it treats, delivered with great clearness and perspicuity.—Such, likewise, is the character of the "Elements of Astronomy, Vol. I." by the

the same author, published at the same place. To this volume is prefixed a brief History of Astronomy, or rather of celebrated astronomers deceased.—At the same place M. I. E. Bode has published "a Short Sketch of Astronomy, with seven plates;" which is a judicious abridgment of his well known great work, sufficient for the purposes of those who wish to obtain a general knowledge only of astronomy, and of the sciences connected with, or dependent upon it.—At Leipsic, professor Gren still continues the publication of his "Journal of Natural Philosophy," in numbers, containing a recital of many curious experiments, and important investigations in different branches of philosophy.—At Erfurt, and Stutgard, M. John George Scheyers has published a treatise, entitled "Practical Hydraulics adapted to the Capacities of Millwrights and Farmers," which contains the practical and preceptive part of the science, explained in an easy and popular manner, so as to be intelligible to those who have not had the advantage of a mathematical education. It will be of considerable use, therefore, in countries liable to inundations, or where the force of running water is applied to mechanical purposes.—The numbers of Crell's "Annals of Chemistry" continue still to be published, and to supply the philosophical student with much curious and useful knowledge.—At Hanover, professor I. A. Cramer has published "Letters on Natural Philosophy," consisting of meteorological, agricultural, and other remarks, together with the natural history of a small circle round Hildesheim, which are not unworthy of notice. Among other curious particulars, it presents us with the account of a dog-rose-tree, the *rosa canina* of Linnæus, twenty feet high, and of somewhat greater breadth, which was inclosed by a wall, by bishop Hezilo, so long ago as the year 1078.—At Freyberg, and Annaberg, Messrs. Kohler and Hoffmann continue the publication of their "Miner's Journal." The years IV. and V. contain a great variety of interesting and important papers.—At Frankfort, M. C. H. Stucke has published "Chemical Investigations of some Fossils on the Lower Rhine, &c." which he intends to continue.—At Hanover, and Osnaburg, Francis Baron Beroldingen, Canon of Hildesheim, has published an enlarged edition of his "Observations, Doubts, and Queries relative to Mineralogy in general, and a Natural System of Mineralogy in particular," which does much credit to his abilities as a skilful mineralogist; and at Weimar, M. I. C. Voight has published an enlarged and improved edition of his celebrated "Practical Essays on the Natural History of Mountains."—At Berlin, M. Bloch has published the VIIth volume of his splendid "Natural History of Foreign Fish," illustrated with 36 plates coloured from nature. A considerable part of this volume is employed in descriptions of such fish as are inhabitants of the Indian seas; the materials for which were furnished from the collection made by M. John, during his residence in India.—At Erlangen, M. I. David Schöpff has published two fasciculi of a "History of Shells, illustrated with plates," which will be received with pleasure by the lover of this branch of natural history.—At Leipsic, M. Roth has published a second volume of his valuable "German Flora;" and at Frankfort, and Regenspurg, M. Schrank has published

lished a new and corrected edition of his "Bavarian Flora, printed in a portable form, and reduced into Tables."

Among the Historical productions of Germany for the year 1794, we meet with the first and second volumes of a "History of Arcadia, by G. A. Von Breitenbauch," published at Frankfort. This learned and ingenious work presents us with the ancient history of Arcadia, from materials chiefly supplied by Pausanias; the history of particular cities, and the share they took in the general commotions and wars of Greece; an account of the employments, arts, political constitution, religion, and character of the Arcadians; a geographical description of the country, and chronological tables.—At Leipsic, the Rev. J. J. Münnich has published a valuable philosophico-historical work entitled, "An Enquiry into the State of Morals and Science among the Ancient Romans," in which he justly appreciates the character of that people, as a nation, during the reign of Augustus, the period of their highest refinement, and properly exposes the folly of that implicit veneration with which we are taught to view them in the common course of classical education. —At Gottingen, professor Meiners has published two volumes of "an Historical Comparison of the Manners and Political Establishments, the Laws and Professions, the Commerce and Religion, the Sciences and Places of Education of the Middle Ages, with those of the Present Century," which are replete with information and entertainment, and reflect honour on the industry and discrimination of the learned author.—At Leipsic, M. Heinrich has published the ninth volume Part V. of his "History of the German Empire, as an Improvement of Guthrie's Universal History, including the Reigns of Charles V. Fredinand I. and Maximilian II." This history is stated to be drawn from the most approved sources, to be written with candour and impartiality, in a perspicuous and elegant style, and in many respects to be superior to the labours of preceding historians.—At Gottingen, M. Ch. L. Woltmann has published the first volume of an "History of the Germans in the Saxon Period," which is a work of great merit for general readers, if we consider the proofs which it affords of the author's care in selecting his facts from authentic documents, the pleasing style in which it is written, the reflections which are introduced, and the striking delineations of character which it exhibits. This volume includes the lives of Henry I. and the three Othos.—At Berlin, Dr. Girtanner has published seven volumes of "Historical Information, and Political Remarks concerning the French Revolution," in which he appears to have had recourse to the best sources of information, and offers many valuable dissertations and reflections in the character of a philosophical historian. The author is a bitter enemy to democracy; and, not much to his praise as an impartial writer, considers the party of Fayette, Malouet, Lally Tollendal, Clermont Tonnerre, and their associates, as the only persons who in that grand struggle were actuated by motives of pure patriotism.—At Lemgo, Dr. Gottlieb Jos. Planck has published the second and third volumes of his "Modern Ecclesiastical History," which, among other subjects, embraces the late disputes between the courts of Naples and Rome, the late religious

ous persecutions of the reformed evangelists in the palatinate, a continuation of the disputes between the papal chair and the German archbishops, and the ecclesiastical revolution in France.—At Schweinfurt, and Nuremberg, M. J. Mich. Sixt, one of the deacons of the cathedral of St. John, has published "A History of the Reformation in the Free Town of Schweinfurt, with Forty-eight Documents," which is a valuable fragment of ecclesiastical history.—At Leipsic, M. Plant has published "The Complete Geography of Polynesia, or of the Fifth Division of the World, vol. I. West Polynesia;" in which he has carefully inserted, from MSS. as well as printed authorities, every thing of importance relative to the physical state, the commerce and navigation, the statistics, the history, the characters of the inhabitants, &c. of the countries bordering on Asia, as far as New Guinea, including Sumatra, Java, the Molucca Islands, Celebes, Borneo, Magindanao, and the Manilla Islands.—At Hamburg, hath appeared a new edition of "Busching's Geography, revised, corrected, and considerably augmented by the author, in eleven volumes octavo." The value of this work is sufficiently known to every scholar, who will receive with gratitude those improvements which the author has introduced at a considerable expence of attention and labour.—At Cologne, an anonymous work has been published, entitled "The Life and Crimes of Philip Duke of Orleans," which draws a malignant caricature of a person of whom candour cannot speak but with disapprobation, and offers a feeble declamatory defence of the ancient despotism of France, and its contemptible supporters.—At Nuremberg, a splendid work is publishing in numbers, entitled "Delineations of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman Deities, with Mythological and Technical Explanations," which are engravings from gems which formerly belonged to baron Stosch, and are now in the cabinet of the king of Prussia.—At Rostoch, Professor G. O. Tychsen has published "An Introduction to Mohammedan Coins," which presents us with all the preliminary information necessary for the student who wishes to become acquainted with this branch of the science of medals, and will greatly assist him in decyphering and explaining oriental coins.—At Leipsic hath appeared "The reputed Tomb of Homer, engraved from a Sketch of M. de Chevalier, by J. Dom. Fiorillo, and illustrated by C. G. Heyne, with five plates," which is an interesting and pleasing treatise in antiquities. Professor Heyne supposes this tomb to contain the ashes of some person of note, but not to have been erected at an earlier period than the time of the Romans.—At Hamburg, Professor Dan. Gottl. Moldenhauer has published the curious "Process against the Order of Knights Templars, from the Original of the Papal Commissioners in France," which is written in old French, Limosin, and Catalonian, and is the same which Dupuy used in his history of that order.—At Leipsic have appeared "The Travels of a Pole through Moldavia to Turkey, by Jos. Mikoscha, translated from the Polish," which are the productions of a man of abilities both as a statesman, and as a writer, and contain interesting observations on the Turkish empire, its form of government, religion, forces, manners,

ners, and on the nations that live under it, &c. &c.—At Hamburg, "A Philosophical, Political, and Literary Journey in Russia," has been published by a person who assumes the name of Chantreau, which is evidently a compilation, though not an unpleasing one, from the variety of publications which have of late years been devoted to descriptions and anecdotes of the Russian empire.—To the preceding articles we can only add the titles of the following, which belong to the head of History, Antiquities, and Travels: "The Posthumous Works, Political and Miscellaneous, of the late R. F. Count of Lynar, vol. I." published at Hamburg; "The Historical Calendar for the Year 1794, and History of the Eighteenth Century," published at Leipsic; "Geography for People of all Ranks, by J. E. Fabri, Phil. Prof." in four large octavo volumes, published at the same place;" "The Geography of North America, vol. I. or the tenth volume of Busching's Geography, by Christ. Dan. Ebeling," published at Hamburg; "On Rousseau's Connexions with Women," a biographical treatise, published at Leipsic; "Two Essays on the Rape of Cassandra, on an ancient earthen Vase, by H. Meyer, and C. A. Böttinger," published at Weimar; "Letters on a Tour through France, England, Holland, and Italy, written in the years 1787-8, by Dr. James Christ. Theoph. Schæffer, in 2 vols." published at Ratisbon; "Picturesque Views of Italy, by Dies, Reinhart, and Mechau," with a great number of beautiful and splendid engravings, published in numbers at Nuremberg; and "The European Traveller's Guide, with an Itinerary Map of Europe, &c. in 2 vols. by M. Reichard," published at Weimar, and represented by the foreign journalists to be the best book of the kind that has ever appeared.

The last German publications which we have to notice in this year's catalogue, belong to the head of Classical, Critical, Polite, and Miscellaneous Literature. Among these we find "Plutarchi Opera, cum Adnotationibus Variorum, adjectaque Lectionis Diversitate, ab Hutten, tom. V." published at Tubingen. This well known work is continued with the same attention to correctness and accuracy, as distinguished the former volumes.—At Deux-Ponts, 2 vols. have been published "Diodori Siculi Bibliothecæ Historicæ Lib. qui supersunt," with the notes of Wesseling, and commentaries and dissertations, by Professors Heyne, and Jer. Nic. Eyring.—At Leipsic hath appeared "Polybii Historiarum quicquid superest, vol. VII. cum Annotationibus ad lib. XI—XXX." by the late learned and indefatigable Schweighaüser, which is to be followed by a concluding volume, containing the notes to the fragments of the last ten books, together with Greek and Latin indexes.—At the same place, M. Johan. Frid. Fischer has published "Anacreontis Teii Carmina, Græce e recensione Guil. Baxteri, &c." with various readings, notes, and conjectural emendations, partly collected from preceding expositors, and partly his own. This edition is published by a person who possesses considerable reputation in the learned world, and who has devoted himself for nearly twenty years to the study of Anacreon.—At Berlin, Professor M.

G. L. Spalding has published a Latin commentary "on the First Part of Aristotle's Book concerning Xenophanes Zeno, and Gorgias, with a defence of the Megaric Philosophy," which is distinguished by considerable philological merit; and at Gottingen, Professor Buhle has published "Aristotelis de Poetica Libri, Græce, in usum Scholarum," which is correctly printed, and accompanied with useful conjectural improvements of the text.—At Leipsic, Professor Frid. Jacobs has published "Anthologia Græca, sive Poëtarum Græcorum Lusus ex Recensione Brunckiana, tom. I. and II." which, when completed, with the commentary and indexes of the editor, promises to be a very correct and valuable edition of the Greek Anthologia.—At Luneburg, M. Joh. Frid. Wagner has published a learned and elegant Latin dissertation on the fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar, which contains a critical examination of the words and sentiments of his author, and many original and ingenious observations.—At Halle, M. Joh. Christ. Wetzel has published an edition of Cicero's "Brutus," with numerous interesting and valuable historical and critical annotations.—At Leipsic, M. J. J. Hottinger has published an edition of "M. Tullii Ciceronis Libri de Divinatione," corrected by the help of MSS. and accompanied with useful critical notes.—At Dusseldorf, M. J. H. Withoff has published, in two parts, "Critical Remarks on Horace, and other Roman Writers," which contain some judicious emendations, and much curious historical information collected from the best authorities.—At Halle, Professor Eichhorn has published a corrected and enlarged edition of Professor Simon's "Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon," which his critical skill, and intimate acquaintance with oriental literature, have rendered superior to any other manual extant.—At Rostoch, Professor O. G. Tychsen has published "Elements of the Arabic Tongue, &c." which, on account of their conciseness and perspicuity, will be highly useful to those who wish to study that language. Of the whole grammar, an English translation is inserted in the Appendix to the XIIth volume of the Critical Review, New Arrangement.—At Prague, F. J. Tomsa has published "The Second Part of his complete Bohemian, German, and Latin Dictionary, with a Preface by Jos. Dobrowsky," containing observations on preceding dictionaries, and on the ancient history of the Bohemian language.—At Frankfort, M. de Beauclair has published "a Series of Gallicisms, or Idioms of the French Language," which will be chiefly useful to foreigners when perusing old French authors, or when they meet with instances of colloquial language.—"The Literary Journal of Berlin" is an interesting periodical publication in the French language, consisting of historical, philosophical, and literary dissertations, fugitive pieces, translations in verse from the German poets, analyses of the best works lately published, anecdotes of the lives and writings of celebrated authors of this century, scientific views of the principal academies in Germany, dramatic observations, &c. &c. To these short and imperfect notices of the literary productions of Germany, we can only add the titles of the following works: "Printed Books of

of the XVth Century, in the Library of the Regular Canonry of Buerberg, described by Paul Hupfauer, Dean of the Canonry," published at Augsburg; "G. C. Lichtenberg's Illustration of Hogarth's Prints, with reduced but complete Copies of them, by E. Riepenhausen," vol. I. published at Gottingen; "G. E. Lessing's Correspondence with K. W. Ramler, J. Joach. Eschenburg, and Fred. Nicolai, with some Remarks on Lessing's Correspondence with Mendelssohn," published at Berlin; "New Dialogues of the Gods, by Wieland," published at Leipsic; "Friendly Letters from the Count de Mirabeau, to M. Mauvillon at Brunswic, written during the Years 1786-90, &c." published at Hamburg; "Miscellaneous Dissertations, by Villaume," published at Berlin; the first part of the second volume of "A New Magazine for Schoolmasters, by G. A. Ruperti, and H. Schlichthorst," published at Gottingen; "A Collection of Love Songs, in Imitation of Solomon's, newly translated, and accompanied with Remarks, by J. F. Beyer," published at Marburg; and "Woldemar," an interesting and philosophical romance, by privy councellor Jacobi of Dusseldorf, published at Konigsberg.

Of the literature of Switzerland for the year 1794, we have not been able to obtain any information. This circumstance we must attribute to the state of the times, which has rendered the importation of foreign books exceedingly difficult, and to the increased duties laid on them by the legislature, which have operated in a considerable degree as prohibitory laws, without answering any ends of liberal and good policy. We have seen, indeed, two publications which are stated to have been printed at Geneva, but are most probably, the productions of other presses than those of the republic. The first of these is entitled "a Letter from M. Necker to M. Mallet du Pan, Citizen of Geneva, and formerly Editor of the Mercure de France;" and is an ironical piece, written by a royalist, who, with wit and talents, possesses an abundant share of the arrogance and pride which has brought ruin on the aristocracy of France. It is intended to ridicule the two characters mentioned in the title-page.—The other publication is entitled "Thoughts on Peace, addressed to Mr. Pitt, and the French Nation," and was written by the baroness de Stael, daughter of M. Necker. It contains many wise and just observations, and irrefragable arguments in favour of an immediate peace, which we are apprehensive will make no impression on the minds of those statesmen, whose personal interests, ambition, or resentments are gratified by prolonging the calamities of war.

From the same circumstances which have contributed to render our last article so scanty, our present list of Italian literature is unusually barren and imperfect. The first scientific work we have to announce is, "a brief Discourse on the Electric Conductor, erected by Order of Pius VI. the present Pontiff, on the Church of St. Mary of the Angels, at Rome, by P. L. Gelii." The most remarkable thing in this treatise is the account which it gives of the inscription placed in the church by

the command of his holiness, in which his obligations to the heretic Franklin for the security which his invention has afforded to that edifice, are acknowledged in the following lines:

Et Electricis Franklinii Virgis
Ad Futuram Tutelam muniri jussit.

At Padua, M. L. Brughatelli has published 3 volumes of "Annals of Chemistry, or a Collection of Memoirs on Sciences, Arts, and Manufactures, relative to it," in which his object is to insert, in the present and succeeding volumes, every new chemical discovery, every useful invention relating to chemical philosophy and the arts, from the accounts of authors, collections and publications of different kinds, Italian and foreign. These volumes contain a great variety of articles, on the subjects, and from the publications above mentioned, that are highly interesting and valuable. And they present us, likewise, with many curious facts and remarks which M. Brugnatelli has added to the matter which he has selected from the writings of other chemists, or the communications of his friends, without altering their respective opinions and theories.—At Milan, the patriotic society have published the third volume of their "Transactions, directed to the Advancement of Agriculture and the Arts." The papers which compose this volume are chiefly designed for local utility, and will be found of importance in the political economy of Italy. These papers are preceded by tributes of praise to the memory of some of the deceased members of the society.—At the same place professor Fulgenzio Vitman has published the third fourth and fifth volumes of his "Summa Plantarum quæ hactenus innotuerunt," in which, with the assistance of the celebrated botanist Wahl, he has added all the different genera and species undescribed by Linnæus.—At Bologna, the Abbé Joseph Jolis has published "an Essay on the Natural History of the Province of Great Chaco, with an Explanation of the Method of Living, and the Customs and Manners of the Inhabitants, and Journals of three different Excursions into the Internal Parts of that barbarous Country." This work, when completed, will consist of four volumes. That before us is interesting and entertaining, and is divided into seven books. In these the author treats, in order, of the name and geography of Chaco; of its vegetables; of its quadrupeds; of its birds; of its reptiles, fish and insects; of its nations and inhabitans; and of its colonists. The Abbé Jolis resided nine years in the country which he describes.

The remaining Italian articles which we have to announce, belong to Biography, Antiquities, and Miscellaneous Literature. At Venice, the public librarian Morelli has published "the Life of Andrew Gritti, Doge of Venice, written by Nicolas Barbarico," towards the latter end of the 16th century; which is an interesting piece of biography, written in easy and perspicuous, if not very elegant Latin. The author was a person whose merits raised him to very honourable stations in the service of his country. —At Rome hath appeared "an Essay on the Origin of Printing in Spain, by Raymond Deodate Caballero," which is a valuable publication in bibliography.—At Venice, M. Andrea

M. Andrea Rubbi is publishing a new edition of the "Works of Muratori," of which 6 volumes have made their appearance. In this collection we are presented with an eulogy of the celebrated author, by Lami, and literary notices prefixed to each separate work, by the editor.—At the same place the same editor has superintended a new impression of "the Works of Maffei," in 5 volumes. In this collection, also, we have an eulogy on the author, by Ippolito Pindemonte, and literary notices to each piece by M. Rubbi.—At Rome, a serious epic poem has been published, possessing much of the sublimity and vigour of Dante, "on the Death of Hugo de Basseville, in January 1794," who was murdered by the mob for having rendered himself disagreeable to the papal court in his character of envoy from France. But though we can admire the poetical merits of this performance, we have no praise to bestow on the principles which it discovers. These can prove acceptable only to the bigotted and intolerant.

The first work which we have to notice among the few productions in French literature of which we have had any information, is a treatise entitled "Philosophical Worship, &c." by M. Labaylays. This appears to be the production of a man of virtue and piety, who is almost persuaded to be a Christian. For he is a strenuous and able advocate for the existence of a God, the immortality of the soul, and a future state. Had he been placed in circumstances in which Christianity had come recommended to him in her unassuming native charms, instead of appearing debased by an unnatural union with tyranny and fanaticism, it is highly probable that he would have become an entire convert.—The "Parallel of Religions, in 5 vols. 4to." is a work in which the author has with great industry availed himself of the writings of all the ablest moderns on the subject, to lay before his readers a complete, and, as he professes, an impartial account of the several religions which have obtained in the world. From the syllabus of the contents in the *Esprit des Journaux*, it appears to be divided into seven parts. The first contains the history of modern and ancient paganism, in all the different nations in which it has prevailed; the second a parallel of the pagan religions with each other; the third the history of Mohammedanism; the fourth a parallel of Mohammedanism with paganism; the fifth the history of Judaism; the sixth parallels of Judaism with paganism and Mohammedanism; and the seventh parallels of Christianity with Judaism, Mohammedanism, paganism, and deism.— "The Glance on Society in general, by J. J. H." is a declamatory piece on the perfection and happiness to which the world is tending, notwithstanding the existing evils which are painful to philosophy and humanity; and predicting the speedy approach of the period when "all mankind, ashamed of their long infancy, will form one great individual, one society, united by all the indissoluble ties of matter and of mind." Professor Gueroult's "Treatise on the Constitution of the Spartans, of the Athenians, and of the Romans," is the production of an author with whose extensive learning and information,

formation, and abilities as a writer, the world is not unacquainted. In the work before us his knowledge and talents have been employed in a manner that will not tend to diminish his fame, and that conveys much useful instruction to the reader.—M. Veirieu's "Means of increasing and confirming the National Power, in increasing the Private Wealth of each Individual, &c." is a report given in to one of the French committees, the object of which is to shew the infinite advantages which would arise to the public from a new mode of managing mortgages. Of his plan, and the details by which he illustrates it, we have not seen any analysis.—The treatise "on the Suppression of Games of Chance, Lotteries, &c. by M. Dusaulz," is an interesting work; in which their history and dangerous consequences are described with circumstances, and in terms, which strongly paint their folly and impolicy. M. Dusaulz was appointed by the committee of public instruction, in conjunction with M. Mercier, to draw up that report on the subject of this treatise, which was followed by the decree of the convention abolishing all games of chance from the first of October 1793.—The next work which occurs in order, is a very important and useful one in Economics, written by a person whose long attention to the subject, and numerous repeated experiments have enabled him to throw much light upon it. Of the nature of its contents we shall enable our readers to form some judgment, by inserting its long title. It is called "Memoirs on the Administration of Forests, and on the individual Qualities of Indigenous Timber, or such as bears the Climate of France; to which is added, a Description of the Exotic Woods furnished by Commerce; a Work useful to the Proprietors who wish to economize their Timber, to judge with precision of the Age at which they ought to fell their Trees, and to know the most advantageous Use of the different Kinds, according to their Qualities, determined by a great Number of new Observations and Experiments, by P. C. Varenne Fenille, in 2 vols."—"The Batavian Philosoper, or Philanthropic Reflections on the present War," is an eloquent piece of declamation against the principles and objects of the war entered into against France by the coalesced powers, and pointing out, in beautiful colours, the scene of freedom, virtue, prosperity, and happiness, which will take place, if that country should be so successful as to maintain her independence. This question is no longer problematical, if it ever was, in the mind of the sober politician. But some of the consequences which our author predicts, are not yet to be perceived excepting by the eye of faith.

With respect to the productions of France in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, our information is exceedingly limited. We have barely heard that in "in the Journal of the Lyceum at Paris," the friend of science will meet with many valuable and important articles; but we are unable to lay before our readers the subjects which have employed the attention of the members of that national institution, which is stated to be conducted on a plan highly favourable to the dissemination of useful knowledge.—M. Charles Pougens' "Essays on various subjects in Physics,

Physics, Botany, and Mineralogy," are reported by the foreign Journalists to be the productions of a sensible and ingenious writer, who has successfully applied himself to the study of nature, and is well versed in the best authors who have undertaken to explain her arcana; and who possesses at the same time a happy facility in communicating what he knows to readers of the most ordinary capacities. He is a bold advocate for the opinion, that the principle of animality is common to the three natural kingdoms.—M. de la Metherie has published a new edition, greatly enlarged, of Bergman's "Manual for Mineralogists," in which the principal improvements which have been made in that science, since the first appearance of the work, about ten ten years ago, have been judiciously introduced by an author, whose profound acquaintance with chemistry and mineralogy peculiarly qualified him for such an undertaking.

Among the Historical productions of France for the year 1794, we meet with "the new Age of Louis XIV. in four Volumes." This work does not aspire to the dignity of regular history, but is a compilation of the scattered memoirs, anecdotes, fugitive pieces, satires, lampoons, songs, ballads, and satirical epitaphs of the period, the greater part of which were handed about in manuscript, and would not have been suffered to be published under the reign of despotism. It has been properly termed by one of our English Journalists, an *epigrammatic history*. The numerous notes have considerable merit in an historical point of view; and the whole presents the reader with a vast fund of amusement.—The "Historical and Political Memoirs of the Revolution in the Netherlands and the Country of Liege in 1793, by Publicola—Chaussard, a Man of Letters, sent into those Countries by the Provisional Executive Council of the French Republic, with the Character of a National Commissioner," is a work abounding in authentic and interesting information, which will afford considerable assistance to the historian of the present eventful period. And as the production of a man of letters, it is recommended by philosophical reflections, powerful reasoning, and the attractive graces of fine writing.—The "Historical Relation of the Siege of Valenciennes, by a Soldier of the Battalion of Charente," is an interesting and simple narration of the events, and fluctuations in public opinion which took place during that celebrated siege, by a person whose situation as an assistant in the council of war, and president of a popular club, gave him the best opportunities of being well informed on the subjects of his publication.—The "List of the Names of the heretofore Nobles, Nobles of Race, Pettifoggers, Prelates, Financiers, Intriguers, &c. with Notes on their Families," in three parts, is a collection of historical facts and anecdotes, which presents a disgusting picture of the degeneracy and profligacy of the late titled orders in France.—"The Private Life of the Ecclesiastics, Prelates, and other Public Functionaries who have not taken the Oaths on the Civil Constitution of the Clergy," in three parts, is a supplement to the last mentioned work. It is intended to expose the pride and vices which disgraced the clerical character in France,

France, and powerfully contributed to the astonishing change in ecclesiastical matters which has taken place in that country. We are persuaded, however, that the accounts which it contains are frequently exaggerated; otherwise the depravity and hypocrisy of many of the most celebrated French clergy would almost justify the severe and cruel treatment which they have experienced. We recommend this work to be consulted in connexion with the Abbé Barruel's History of the Clergy during the French Revolution, which was noticed by us among the articles in Domestic Literature. The reader, from the very different and opposite accounts which they give, will be prevented from placing implicit confidence in either of them.—The "Dissertation on a Collection of Letters, to the Number of 84, written by Henry IV. of France with his own hand, to M. de Bellyevre, Chancellor of France, by the Abbé Rive," is a curious tract relating to some manuscripts which may serve to throw light on many political circumstances in the reign of that patriotic king. As far as internal evidence can weigh, they carry with them strong marks of authenticity. They are reported to have been purchased by the present proprietor from one of the national guards, into whose hands they fell at the destruction of the Bastile.—The "Voyages to Guinea, and to the Carribbee Islands in America, by Paul Edman Isert," is a translation from the German, of a pleasing work, written in the epistolary form, which furnishes the reader with much interesting information relative to the inhabitants and natural productions of those parts of the globe.—Of "Chantreau's Philosophical, Political, and Literary Journey in Russia," we have already taken notice in our account of the literature of Germany.

The last articles which we have to mention in our imperfect catalogue of French literature for the year 1794, belong to the classes of Literary Antiquities, and Miscellaneous Literature. The first of these are the "Memoirs of Literature, taken from Registers of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres from the Year 1780 to 1784. Vols. XLIV—XLVI, printed at the national press, in the Louvre." In these volumes we are presented with the history of the academy, now no longer royal, and eulogies of many of its respectable members. They afterwards offer to us a variety of important papers on subjects of eastern literature, Greek and Roman antiquities and literature, and the history of ancient and modern nations, which reflect honour on the learning and industry of the authors. Among the respectable names of the contributors to these volumes we find those of Deguignes, Keralio, Anquetil Duperron, St. Croix, Garnier, Bouchart, Broitier, de Rochfort, Vauvilliers, Dupuy, and Desormeaux.—The "Memoirs on different Antiquities of Persia, &c. by A. I. Silvester de Sacy," are replete with learning and curious information, which will be highly acceptable to the oriental scholar, as well as to the historian and antiquary. They contain dissertations on the inscriptions and monuments of Nakshi Rustam; on the Cufic and Persic inscriptions in Gehel-Minar, as they are found in Niebuhr; an account of the coins of the Persian kings of the dynasty of the Sassanidæ;

nidæ; an account of the inscriptions, &c. discovered at Kirmanshah, or Bisutun, in Kurdistan; and a history of the Persian kings of the dynasty of Sassanidæ, from the famous History of Mirkhond.—M. Haffner's treatise "on Literary Education, or on the Organization of an Establishment for the higher Branches of Science," was published in consequence of the printing of Talleyrand Perigord's report of a plan for public instruction, which it shews to be in many respects essentially defective. And it offers many important remarks on the subject, which deserve an attentive perusal, as they are suggested by a person of a liberal and enlightened mind, who has possessed the advantage of experience for many years in the capacity of professor of theology in the university of Strasburgh.—The "Elementary Treatise on the Art of Printing, by Antoine François Momero," will prove a valuable present to those who wish to acquire a practical knowledge of the art, as it contains the substance of all the useful instructions delivered in such works as have already received the stamp of general approbation, together with the improvements which have been introduced since their appearance.—M. Gretry's "Essay on Music," is the work of an author who has acquired great celebrity in the musical line, and who has contributed much to banish that false taste from France, which for a long time justly exposed their compositions and performances to the ridicule of foreigners. It may well be supposed, therefore, to abound in valuable remarks and observations which will prove interesting both to composers and practitioners.——"The various Works of Cerutti, or a Collection of Pieces composed before and since the Revolution," contain a great number of pieces of eloquence and poetry which are said to be deserving of considerable praise.—To the articles already enumerated we have to add, "Fables, by M. Florian," which are said to be inferior only to those of la Fontaine; "The Blind Man of the Mountain," a collection of literary and philosophical discourses written in imitation of the elegant and interesting conversations transmitted to us by the ancients, and particularly by Cicero; and "William Tell," a popular drama, in three acts, by Sedaine.

We shall now close our short view of foreign literature, by just announcing some publications which have issued from the presses of Spain and Portugal. In the former country have appeared a work on "the Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, and their first Progress among the Ancients," in 2 vols; "New Observations on Rural Economy, the Manner of perfecting and preserving the Breed of Horses, and on other interesting Objects, by M. Malatos;" "Elements of the Veterinary Art," by the same; "Uranography, or a Description of the Heavens, by M. Garriga, with three Maps of the Constellations;" the third part of the second volume of "a Description of the Spontaneous Plants of Spain, and of those cultivated in the Gardens of that Country by I. A. Cavanillas," illustrated with 30 plates, and accompanied by the natural history of the mountainous districts in the kingdom of Valencia; and "Notices concerning North and South America, a Physical and Historical Dialogue."—In Portu-

guese literature we have only heard of "a Topographical and Historical Description of the City of Oporto, by Agost. Rebello da Costa, with a Chart of the Province of Entre Douro e Minho, and Views of the City of Oporto." This work is said to be a very valuable one, and to present us with a circumstantial and interesting account of the history, principal buildings, population, civil and religious establishments, manufactures, and commerce of that important city. The intimate intercourse which subsists between Oporto and this country, would render a translation of the above work acceptable to the English reader.

FINIS.